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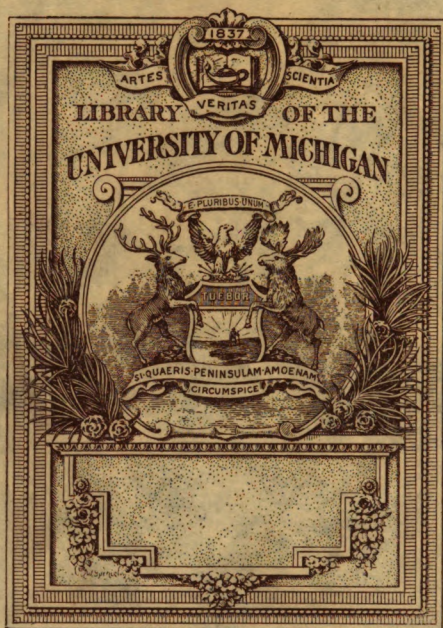
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THE
CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW

FOR

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THE
CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

N^o LIII. OCTOBER 1888.

ART. I.—THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE OF 1888.

1. *Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion, holden at Lambeth Palace, July 1888. Encyclical Letter from the Bishops, with Resolutions and Reports.* (London, S.P.C.K., 1888.)
2. *The Guardian*, July 4 and August 8, 15, 22, 1888.

THE third 'Pan-Anglican' Conference, which was in course of proceeding when we last addressed our readers, is now an event in the year's ecclesiastical history. We take, therefore, the first opportunity of attempting an estimate of its results, in their bearing on those interests which, from our point of view, must be paramount—the spiritual interests of this great Church of England.

The very conception of such a gathering of all the prelates of her communion, under the presidency of the successor of St. Augustine, is a token of her imperishable vitality as a Church of the old historic type. It must ultimately be traced to the unspent forces which were re-awakened in the Church-revival movement, and which have so repeatedly disappointed the opponents who made sure of their exhaustion. Much more must the actual carrying out of such a conception illustrate what the Dean of St. Paul's has described as 'the extrication of the great idea of the Church, in its religious and spiritual significance, from the earthly associations which had encumbered and obscured it,'¹ and kindle and lift the hearts of serious Churchmen by reminding them that the kingdom of Christ, at present here under 'Anglican' forms, has a majesty independent of State-connexion, a capacity, long unimagined, for self-expansion throughout the vast domain of English speech, and an aptitude for representing, with real dignity and impressive emphasis, the whole range

¹ Dean Church, *Advent Sermons*, p. 82.

of religious ideas which centre in the Christian hierarchy. It is, indeed, particularly opportune that, at a time when democracy claims to dominate in the spiritual sphere as well as in the temporal, there should appear at the chief historic centres of our Church life an ecclesiastical assemblage which, in its purely episcopal constitution, resembles the great ancient synods, and thus far witnesses for the principle, essential to Apostolic Churchmanship, that after full recognition of the spiritual rights of baptized communicants and of ordained ministers, it is on the chief pastors of the flock that our Lord has imposed a supreme solicitude and a unique and final responsibility. We cannot wonder that persons whose standpoint is that of religious individualism should look somewhat coldly on this great prelatic concourse; nor that an Erastian Broad Churchman, like the late Dean Stanley, should have regarded the first Lambeth Conference with an unfriendliness which represented a true instinct. Men of all schools would see, more or less distinctly, what the phenomenon meant. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the bringing together of bishops of the Home Church, of Ireland, Scotland, India, the Colonies, and the United States, involved some anomalies which craved wary walking, and suggested some uncertainties which might excuse a certain amount of uneasiness. The time available was very short—it might seem too short—for the mature consideration of all the momentous *agenda*. The members of the consultative body were not bound by absolutely identical standards, nor was the *lex supplicandi* in all cases the same. (We refer, *e.g.*, to the non-recognition of the Athanasian Creed in the American formularies, and to the unhappy ‘deformation’ which ignorant partisanship has inflicted on the Irish Prayer-Book.) The body itself, as a whole, was external to the legal system of the Church of England, as such; its resolutions, whatever they might be, could not override those of provincial synods within the provinces of Canterbury and of York; it was not itself, properly speaking, a synod; it could not, therefore, in any strict sense ‘commit’ the Church; and yet she might be morally compromised, in the eyes of the world at large, by utterances proceeding from a source which on her own principles, must be regarded as so venerable. Or again, to speak more plainly, it could not but be felt that bishops, like other men, were liable to indiscretions; that some might have what, in homely phrase, would be called ‘fads,’ and might push them forward inconsiderately—might mistake ecclesiastical sentimentalism for that much

rarer thing, ecclesiastical statesmanship—might neglect to ask themselves the proverbially pertinent question, ‘Can’t you let it alone?’—might forget that vague language on complicated subjects, however satisfying for the moment, is fruitful in embarrassments for the future—might be ambitious of inaugurating new departures, and over-ready to try heroic experiments—or might, from controversial motives, be bent on obtaining for the English Church the *προστασία* and *ἡγεμονία* of a miscellaneous Continental anti-Romanism. It was not less reasonable than loyal to check such misgivings by the hope that, in spite of the risk of premature decisions during the last few days of the Conference, the collective ‘practical wisdom’ of the whole company would go far to correct any ill-advised action on the part of individuals, or sections swayed by individuals; an expectation which, on the whole, will appear to be justified by the formulated results of debates in full sessions, as they are now presented to the Church. We say, ‘on the whole,’ because, as will presently be seen, there are some passages in the document adopted by the Conference which we think open to exception, and as to which, perhaps, it may be surmised that another week of discussion would have brought them into a more acceptable shape; while for much the larger part of that document, and for the spirit and tone which pervade it, we can but express a thankfulness which neither requires nor admits of qualification.

And now to give some answer to the question, What has the Conference done?

In the authorized pamphlet before us, the Encyclical letter begins with a solemn address, which, in the very ring of its language, indicates the ‘Churchly’ spirit in which the Conference regarded its own function:

‘To the Faithful in Christ Jesus, greeting: We, Archbishops, Bishops Metropolitan, and other Bishops of the Holy Catholic Church, in full communion with the Church of England, one hundred and forty-five in number, all having superintendence over dioceses, or lawfully commissioned to exercise episcopal functions therein, assembled from divers parts of the earth, at Lambeth Palace, in the year of our Lord 1888, under the presidency of the Most Reverend Edward, by Divine Providence Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, after receiving in the chapel of the said palace the Blessed Sacrament of the Lord’s Body and Blood, and uniting in prayer for the guidance of the Holy Spirit, have taken into consideration various questions which have been submitted to us, affecting the welfare of God’s people and the condition of the Church in divers parts of the world.’

It will be seen that the number of prelates 'attending the Conference' came within five of the 'hundred and fifty' associated in Church history with the name of that Council of Constantinople which, by virtue of subsequent acceptance, is reckoned as the second Œcumenical Synod. The Archbishop of Canterbury opened the proceedings on the last day of June, by bidding a solemn welcome, from 'the patriarchal marble chair' in his metropolitan church, to his assembled brethren, 'most dear and to him most reverend.' We quote but a few words from this characteristic 'allocution,' as it is somewhat significantly named :

'Welcome to the chair which, when filled least worthily, most takes up its own parable, and speaks of unbroken lines of government and law and faith, and forgets not the yet earlier Christianity of the land whose lines soon flowed into and blended with the Roman and the Gallic and the Saxon strains. Round this chair have clustered the glorious memorials you see through ages—none more dear than his who spoke from it last, with a pathos and a courage quite his own. . . . We know how dear to you is this sanctuary of our fathers and yours—yes, of your Father and our Father. And even because of the potency of its deep appeal to us to be holy in worship, pure in doctrine, strong in life—even for this appeal's sake we bid you remember the pregnant words of Gregory to Augustine himself, "Non pro locis res, sed pro bonis rebus loca amanda sunt."'

The rest of His Grace's brief address consisted of a comment on those often-quoted words. He preached to the same auditors on the following Monday, at a solemn evensong in the great Abbey-church which he described as 'differing, even in plan and structure, from every sanctuary in the land,' and thus 'the symbol of all those forces which work not subordinated but in alliance ;' that 'wondrous fabric,' the 'witness' of which 'to things spiritual no man ever failed to see, hear, read.' This discourse was the utterance of a fervid and poetical mind, with a stronger tendency to the contemplation of ideals than would, perhaps, have been appreciated by his predecessor. The leading thought was the *livingness* of the Church, and her power of welding together the past and the present ; a plea was made for 'strong centres' of Church activity, for manifoldness of auxiliary organization, for definitiveness of spiritual aim. We must needs quote two or three passages :

'We know well that spiritual life may be real without apostolic form ; only we seem to see that, even in its most beautiful and manifold manifestations, it cannot without that form propagate itself indefinitely. . . . On the other hand, we know well that there may

be apostolic form without spiritual life, and that, like any other form that lacks life, its end is to break up and supply pabulum for lower forms of life. Our own humble, hopeful confidence lies in the possession of apostolic form with fervent spiritual charity and living faith.' 'The philanthropy of the gospel without its philotheism is popular. But its philanthropy will never live without its philotheism, any more than the form of a Church will live without the spirit.' 'A poor, unprovided, dependent clergy is scarcely able to be an unworldly one, and certainly cannot betoken an unworldly laity.' 'To say "Christianity is not a theology," is in one sense true, because Christianity is a life. But it would be quite as true to say, Christianity is not a history, or, Christianity is not a worship. But you cannot have the life without the worship, without the history, or without the theology.'

We do not think that our readers will complain of our having detained them, by these extracts, from the contents of the official pamphlet, in which we could wish that the Primate's sermon had been included. We proceed to remind them that the first session of the Conference occupied the first week of July; that its second and third weeks were devoted to the work of no less than twelve committees; and that their Reports were presented in the fourth week, at the final session, when the drafting and consideration¹ of the 'Encyclical Letter' and the formal 'resolutions' brought the actual business to a close. On Saturday, July 28, the concluding service, in St. Paul's, consisting of a choral Eucharist, celebrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with a sermon by the Archbishop of York, was attended by all, or nearly all, the bishops, together with members of the Lower Houses of both Convocations, and of the Canterbury House of Laymen. The episcopal procession advancing into the choir, with the cross of Canterbury glittering on high in front of the Primate, as he walked between the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London to take his place, in 'eastward position,' at the altar, was a sight to live long in glad remembrance.

The Encyclical and the accompanying Resolutions will be best understood in the light of the Reports of committees which were in the first instance considered, and which, as the

¹ How deliberate this consideration was, we know from Archbishop Benson's letter in reply to the querulous criticisms of the Bishop of Liverpool, who had thought fit to occupy himself with 'diocesan business' during the specially important final session. It is significant that this episcopal representative of Puritanism had to admit that he was in this case one of 'a very small minority.' His own qualifications for 'assuming the airs of an Elijah towards his episcopal brethren' were examined by the *Spectator* in two articles, the first of which began, 'The Bishop of Liverpool hates Popery; but what a Pope he would make!'

former reminds us, 'can only be taken to represent the mind of the Conference so far as they are reaffirmed, or directly adopted, in the Resolutions.' We could almost wish that the unauthoritative character of the Reports had been emphasized by presenting them in smaller type.

It would, indeed, be best to read first the Reports on the several subjects, then the Resolutions corresponding to them, and then to take up the Encyclical, which was drawn up after the Resolutions, and refers to them.

First of all, then, comes the Report of the committee on Intemperance, which is followed by those relating to Purity, Divorce, and Polygamy; then follow Reports on 'Sunday Observance, Socialism, the care of Emigrants, mutual relations of the Dioceses and Branches of the Anglican communion, Home reunion, the relation of the Anglican communion to Scandinavian and other reformed Churches, to the Old Catholics and other reforming bodies, its relation to the Eastern Churches,' and 'Authoritative Standards of doctrine and worship.' It may seem rather strange (especially when infidelity is so aggressive) that the subject of religious belief, and of its due doctrinal expression, was not put first in order; and while we recognize the desire of the Conference to emphasize its regard for moral interests, we cannot but regret that occasion was thus unintentionally given to a secular newspaper to patronize the bishops for having thus far kept 'dogmas' in due subordination. The Encyclical, to some extent, restores the more appropriate sequence of subjects by inserting, after the paragraph about emigrants, a weighty section on 'definite teaching of the faith,' which concludes by recommending to the clergy 'cautious and industrious treatment' of questions raised by popular scepticism, and by urging them to make the Person of Christ 'the central thought of their teaching. . . . The work of the Church is the application and extension of the blessings of the Incarnation,'¹ and her teaching the development of its doctrinal issues as contained in the creeds of the Church' (p. 13). How much of true theology is concentrated in this one sentence! We could wish that it were well pondered and laid to heart by all the younger clergy.

The Report on Intemperance treats 'total abstinence' as 'the main weapon to be used in the warfare against this widely prevailing sin,' but distinctly negatives the assumption that such abstinence is a universal Christian duty, and cen-

¹ This phrase, in effect, explains and guards the more condensed phrase, 'extension of the Incarnation,' the true sense of which is drawn out in R. Wilberforce's *Doctrine of the Incarnation*, c. xiii.

sures 'the fanaticism which sometimes makes the total abstainer talk of his abstinence as the one thing needful,' &c. (pp. 34-37). But the Resolution simply 'commends the Report to the consideration of the Church, without pledging itself to all the statements and opinions embodied' therein, and supplies in the following momentous words a warning which the Report had omitted :

'The Bishops assembled in this Conference declare that the use of unfermented juice of the grape, or any liquid other than true wine *diluted or undiluted*, as the element in the administration of the cup in Holy Communion, is unwarranted by the example of Our Lord, and is an unauthorized departure from the custom of the Catholic Church' (p. 21).

Nothing could be more satisfactory ; not only is the true matter of the Sacrament guarded against a substitution which involves unintentional sacrilege, but the Conference, as some critics would think, goes out of its way to express a recognition of the primitive usage of 'the Mixture.'¹ For this, we observe, it has been honoured by a scolding from Lord Grimthorpe.

The Conference unanimously adopted the Report on the subject of Purity (naturally emanating from a committee of which the Bishop of Durham had been chairman), as expressing its own mind.

The committee on Divorce obtained the approval of the Conference for three conclusions, to the following effect : Divorce (evidently meaning, not *à mensa et thoro*, but *à vinculo*) 'cannot be recognized except for fornication or adultery ; the guilty party, in such a case, ought not to be remarried in the Church during the lifetime of the innocent party ; but clergy should not be instructed to refuse Church privileges to the innocent party who has remarried under civil sanction' (p. 21) This leaves some ambiguity ; did the Conference mean that such a party should not be remarried in church ? The committee had recommended that the diocesan should be left to instruct the clergy on that point, 'where the laws of the land would permit ;' but this might involve diversities of judgment on the matter. It will, we suppose, be admitted that as a matter of strict *right*, the assertion of a husband's right to dissolve the *vinculum* on account of a wife's unfaithfulness carries with it logically the assertion of the right to contract a new marriage. This, however, is too big a question to be adequately discussed here and now.

¹ At the present time it may be opportune to quote a few words from Bishop Wilson's *Sacra Privata*—Sunday Meditations : 'Upon placing the bread and wine *and water* upon the altar' (ed. Denton, 1853, p. 105).

The committee on Polygamy arrived at a conclusion which should be accepted most thankfully, and perhaps with a sense of relief, by those who believe that the Church has no authority to dispense with the obligations of the law of Christ for those who deliberately adopt His service in baptism (p. 45). This conclusion involved a disregard of much kindly sentimentalism, and of arguments which might be applicable to other heathen customs or institutions beside polygamy. And so the Conference, by 83 votes to 21, advised that 'persons living in polygamy be not admitted to baptism, but that they be accepted as candidates, and kept under Christian instruction until such time as they shall be in a position to accept the law of Christ' (p. 22). The second part of this Resolution is in favour of 'admitting the wives of polygamists to baptism in some cases,' but leaves it to the local Church authorities 'to decide under what circumstances they may be baptized.' The reason for this distinction appears to be stated in 'the Report,' that 'in most countries where polygamy prevails such wives have no personal freedom to contract or dissolve a matrimonial alliance,' and that 'presumably they do not violate the Christian precept which enjoins fidelity to one husband' (p. 46). But do they not live as polygamous wives, and so as acquiescing in a relation which, on the principle of the Resolution, is, as such, incompatible with Christianity?

The chief remarks which suggest themselves as to the Report and Resolution on Sunday Observance is that, whereas the former describes 'the principle of the religious observance of one day in seven' as 'of Divine *and primeval* obligation,' the words which we italicize are omitted in the latter (pp. 48, 22), so as not to commit the Conference to an affirmation of its pre-Mosaic observance; and that whereas the former asserts that 'the first day of the week was ere long adopted by the Church as the *Christian Sabbath* or the Lord's Day,' this inaccurate statement is corrected by the latter, which reads, 'it gradually succeeded, as the great weekly festival of the Christian Church, *to the sacred position of the Sabbath.*'

The Report on Socialism ought to convince outsiders that the Church's attention is seriously directed towards a great social and economical problem, which may become yet more urgent in the near future. It is not explicitly adopted in the Resolution, but 'submitted to the consideration of the Churches of the Anglican communion' (p. 23), as containing 'suggestions which may assist in solving this problem without violence or injustice' (p. 11). These suggestions are forcibly propounded; communism is deprecated, co-operation and thrift

are recommended ; competition is declared to be 'not injurious in itself, but only to become so when unrestricted ;' but 'the protection of the class known as proletarians from the evil effects of unchecked competition' is regarded as within the province of government, and the clergy are advised to study 'economic science,' to 'enter into friendly relations with Socialists' in order 'to understand their aims and methods,'¹ and to show in their teaching 'how property is a trust,' and how 'the call to aid the weak, through works of what is ordinarily known as charity, has been at all times faithfully pressed by the Church of Christ,' while 'the matter is one not merely of charity, but of social and Christian duty,' &c. (pp. 53-7).

The Report on the religious and moral care of Emigrants is a very interesting and thoroughly practical paper (p. 58), which is dealt with by the Conference in the same manner as the preceding Report. The like may be said of the Report on Mutual Relations of Anglican Dioceses or Churches, which, adverting to the Cummins schism, accepts the view of the American episcopate as to the nullity of orders alleged to be thus derived ; recommends the adoption of the title of 'archbishop' by metropolitans of certain 'important provinces ;' approves of the proposal to form a 'council of reference' in England, to advise colonial 'tribunals of appeal ;' and earnestly deprecates revision of the Prayer-Book by this or that province or diocese 'without consultation with other portions of the Anglican communion, and especially with the Church at home' (pp 71-75). Of the last two proposals the Conference declined to adopt the former, preferring to rely on 'patient consideration and consultation' (p. 15) ; while on the latter point the Resolutions virtually endorse, though with some modification of language, the opinion of the committee, and we gladly infer that two of the Irish prelates understood alike its value and its application (p. 24). But the committee, in an Appendix to their Report, suggested that a committee of English bishops, appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with power to consult other bishops and also 'eminent divines outside the episcopal body,' should draw up a 'declaration' of Anglican doctrine on such subjects as the Catholic Faith, the Holy Scriptures, the Sacraments, the Anglican forms of prayer and liturgy, the relation of the Anglican Churches to the Roman and Eastern Churches, and to other Christian Churches and societies, and the relation of the teach-

¹ It is not imagined, we presume, that Socialists would accept 'co-operation' in lieu of their own ideal. See the *Contemporary Review* for September.

ing of the Church of Christ to human knowledge ;' such declaration to be of a character which all 'English-speaking bishops' (a phrase employed in curious obliviousness of Cardinal Manning and his brethren) 'could adopt' (p. 78).¹ Hereupon the Conference, with the caution natural to a larger body, 'requested the Archbishop to give his attention to this Appendix, with a view to action *if*, upon consideration, His Grace should think such action desirable' (p. 24). We hope that His Grace will pause before taking such action, for which, we fear, the condition of Church opinion is hardly ripe. It will be observed that the committee recognized 'difficulties,' and only thought that they might 'possibly be overcome ;' and it is too obvious that to state 'the definite doctrinal grounds upon which the Anglican Churches stand,' without entering upon any 'questions of doubtful controversy,' would be impossible, unless the questions referred to are such as do *not* involve the differences of principle which in fact exist among Anglican Christians.

The next subject is Home Reunion. The committee, of which the Bishop of Sydney was the chairman, recite in their Report certain expressions of a desire for this object on the part of Convocation and of the Colonial and American Churches. We cannot but appreciate the grave moderation which they exhibit in regard to one aspect of the case :

'The Committee, with deep regret, felt that, under present conditions, it was useless to consider the question of reunion with our brethren of the Roman Church, being painfully aware that any proposal for reunion would be entertained by the authorities of that Church only on condition of a complete submission on our part to those claims of absolute authority, and the acceptance of those other errors, both in doctrine and in discipline, against which in faithfulness to God's holy Word, and to the true principles of His Church, we have been for three centuries bound to protest' (p. 85).

The time has been when Anglican prelates would have spoken of the Latin Church in far less measured language—

¹ It is right to add that another committee, presided over by the Bishop of Ely, professed itself 'unable, after careful consideration of the subject, to recommend that any new declaration of doctrine should at the present time be put forth by authority ;' but suggested a different undertaking, the compilation by three or more bishops of a manual for teachers, which should draw 'its statements of doctrine from authoritative documents already existing, but would exhibit them in a completer and more systematic form. It would also naturally include some explanation of the services and ceremonies of the Church. The whole might be preceded by an historical sketch of the position and claims of our communion' (p. 111). The Conference, we are glad to say, did not act on this suggestion.

in language of mere repulsion and denunciation.¹ But when the committee proceed to express an opinion 'that with the chief of the Nonconforming communions there would not only be less difficulty than is commonly supposed as to the basis of a common faith in the essentials of Christian doctrine, but that even in respect of Church government many of the causes which had originally led to secession had been removed, and that both from deeper study, and from larger historical experience, there was in the present day a greater disposition to value and to accept the ancient Church order' (p. 86), we must needs ask whether they had taken account of a steadily increasing deviation, on the part even of Wesleyan Methodists, from the Church doctrine of the Sacraments, and from all that such doctrine involves ;² and whether they seriously imagined (and, if so, on what evidence?) that any one of the 'communions' in question had abated its hostility to a Church system which they are accustomed to condemn on the express ground of its sacerdotalism? The committee proceed to adopt the basis suggested in 1886 by the American House of Bishops : it consists of the Scriptures, the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds (of course, no American bishops could, in their own 'House,' say a word about the Athanasian), 'the two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord . . . and the historic Episcopate,'³ locally adapted in the method of its administration to the varying needs of the nations'—whatever that may imply. It is but right to say that this report, signed by 'Alfred Sydney,' contains not one

¹ The Bishop of Salisbury is reported (*Guardian*, August 15) to have said, when preaching in his cathedral, 'We cannot expect Roman Catholics in this country to receive us as a body ; but we can, I think, by showing our own Catholic position, by affirming our own right to the full heritage of the Church, by openness and frankness, and perfect truthfulness and confidence, and by expecting such openness and frankness from them in return—from individuals, I mean, not from the whole body—we can make a great impression upon individuals ; and I very much wish that the Lambeth Conference had said something hopeful in that direction.' Such noble words from a prelate of the English Church ought to 'make a great impression.'

² For evidence, only too sadly ample, on this point, see *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. xix. pp. 294-99, 322-31.

³ We presume that this phrase was meant to exclude the sham episcopate of the American Methodists, and any so-called episcopate not derived by succession from antiquity, and not carrying with it the 'historic ministry' of Holy Orders. But it would surely have been better to speak more explicitly as to Sacramental administration. However, the 'historic episcopate' is here clearly treated as not a mere ornament, but a necessary condition, of true Church life. Compare Dr. Liddon's sermon, *A Father in Christ*, 2nd ed.

word about a proposal to recognize the validity, notwithstanding the 'irregularity' (a phrase not used in its technical sense), of non-episcopal ministries—according to a report which somehow found its way into the newspapers,¹ and which excited some premature jubilation in certain quarters. The Conference, in its Resolution, adopts the triple basis here described, and, after the American precedent, goes so far as to request the various Anglican Church authorities to announce their 'readiness to enter into brotherly conference with the representatives of other Christian communions in the English-speaking races, in order to consider what steps can be taken, either towards corporate reunion, or towards such relations as may prepare the way for fuller organic unity hereafter.' Here the Encyclical supplies something more distinct in the direction of needful safeguards: 'However we may long to embrace those now alienated from us . . . we must not be unfaithful stewards of the great deposit entrusted to us; we cannot desert our position either as to faith or discipline' (p. 15). Good; then we ask, Is it really supposed that the Scottish Presbyterian communions, or the English Nonconformist sects, are likely to come over to 'our position'? Have they, *as bodies*, indicated the slightest disposition to meet us even half-way? Is it not, on the contrary, quite evident that they have no such desire, and that their avowed principles put it clean out of the question? Did not an eminent Nonconformist not long ago assert

¹ The resolution said to have been proposed by the Bishop of Sydney was, 'That in the opinion of this committee such conferences with Dissenters are likely to be fruitful, under God's blessing, of practical result *only* if undertaken with a willingness on behalf of the Anglican communion, while holding firmly the threefold order of the ministry as the normal rule of the Church, to be observed in the future, to recognize, in spite of what we must conceive as an irregularity, *the ministerial character of those ordained in non-episcopal communions*, through whom, as ministers, it has pleased God visibly to work for the salvation of souls and the advancement of His kingdom, and to provide, in such way as may be agreed upon, for the *acceptance of such ministers* as fellow-workers with us in the service of the Lord Jesus Christ.' This proposal, if it was really made, sustained signal defeat, for it appears nowhere in the Report issued by the chairman. It would not, perhaps, be edifying to inquire *how* it got abroad. Naturally, when made public, it was commented upon in the *Guardian* of August 22. Its scope is more extensive than that of the suggestion made in a published letter by the Bishop of St. Andrews in regard to his favourite hobby of a junction with the Established Scottish Kirk on the basis of leaving the acceptance of holy orders optional on the part of the existing generation of Presbyterian ministers, *in case* that establishment were to join hands with Prelacy, a suggestion, the ecclesiastical disloyalty of which is almost obscured by its peculiar absurdity, in view of the Act of Union and of the whole history of that Kirk.

that the time was come for 'developing' differences instead of smoothing them over? ¹ The Encyclical itself, speaking of 'Christian bodies not of our communion,' takes cognizance of 'the strong ties, the rooted convictions, which attach them to their present position' (p. 16). Can sensible and experienced men, whether bishops, clerics, or laics, expect that such roots will yield to a few suave words? Must we not take it as morally certain that 'eirenic' overtures on the part of a 'sacerdotal Church' would be rejected with thinly-veiled contempt, if not resented as implying a position of superiority? ² We are as anxious as any prelates can be for a true 'Home Reunion,' but we deem it worse than vain to ignore facts; we regard the idea of a 'corporate reunion' on the part of Non-conformist bodies as, humanly speaking, chimerical; and, while we hope, with good reason, for the gathering-in of many individuals from such communities, we confess frankly that we do not wish for conformists, as distinct from converts to Church belief, in the proper sense of the term.

The Report on 'Scandinavians, Old Catholics, and others,' is signed by 'E. Harold Winton' as chairman. We cannot but regret that his lordship, in the earlier part of the year, committed himself somewhat unadvisedly to a practical recognition of the Lutheran 'Swedish Church.' The committee, under his leadership, reports to the effect that 'its standards of doctrine are, to a great extent, in accord with our own, and its continuity as a national Church has never been broken' (p. 90). We must plainly say that this is a very inadequate treatment of the real question involved. The qualification, 'to a great extent,' appears to be intended to except certain parts of the Augsburg Confession. But

¹ Dr. Joseph Parker; see the *Guardian* of May 26, 1886. Also Mr. W. Arthur's language, quoted in the *Contemporary Review* of July 1887; and a quotation in the *Spectator* of April 14, 1888, of Mr. Morley Punshon's language at the Wesleyan Conference of 1874, e.g. 'The time has long gone by when we will listen to any proposal for union, *except on equal terms*.' The *Guardian* is fully warranted in affirming (August 15) that 'Nonconformists will hear of no treaty, of no concessions, unless they can treat on terms of absolute equality;' that the 'rights' which loyal Churchmen 'feel that they have in their Church's ancient and unbroken constitution' are not to be sacrificed in the hope of satisfying outsiders; and that anything implying 'an undervaluing, on our part, of the obligation and necessity of English orders, would put a new lever into the hands of Roman proselytizers.' Framers of comprehension-schemes are apt to forget that such 'rights' exist, and that it would be practically dangerous to ignore them.

² See the *Nonconformist* of August 2, quoted in the *Guardian* of August 8, p. 1181. We cannot but agree with the *Guardian*, that on this subject 'the language of the Conference seems unpractically vague.'

(apart from the question of its succession¹) it is a fact that the Swedish communion has no such rite as the Apostolic ordinance of Confirmation. It is a fact that it has no such order as that of deacons. It is a fact that, within this century, it has substituted the word 'preacher' for the word 'priest,' or 'presbyter,' in its ordination service. It is a fact that its form for 'installing a bishop in office'—the only form by which its episcopate is transmitted—has a highly suspicious likeness to the form, not for 'ordaining' a preacher, but for 'installing' him, when ordained, in an incumbency.² Are these facts to be lightly ignored? Were they unknown to all the fifteen members of the committee? Or were they supposed to have no bearing on the duty of the English Church in regard to Scandinavian Lutheranism? The committee confessed that 'greater difficulties were presented as regards communion with the Norwegian and Danish Churches by the constitution of their ministry,' this somewhat vapid euphemism being substituted for a plain statement of the fact that these 'Churches' do not even profess to retain episcopacy. The Conference, omitting the words quoted from the Report, adopted the proposal of the committee that 'approaches on the part of the Swedish Church with a view to the mutual explanation of differences should be most gladly welcomed, in order to the ultimate establishment, if possible, of intercommunion³ on sound principles of ecclesiastical polity' (pp. 26, 91).

The last words, we suppose, were intended as a *salvo*; and we give them whatever weight they can thus claim, remarking at the same time that we do not regard the possession of an Apostolic ministry as a mere matter of 'polity' or 'Church order.' But we are bound to say that the whole Resolution is unsatisfactorily worded, in view of such grave 'differences' as exist between Swedes and English Churchmen; that it is not a mere question of 'mutual explanations,' as between two co-ordinate Churches; and that, as before, we are glad to fall back on the language of the Encyclical, as interpreting the

¹ It seems probable that the episcopal succession *was* preserved amid the changes of the sixteenth century.

² We say this after careful and repeated examination of the Swedish forms for 'installing a bishop in office,' for 'ordaining to the preacher-office,' and for 'installing a church-pastor.' The word for 'ordaining' is *once* used in the first of these forms; but so the word for 'ordination' is *once* used in the third, where it cannot possibly mean anything but induction. In both, the term ordinarily used is to 'install.' And in the 'ordination of preachers' there is nothing now to indicate an intention of conferring what the Church knows as 'the holy order of priesthood.'

³ The Report says, 'of permanent intercommunion.' The Resolution omits this adjective, probably as superfluous.

resolution to mean that 'fuller knowledge should be sought, and friendly intercourse interchanged, until such time as matters may be ripe for a closer alliance, *without any sacrifice of principles which we hold to be essential*' (p. 16); among which we assume with entire confidence that the principles of Apostolic Confirmation and Ordination hold a place in the bishops' minds, as in our own. The Archbishop of Canterbury has spoken his own mind at Westminster: 'The forces which are set forth in Christ's two Sacraments, and in the Apostolic rites of Confirmation and Ordination, are the forces that cleanse and bind together, that strengthen and organize for growth.'

The paragraph in the Report on the 'Church of Holland' (p. 92) is abbreviated¹ in the Resolution (p. 26), and calls for no especial comment—certainly provokes no objection. Nor do we take exception to the moderately worded proposal that the 'clergy and faithful laity' of the Old Catholic communities in Germany and Switzerland should be admitted to Holy Communion, with the significant proviso that this is not to apply to 'any person who may have contracted a marriage not sanctioned' by Anglican 'laws and canons' (p. 94). The Conference sanctions this offer of 'privileges,' and also agrees with the committee in hoping that the Austrian Old Catholics may some day be sufficiently organized for a 'more formal relation' on our part than is now practicable (p. 26). Then follows, in both documents, a reference to the 'Reformers in Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal.' It is notorious that hopes were entertained as to a practical intervention, by sanction of the Conference, on behalf of the Italian congregations under Count Campello, and the Spanish and

¹ The resolution, perhaps for mere brevity's sake, omits the clause—'As regards ourselves, the Church of Holland is found on inquiry to be in agreement with our Church in many points.' The Bishops of Newcastle and Salisbury, on June 14 in this year, ascertained from the Archbishop of Utrecht that the Church of Holland 'accepts the dogmatic definitions of the Council of Trent, though not its canons of discipline. This of course,' says the Bishop of Salisbury in his account of their visit, 'is a serious difference between us and them. We were glad to find, however, that their priests are not required to sign the creed of Pope Pius IV., which is a great stumbling-block in the way of intercommunion between the Churches. When lectures are given on this creed in the Seminary . . . it is always accompanied with the explanation of the Portuguese Oratorian Pereira, which minimizes its teaching as much as possible.' Mass is said according to the Roman rite, but the beautiful Parisian Breviary is substituted for the Roman. Communion in one kind is still retained, and so is the law of clerical celibacy. 'No acts of reverence are shown towards images or pictures.' The private study of the Bible on the part of laymen is thoroughly 'encouraged.'

Portuguese congregations under Señor Cabrera and others, whose tone appears to be vehemently Protestant.¹ The Irish bishops had postponed any definite response to applications made by the latter until after the late Conference. What says the committee?

‘We sympathize with their efforts to free themselves from the burden of unlawful terms of communion. . . . We trust that in time they may be enabled to adopt such *sound forms of doctrine* and discipline, and to secure such *Catholic organization*, as will permit us to give them a fuller recognition’ (p. 95).²

And the Conference literally adopts their words, which are far enough from giving such sanction as Archbishop Lord Plunket was believed to desire. But this is not all. Assertions have lately been hazarded to the effect that ancient Church principles would permit Anglican bishops, by virtue of a supposed universal jurisdiction inherent in every bishop as such, to interfere at discretion, by episcopal action, within the dioceses of the Continental Church, as now committed to the Vatican decrees. We are not now concerned with the merits of that discussion. But let us hear the committee:

‘We feel it our duty to express the opinion that the consecration, by bishops of our communion, of a bishop, to exercise his functions in a foreign country, within the limits of an ancient territorial jurisdiction, and over the natives of that country, is a step of the gravest importance, and fraught with enduring consequences, the issues of which cannot be foreseen. Whilst the rights of bishops of the Catholic Church to interfere under conditions of *extreme necessity* has always been acknowledged, we deprecate any action that does not carefully regard *primitive and established principles of jurisdiction*, and the interests of the whole Anglican Communion’ (p. 96).

This expression of opinion is summarized in the Resolutions (p. 27); and, the Encyclical, in a paragraph relating to ‘those Continental movements towards Reformation which, under the greatest difficulties, have proceeded mainly on the same lines as our own, retaining Episcopacy as an Apostolic ordinance,’ declares that

‘Though we believe that the time has not come for any direct alliance with any of these, and though we deprecate any precipitancy

¹ We refer to the periodical organ of the Spanish and Portuguese Church Aid Society, *Light and Truth*, January and July 1887.

² The Report goes on to express a hope that the Gallican Declaration of 1682, and ‘the advances made by Archbishop Wake in correspondence with the Doctors of the Sorbonne towards establishing a basis for inter-communion between the Churches of France and England, may one day again form the basis for hopeful negotiations.’ Dr. Pusey would have rejoiced over such words.

of action which would transgress primitive and established principles of jurisdiction, we believe that advances may be made without sacrifice of these, and we entertain the hope that the time may come when a more formal alliance with some, at least, of these bodies will be possible' (p. 17).

This is such caution as is really brave, because it involves reliance on the abiding force of Catholic principles of order, and is content for their sake to risk the imputation of 'formalism' or of 'coldness.'

The Moravians' case is referred to in the Resolutions, with a request that 'a committee of bishops should be empowered to confer with learned theologians and with the heads of the *Unitas Fratrum*, and to report to the Archbishop of Canterbury before the end of the current year' (p. 27). We predict that such a committee will find the 'Brethren' in question to have had no real episcopate, even before the death of their last so-called bishop in 1671. The sanction given by Archbishop Wake and Bishop Wilson to the claims made by Zinzendorf will be found, we believe, to have been based on imperfect information.¹

From the little sect of 'United Brethren' to the 'Holy Orthodox Eastern Church' is indeed a transition of some magnitude. The committee, presided over by the Bishop of Winchester, speaks with respect and tenderness of the great communion whose patriarchs and other prelates have exchanged such friendly greetings with Anglican archbishops, and with the present Bishop of Gibraltar, to whom, we must needs say, Churchmen owe deep thanks for his efforts to promote a better understanding between the East and England in the area of religious life and thought. The Report goes some way in an 'Orientalizing' direction with regard to the clause *Filioque*. 'This clause,' which was 'inserted² without

¹ See *Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, and Schools of Thought*, p. 342. It should be observed that the preceding Lambeth Conference placed the question of the relation of the Anglican Church to the Moravians under consideration of a committee, which never presented a report. The committee of the late Conference, 'in the short time allowed them, were unable to make sufficient inquiry into the details of the subject.' They could only say that 'from time to time eminent bishops and Churchmen' had given the Moravians 'the sympathy and support due to a zealous body of Christians imbued with a primitive spirit, and *claiming* to possess a valid episcopate.' Do they, indeed, make such a claim? and, if they do, on what grounds?

² They say, 'inserted in the Creed of Constantinople, *erroneously called the Nicene Creed*.' There is a touch of pedantic over-refinement in this description of a symbol which, in its characteristically anti-Arian portion, may with truth be called a recension of the Creed of Nicæa. See *Church Quarterly Review*, xvi. 400.

any Conciliar authority' (meaning, without the authority of a General Synod) 'by the Latin Church,'¹ 'which has the prescription of centuries, and is capable of being explained in an orthodox sense, it may be *very difficult to remove*' (p. 101). Such language, we think, will be found just a little startling. We not only acknowledge, but would assert, that the insertion of the clause was ecclesiastically unlawful; and that this fact ought never to be, as it sometimes has been, evaded or ignored. We presume that the 'orthodox sense' referred to is one which excludes what the Latins have so often disclaimed in discussion with the Greeks, the notion of *two* 'sources of the Godhead.' But we are left to conjecture as to whether the committee would interpret *Filioque* of the 'temporal mission,' or of an 'eternal procession from the Father through the Son.' And we might have expected an episcopal committee to be more guarded in its reference to a question so grave and so delicate as that of touching the text of the creed of Western Christendom. As matters now stand, we cannot but admit the force of Dr. Liddon's contention, that 'the excision of the *Filioque* from' the Anglican version of 'the Nicene Creed would erect a fresh barrier between ourselves and the larger portion of Western Christendom,' and 'introduce' (at any rate, for the time) 'confusion of the most painful description into churches of the Anglican communion.'² In short, as we are not responsible for the insertion, so we are not in a position to annul it without an adequate Western *consensus*.

Other 'difficulties' mentioned are the Eastern usages as to immersion in baptism, confirmation, and, still more, 'the use of icons,'³ the invocation of saints, and the cultus of the Blessed Virgin, nothing, we observe, being said against Eastern doctrine about the Eucharist.

The sincerity of Anglican disclaimers of 'proselytism' will hardly be questioned by those who read this Report:

'Your committee would impress upon their fellow-Christians the propriety of abstaining from all efforts to induce individual members of the Orthodox Eastern Church to leave their own communion. If some be dissatisfied with its teaching or usages, and find a lack of

¹ This will be misunderstood by general readers who do not know that Rome for some time objected to the recitation of *Filioque*; witness Leo III. and his silver tablets. He held the Double Procession to be true, but one of those truths which had not been put by due authority into the Creed.

² *Report of Bonn Conference*, 1875, pref. p. xliii.

³ Allowance is made for the natural bias of the second Nicene Council 'against the rationalizing measures, as they were regarded, of the iconoclastic Emperors;' while it is deemed a 'duty to assert that our Church

spiritual life in its worship, they should be advised not to leave the Church of their baptism, but, by remaining in it, to endeavour to become centres of life and light to their own people ; more especially as the Orthodox Eastern Church has never committed itself to any theory which would make it impossible to reconsider and revise its standards and practice' (p. 102).

In accordance with this, the Conference in its Resolutions 'recommends that the counsels and efforts of our fellow-Christians should be directed to the encouragement of internal reformation in the Eastern Churches, rather than to the drawing away from them of individual members of their communion' (p. 28).

And so in the Encyclical :

'The Eastern Church is reasonably outraged by' the 'proceedings' of Roman proselytisers, 'wholly contrary as they are to *Catholic principles* ; and it behoves us of the Anglican Communion to take care that we do not offend in like manner. Individuals craving fuller light and stronger spiritual life may, by remaining in the Church of their baptism, become centres of enlightenment to their own people. But though all schemes of proselytising are to be avoided, it is only right that our real claims and position as a historical Church should be set before a people who are very distrustful of novelty, especially in religion, and who appreciate the history of *Catholic antiquity*' (p. 18).

Such pronouncements, we trust, will be of real help to Bishop Blyth in his relations with the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria. They will certainly be most gratifying to Catholic-minded Churchmen at home.

The last of the Reports is concerned with 'authoritative standards of faith and worship.' It reaffirms the declaration made at former conferences as to union

'under one Divine Head, in the fellowship of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church, holding the one faith revealed in Holy Writ, defined in the Creeds, maintained by the primitive Church, and affirmed by the undisputed "Œcumenical" Councils,'¹

a recognition explained as, in effect, including the fifth and sixth Councils in its scope (p. 106).

Unfortunately, neither a committee nor a Conference including American prelates can be understood in its collective capacity to include the *Quicumque vult* among the creeds. This is not the fault of the bishops recently assembled ; it

has never accepted the teaching of that Council in reference to the veneration of sacred pictures.' Here, again, is the language of dignified calmness, instead of such as ultra-Protestants might have used.

¹ The Report here quotes, in a note, the famous canon 'about preachers,' and 1 Eliz. i. c. 36.

was unfortunately involved in the very idea of a consultative meeting in which the American Church was to be represented. Accordingly the *Quicunque* is referred to (not without warrant¹) as a 'hymn,' and the committee (in which sat three bishops from the United States, besides two from Ireland) emphatically accepts it under that name,

'whether or not recited in the public worship of our churches, as resting upon certain warrant of Scripture, and as most useful, both at home and in our missions, in ascertaining and defining the fundamental mysteries of the Holy Trinity and of the Incarnation, . . . and thus guarding believers from lapsing into heresy.'

'In relation to the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit, while we believe that there is no fundamental diversity of faith between the Churches of the East and West,² we recognize the historical fact that the clause *Filioque* makes no part of the Nicene Symbol, as set forth by the authority of the undivided Church.'

'We are of opinion that, as opportunity arises, it would be well to revise the English version of the Nicene Creed and of the *Quicunque vult*' (p. 107).

Of these three statements the Resolutions notice only the third, and adopt it in a more tentative form. The Archbishop of Canterbury is requested 'to take counsel with such persons as he may see fit to consult, with a view to ascertaining *whether* it is desirable to revise the English version of the Nicene Creed *or* of the *Quicunque vult*' ('carried by 57 votes to 20,' p. 28). Now we do not well understand what was the

¹ Keble, in the *Lyra Apostolica*, called it a 'psalm'; and Cardinal Newman, in the *Grammar of Assent*, emphasizes this mediæval description of it, when he speaks of it as 'a psalm or hymn of praise, of confession, and of profound self-prostrating homage.' It was not, of course, compiled as a hymn, but rather as an 'expositio fidei catholicæ'; hence it was sometimes called a 'sermo.' And, abating the error as to its authorship, we cannot but acquiesce in the statement of St. Thomas (*Secunda Secundæ*, i. 10. 3), 'Athanasius non composuit manifestationem fidei per modum symboli, sed magis per modum cuiusdam doctrinæ; ut ex ipso modo loquendi apparet.'

² The Report here refers to the proceedings of the Bonn Conference of 1875. But the final agreement, on that occasion, was only reached by admitting into the doctrinal statement certain words of John of Damascus, 'the Holy Spirit of God the Father, as proceeding from Him, which is also called the Spirit of the Son, as manifested and imparted to the creation through Him, but not having His existence from Him' (*Report of Bonn Conference*, p. 104). This was, *pro tanto*, a victory for the Orientals; for although Dr. Liddon suggests in his preface that the Conference was 'not strictly committed to the texts extracted from St. John of Damascus,' it is clear from Dr. Döllinger's recorded words that the Orientals' assent to the proposition, 'The Holy Ghost issues out of the Father through the Son,' was to be understood in the sense of the words above quoted.

purpose of this suggestion. As to the *Quicunque*, a committee which spoke so worthily of its doctrinal value could not intend to prepare the way for its disuse in our English Church service; and a revised version of the original Latin could only make such changes as the substitution of 'would' for 'will,' or 'eternal' for 'everlasting,' or of 'was made' for 'is made,' or 'and the Son' for 'and of the Son,' or of 'severally' for 'by Himself,' or, perhaps, of 'infinite' for 'incomprehensible,' and the insertion of 'He is' before 'God, of the substance of the Father,' and 'Man, of the substance of His Mother,' and the addition of 'firmly' to 'faithfully'; unless, indeed, questions were to be raised as to the structural unity of the Latin text as it now stands; or unless favour were to be shown to Dr. Neale's conjecture that 'solo' and 'et Filio' are ancient interpolations.¹ But as to the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, is the 'revision' to represent the Greek text as sanctioned at Chalcedon, and thus to bring home to English readers the fact that the *Filioque* was a gloss which was introduced, not fraudulently but ignorantly, under the influence of Augustinian language, by Spanish bishops into their copies of the Latin version? Or is it intended, furthermore, to prepare the minds of Churchmen, by familiarity with the exact rendering of the original, for an ultimate 'removal' of the interpolation? It were to be wished that the committee, and, for that matter, that the Conference, had seen fit to preclude uncertainty and disquiet,² on so important a point, by a few words of explanation. Doubtless, apart from this question, the 'Nicene Creed' might be more accurately represented in English. The word 'of' is not now satisfactory as an equivalent for *ἐκ*, and 'worlds' might well be altered into 'ages,' and 'substance' into 'essence;' 'the' is certainly needed before 'Giver of life;' and the omission of 'holy' between 'one' and 'Catholic,' however it may be accounted for, must be regarded as unfaithful. Of course a proper punctuation would place a semi-

¹ Neale, *Introd. Hist. East. Ch.* ii. 1159.

² We must needs think the Dean of Manchester very ill-advised in 'welcoming the spontaneous and unexpected decision of the bishops to touch the question of the Creeds under no pressure, and in obedience to no party cry, as affording a hope of a safe escape, without clamour or panic, out of a real practical difficulty' (see report in *Guardian* of August 22). What does Dean Oakley understand by 'touching the question of the Creeds'? We know pretty well where and how *his* words will be 'welcomed.' They will be taken to mean more than, we trust, he means: more, certainly, than the Conference documents warrant. And we cannot but feel some anxiety as to certain words in the programme of the Manchester Church Congress—'the adaptation of the . . . *Creeds* to modern needs.'

colon before, if not both before and after, 'by Whom all things were made.'

The question of the relation of 'newly-constituted Churches, particularly in non-Christian lands,' to the Anglican 'standards of doctrine and worship,' occupies the next section of the same committee's Report. 'The Sacramental offices and the Ordinal' should not, they suggest, be 'materially' altered without the virtual assent of 'the whole communion.' Greater freedom is deemed admissible with regard to other offices. The Thirty-nine Articles are described as, '*for the most part*, accurate in their language, and reserved and moderate in their definitions.' 'The omission of a few clauses in a few Articles' would remove all 'imputation of injustice or harshness. At the same time we feel that the Articles are not all of equal value, that *they are not, and do not profess to be, a complete statement of Christian doctrine*' (p. 110). It is recommended that missionary Churches should not be 'recognized as in complete intercommunion with our own,' except on condition of their adopting 'Articles in accordance with the positive statements of our own standards.'

Again we feel that such language indicates a very considerable advance beyond the point at which Anglican bishops would some years ago have taken stand, when the Thirty-nine Articles were in question. The Conference, briefly in its Resolutions, more fully in its Encyclical, endorses the views herein expressed. Another significant feature of the Encyclical is the precedence given among 'standards of doctrine and worship' to 'the Prayer-Book with its Catechism, and the Ordinal,' before the Articles (p. 18).

We have now completed our survey of the proceedings of this remarkable Conference; and, while we have freely commented on certain utterances which appear to us more or less ill-advised—and are also painfully sensible of the contrast between its exhortations to reunion, or hopes of intercommunion, and the renewal of a war *à outrance* on the part of Puritanical 'irreconcilables,' indicative of deep divisions on principle not disguised by litigation about externals,—it is, nevertheless, matter of solid satisfaction to observe in the general character of the Lambeth Resolutions and Encyclical that fidelity which bishops, beyond all men, owe to theological traditions that pertain to the continuity of the Church.

ART. II.—MARTINEAU'S STUDY OF RELIGION.

A Study of Religion: its Sources and Contents. By JAMES MARTINEAU, D.D., LL.D., late Principal of Manchester New College, London. (Oxford, 1888.)

THIS great work forms a sister treatise to the *Types of Ethical Theory*, and the author has dispensed his rich stores of eloquence and learning upon the theme of Religion with as lavish a hand as upon that of morals. The reader will find, at the commencement of the present work, an account of the reasons which prescribed to him this order of treatment, and gave precedence to the question of ethics. We are bound to say that these reasons do not seem to us wholly decisive. It is indeed profoundly true that without morals religion is 'presented in the leanest condition, without any resource for investing it with fresh plenitude and grace' (i. 18); that the conscience, with its 'intuition of what ought to be, beyond anything that is, has contact with a mystery' (i. 22), and reveals to us, 'not simply the thought of one mind, but the relation between two, both the seat of the same conscious moral order, the one its infinite archetype, the other the finite image' (i. 23); that 'ethics must either perfect themselves in religion, or degrade themselves into Hedonism' (i. 26); and that the very inability which our ethics in their present earthly form experience in passing into the transcendent sphere of religion 'opens up the conception and belief of a life beyond the present' (i. 32). It is also true that, when we come to treat of the *contents* of religion, it is impossible to display them without constant resort to moral ideas. For in the adaptation of religion to man's moral nature its chief wealth consists, and the practice of religion, if it possess any reality, employs man's moral nature as its most indispensable instrument. But when you trace the sources of religion, as Dr. Martineau with such irresistible power traces them, to the primary conditions of human knowledge, and the necessary relations of man to the world in which he lives, it would seem plain that this department of his work is in its nature prior to the subject of morals. The question how we know anything must precede the question how we know right from wrong. And accordingly, Dr. Martineau is compelled, in the progress of his present work, to go over again the field of ethics, and recapitulate much of what he has said in the previous treatise. It would be impertinent

in us to suggest the welding of the two works into one ; but it is no harm to say that a reader bent on mastering them both would not do ill if he began with the first volume of the *Study of Religion*, and read the earlier treatise in connexion with that division of the present work which treats of the conscience and its testimony to its author. Each work is splendid by itself, but the union of the two forms one of our noblest monuments of intellect and spiritual power.

It will be gathered, from what we have already said, that in tracing the sources of religion Dr. Martineau makes long and patient use of those philosophical gifts in which no contemporary excels him. He is right ; and no one who declines to follow him can make any claim to have dug the foundation of his religious philosophy to the requisite depth. The details of the dealings of God and man must be in their nature dependent upon the powers which man possesses of coming into contact with God ; and how, except by the aid of philosophy, can these be stated ? No such effectual answer can be made to the sceptic as the proof that the powers which enable us to know anything, even our own ignorance, lead us necessarily beyond that prison-room of sense in which he asserts us to be confined. Dr. Martineau introduces his work by an apposite anecdote of a Positivist, who pronounced that 'you cannot make the slightest concession to metaphysics without ending in a theology.' Good proof that, if we enter these dark passages with a proper guide, we need not fear that we shall be left in them ; we shall but traverse them to reach a higher position and a clearer air than that in which we find ourselves now.

And let not the reader tremble. He will find that this long metaphysical journey is wonderfully enlivened by the eloquence of his author. We find it hard to express our admiration of the copiousness of imagery and powers of amplification by which Dr. Martineau entices us to dwell upon difficult distinctions until we have insensibly come to understand them, and solaces us with the delights of poetry without ever losing the precision of prose. His style in its splendour and surprising turns of illustration, reminds us not seldom of Jeremy Taylor and his stately periods, as when we read that 'the rule of right, the symmetries of character, the requirements of perfection, are no provincialisms of this planet. They are known among the stars ; they reign beyond Orion and the Southern Cross ; they are wherever the universal Spirit is ; and no subject-mind, though it fly on one track for ever, can escape beyond their bounds' (i. 28) ; or, in treating of

the teleology of the human eye, are reminded that 'it is not required that we should count the stars of the Milky Way, or make portraits of the people of Jupiter, or classify the minerals of the moon' (i. 361).

We have not only Dr. Martineau's eloquence, but his wit to bear us company and to beguile the way. Would Mr. Mill help us to attain the knowledge of an external world by assuring us that other people have the same sensations of it as ourselves, Dr. Martineau replies: 'Till we have got the door open out of our own egoistic chamber, and found that there is a field beyond, it is premature to serve a summons upon inconceivable people there to come and bear witness to its existence. . . . Over this impassable chasm, cutting off the idealist from the negative of self, Mr. Mill ventures on his personal leap. But he does not help us to follow him, or tell us how he manages to leave himself behind him' (i. 107-8). Does Mr. Darwin trace the cuckoo's uninvited occupation of the nests of other birds to the perpetuation of a mistake originally made by one of the species, Dr. Martineau remarks that, if a casual slip can thus be stereotyped and transmitted, 'a gentleman knocking at the wrong door for a dinner engagement, and shown into the drawing-room, might become the founder of a new race, with whom it would be a moral axiom to entertain everybody's guest but your own' (i. 286). Do we find people complaining of the unfilled space in the universe as a blemish in nature; 'as if,' says our author, 'space were a precious bit of City building ground, a hundred guineas a yard, in dealing with which the architect is bound to be very niggard in economy' (i. 355). Dr. Bain would resolve the phenomena of the will into the contest of opposing motives within us, to the strongest of which we must yield ourselves. 'How,' asks Dr. Martineau, 'do they manage this experiment? What is going on during this pause? He does not reveal the secret. It is a battle in the dark, or behind the scenes, as in the classic drama, that lets no horrors come upon the stage. All we know is that at last the door is opened, and the volition, stepping into the daylight, reports which is the victor and which is the slain' (ii. 234). We must leave the reader to study and interpret for himself the parable of the boarding-school at which, whenever at full moon the thermometer at eight A.M. is below 45°, and the price of corn not more than 50s. per quarter, there is plum pudding for dinner instead of apple dumpling (ii. 244).

But one more humorous page we must notice, because it introduces us straight into our subject; that, namely, in which

Agnosticism is described as posting a notice at the very approach to our inquiry that there is no way through.

‘This doctrine of nescience professes to be the result of an exhaustive scrutiny of the cognitive faculties, and an exact measurement of their resources against the objects to which they may address themselves. These processes of psychological stock-taking we have apparently as much reason to dread as the mismanaging director to shrink from the audit of his accounts. For somehow they are always disclosing bad debts, and reducing our intellectual capital nearer to bankruptcy’ (i. 37).

We have then, if we may further apply Dr. Martineau's image, to make up the spiritual accounts of the soul, and appraise our intellectual assets at their proper and permanent value. We have to disregard temporary depreciations, to which even the best securities are liable, and to remember not only that many fortunes have been lost by investing in stocks which had no real values behind them, but many fortunes gained through buying up in evil days the genuine scrip which is sure to rise. It is a matter of course that in commencing this investigation Dr. Martineau should address himself to Kant's theory of the grounds and limits of human knowledge, and in chap. i. of the first book we have accordingly a succinct account of that great thinker's survey of man's intellectual powers. They are incapable, he tells us, of furnishing any materials to our belief beyond the limits of the world of sense. They can but manipulate and arrange the images that reach it from the outer world, and are endowed with powers for this limited purpose. But beyond this earthly sphere the understanding cannot reach, and whatever imaginations and illusions may float around it and seem to enlarge its view into regions which are supernatural and eternal are really only derived from earthy sources, bearing earth's stamp of transitoriness and limitation. In the following chapter Dr. Martineau comments upon Kant's doctrine, and justifies it with certain important modifications as sufficient to give an intelligible account of our belief in the existence of an external material world.

In the hands of the followers of Kant his system was divested of the doctrines which still separated it from pure idealism. And the mind which already was responsible for all the form and colour of the things of which it thinks was required to make itself responsible for the very existence of the things themselves, as a creditor who has already seized upon all the furniture of the house might at last be requested to take possession of the house itself. Nor, indeed, is it easy to say what the ‘thing in itself’ in which Kant retained his

belief as something existing outside the understanding, may be, or what title it can present to our recognition of its existence when it is supposed to be divested even of any connexion with time or with space. And, therefore, our self is presented by Fichte as the sole author and proprietor of the world and all things in it. But this is too much wealth: it oppresses the possessor. When we find ourselves creators of everything that we think about we feel like greedy feeders who have eaten up everything before us, and are conscious of a surfeit without at the same time seeing where we are to find another meal. And Schelling helps us to bear our burden by showing that we are not merely individuals, but merged in the absolute and universal mind, in the power of which our intellects create for themselves this wonderful world. Hegel pursues the same idea so far as to represent the things on which we look as, like ourselves who look on them, phases of the universal reason—thought and life as one continual passage of the self into the not-self, and of the not-self into the self. In Schopenhauer the understanding looks on in helpless despair upon the blind work of will, which is not a free faculty either of man or of God, but another name for the material frame of the world and of man rushing horribly forward into ever greater misery. Hartmann reunites the will with the understanding, and acknowledges that nature displays not merely blind force, but force directed to a purpose; but the force in nature is unconscious, and we ourselves, endowed with the fatal gift of consciousness, find ourselves in the grasp of an awful power, endowed with illimitable force, patience, and ingenuity, directed to ends which are chosen at random, without reference either to its own happiness or to ours. Mr. Mill elaborately explains our belief in the world about us by assuming as the basis of his explanations the very belief which he professes to explain.

This long and varied history of thought leaves behind it at all events one great and permanent lesson—the relativity of human knowledge, a doctrine foreshadowed indeed in some measure by the ancients, but in our time extended to the whole sphere of thought. And Dr. Martineau gives a wholesome admonition when he reminds us that the law of relativity

‘tells impartially on the whole field claimed by the human intellect. . . . It is commonly assumed that only metaphysical and theological entities are affected by this law, and that while it despatches them into the limbo of vanity it installs the scientific conceptions in possession of the field which they vacate. . . . This assumption is, however, absolutely baseless. If I am at the mercy of my own intellectual

constitution when I trust my idea of *Space*, of *Substance*, or of *Cause*, and of my moral constitution when I accept the reality of *Obligation*, I am no less at the mercy of my percipient constitution when I register as fact the forms, the weights, the features, the movements of the physical world' (i. 120).

In either case we have something which we can know, but it is known to us only through our acceptance of the mystery on which all knowledge depends. Many people in these times gaily go forth into the world of observation and of science, and from those interesting fields look back with great contempt upon those who are still struggling with the mental difficulties involved in the nature of our minds and their primary contact with outward things, and with their own mysterious source. And they forget that they have got leave to employ themselves upon their various pursuits only on those conditions which apply to all thought, and that if they refuse to accept these conditions they are certain to go wrong in the application of anything they have seemed to learn, to human life and its uses.

The world of change with which we make acquaintance and the changing reflections of it in our minds within, are not merely change. The very word 'change' which we apply to them implies that there is a 'permanent ground, the correlative of changes' (i. 126). We distribute the succession of sights and sounds in the outward world along an 'underlying line of duration which holds them;' we distribute our own acts and experiences as we remember them upon the ground of our personality. 'Phenomena and noumena'—appearances which the senses recognize, and the underlying ground beneath appearances which the mind is forced to believe in—are inseparable companions on the field of intelligence. The appearances are known; they form the subject of all our knowledge. Can, then, that something which we know to lie beneath them be pronounced either unknown or unknowable? Unknowable is the favourite designation which a certain class of philosophers apply to the 'power' from which all things issue. Dr. Martineau well remarks that, by calling this existence a power, Mr. Herbert Spencer surely removes it by one mark from the unknown; but, besides this, 'we are obliged,' he says, 'to regard that power as omniscient, as eternal, as one, as cause manifested in all phenomena—a list of predicates, scanty indeed when measured by the requisites of religion, but too copious for the plea of nescience' (i. 131). And this brings us face to face with the question of God. That is the name which in all past ages and everywhere throughout the world

has been applied to the cause of all things ; and before we can consent to exchange this name with the associations of life and love which it carries with it for the term 'unknowable,' which puts away from us all knowledge of life or love in the universal cause as impossible, it becomes us well to examine what we mean by a cause, and whether that which we acknowledge as cause can be either lifeless or unknown.

We find ourselves in the first place applying the term 'cause' to things ; one of which we say is the cause of another. What do we mean ? Is it our belief that things, by the mere fact of being things, are the causes of other things, or even the cause of our own perception of their own existence ? Not so. Things are not causes except by means of some power which they exert and some relation in which they stand. Shall we, then, so far correct our impressions as to regard things as a series of phenomena, in which we find a constant succession invariably renewing itself as matter of fact, though without ever enabling us to know or guess why it does so ? This reduction of causality to mere apposition in time appears to many thinkers a satisfactory account of all we know about the matter. But few unprejudiced persons who reflect what they mean by the words 'cause and effect' will grant it to be merely this, that when one phenomenon has appeared and vanished and left nothing of itself remaining they are accustomed to expect that another will appear. We must allow Dr. Martineau to be speaking for the general mind when he says that

'The blow of the steam-hammer which welds two masses of iron, the combustion of the furnace which runs the metal out of the ore, the rush of the torrent which buries a homestead in gravel, the gale which drives the ship upon the rocks, the summer warmth which decks the earth with foliage and flowers, are hardly reducible, even in the imagination of an empirical philosopher, to mere pioneers of the phenomena they announce. Their relation to what follows is that not of prophecy but of production ; it is their "effect" and they are its "efficients ;" they not only give notice of but do it ; not only do it but necessitate it' (i. 155).

We can, to be sure, learn by experience, and by experience only, what effects they are which will flow from any particular phenomena, and what the causes are of any particular phenomena of which we have experience. And we find that our experiments of this nature yield us information which serves for every similar case as it recurs. But were it otherwise—did we find that there was no order in the world's events but that the same phenomena were constantly followed by different

successors, we should still be unable to consider the latter as uncaused. We cannot, therefore, deduce from the uniformity of nature a belief which would cleave to us though no such uniformity existed. And the impossibility of dispensing with dynamical conceptions in nature is witnessed to by the modern doctrine of the persistence and metamorphosis of forces, which links them all into a system (i. 171).

But the fact is that, in order to know what the essential conception of causality is, we must not take up the position of mere spectators, before whose eyes an endless procession of events pass on. That is not our relation to the world and its history. We are not mere spectators of it. We mingle in it as living beings. Every event which becomes known to us has in it something of ourselves. It comes to us through our own perception, and we cannot know what it is apart from our perception of it. It is in our perception of things that our notion of cause lies hid. In our perceptions our own Ego, our own self endowed with reason and will, is ever at work. What perception may be to animals lower in the scale of creation, or in what degree these animals have any beginnings of our faculties, are questions which do not here concern us. We are not, and we cannot make ourselves to be, mere passive recipients of impressions from without. Our rational nature goes forth to meet the world we live in, but is incapable of manufacturing a world for itself; 'it is the encounter and strife of centrifugal and centripetal movements' (i. 197), of the experiences which our senses bring in, and the faculties which our living nature exerts, that put us in our connexion with the world. There is no moment of life in which we fill the place either of active minds without anything to act on, or of passive recipients without making any response to impressions. And here, says Dr. Martineau, we reach the cradle of our idea of cause and effect.

'If the foregoing exposition is correct, the Ego and the non-Ego are known to us *ab initio* as reciprocally limiting powers put forth by antagonist agents and operating change in some recipient object. If I know myself at all, it is in trying with all my might to do something needed but difficult, to heave away a retarding resistance; nor does anything sooner bring home to me the poise and counterpoise between self and nature than the attempt to shut a door against a furious wind' (i. 199).

This is an extreme instance of poise and counterpoise, but something essentially the same is felt in every instance of perception, how small soever. We still find the living powers which we put forth met by something which reacts upon us,

and thus makes itself perceived. This is the experience that gives the child its first notions of an external world to which it at first attributes the same life as it feels in itself. And although this impression alters, and we no longer beat the chairs and tables for hurting us, yet the nature of our intercourse with the world about us remains essentially the same to the last. Even the feelings of anger or love to external things or events are often present to show that we know them as reactions to our own living powers; and where these feelings are absent the same sense of a correspondence and a likeness between us and the world we live in is rather pushed further back than wholly unfelt.

'To the world we are introduced, not as to a dead thing or material aggregate of things, but to another Self, just as causal as we, instinct with hidden Will, and so far presenting the outer and the inner spheres in true equipoise' (i. 202).

'The notion "*cause*," then, takes its form from the fundamental antithesis and correspondence of the Ego and the non-Ego, revealed in percipience as the constituents of one whole, the key to which is necessarily found in the home-factor. Here we learn what it is to be a cause. It presupposes, because it controls, immanent power, to which by an act of the will it gives a selected direction' (i. 211).

And as we find it in our own wills to give a selected direction to the inward powers by which we explore the world, so do we recognize in the reaction of the world upon them the operation of a will which gives a selected direction to these. This is what has led men so universally to the belief in divine power exerted in the world, and working, whether in harmony or resistance, opposite to the human powers which they themselves put forth. Life and nature are an education to man in divesting this primary conception of superstitions and mistakes, but not in removing it. Man cannot unlearn the belief that reason and will answer from without to the reason and will which he exerts from within, except at the price of surrendering his belief in his own genuine possession of those qualities. If he reduces the world of his experience to a dead world, it will ever be found that he has reduced his own life to a dead thing too, and has come to regard himself as carried forward without will by the forces of nature and circumstance. If we listen to the true education of nature,

'the human mind is led over the whole interval between its first reading of divine motives in everything and its latest version of scientific causation without being called on to part from the essence of its original faith. From Will at the fountain-head not a single thing is deducted at any stage of the process: only the inner acts of

that will be thrown into a new order, are reduced to a few comprehensive heads, and organized into a system of which the sciences are the reflection in little. The emergence from superstition which marks this process consists, not in the expulsion of purpose from any scene which it occupied before, but in the substitution of larger purpose for less, of plan for impulse. And as the primitive power has not been lost on the way, neither has any other been found : so that we are still in presence of the originating Mind, whose organizing thoughts are prototypes of the rules of nature' (i. 245).

The belief in intelligent will as the originating principle of the world is beyond doubt the simplest and easiest solution of the question. We should willingly quote, did space permit, the wise and witty passage in which Dr. Martineau describes the difficulties of the atomic theory, and ask by what rule of science can it be called a modest act to take for granted all possible velocities and all possible directions and an unlimited store of bodies, identical in size and shape, to move in them ? (i. 249). If anywhere, he says, in nature beyond our own case we encounter characteristics which are possible only to intention, so far we are driven to resort to that full type of will. Now, the problem whether we can trust the external signs of invisible will is familiar to us in one important case, namely, the doings of our fellow-men (i. 261). There cannot be a more fruitful suggestion of thought than that which the author makes when he sets us upon this line. For though there is much to say for the theory that our fellow-men are automata, and that we should treat them as such, yet, says Dr. Martineau, we ascribe most of their conduct to minds like our own, while we ascribe most of the behaviour of the lower animals to unthinking instinct. And in both instances we are applying to other cases inferences drawn from our own lives. The automatic instincts which we attribute to the lower creatures, no less than the reason and will of which we suppose our fellow-men possessed, are the extension to them of our own experiences—an experience, in the one case, of acts which we automatically perform without reason, without consciousness ; and, in the other, of other acts which we do with choice and with reason conscious of itself. Nor can our recognition of either of these outward repetitions of our own inward life be justified except on grounds more applicable to the signs of God's presence in His world. In fact, it is not possible for us to give ourselves any account of anything that goes on without, except in terms derived from our inward experience. And therefore the charge of anthropomorphism, so commonly made against Theism, is futile.¹ The blind

¹ See a careful discussion of the term 'anthropomorphism,' i. 333 *seqq.*

force to which we should have to ascribe the formation of things, if we refused to name the name of God, would in truth be quite as anthropomorphic as the Reason and Will which we ascribe to Him, only derived from inferior departments of our self-experience.

But, setting aside this taunt, we come to inquire which of these anthropomorphic experiences of ours, the blind force or the intelligent will, it is most reasonable to choose as the type of the creative power that works in the universe. The latter, replies Dr. Martineau, because we find this power displaying in its work all the signs which our intelligence and will put forth, and by which we recognize them for what they are.

Here, then, we are launched into the great question of teleology. In his treatment of it Dr. Martineau shows himself as well acquainted with the most recent researches in natural history as he is with the metaphysicians, and able to tell his facts in animal life with that affectionate interest in the lower creatures which possesses so great a charm. Among the scientists themselves it is pretty well known that more was at first ascribed by Darwin to natural selection than the theory would bear, and that, while the struggle for existence doubtless performs a vast work in preserving those characteristics which are best fitted to hold their own, something more than chance must be looked to as the source of the equipment which is thus put to the proof. The creatures in their defence of themselves against each other are not left to the weapons which they may pick up at hazard upon the ground, but are deliberately armed by their mother nature for the combat. They could not otherwise be provided as they are. The age of the universe, vast as it is, does not afford time for the equipment of the creatures by chance. Mr. A. W. Bennett computes in a particular instance the prospects of perpetuation for an organic specialty produced by natural selection operating on a chance variation (i. 280). But we cannot pause to epitomise these deeply interesting pages, nor even to extract the beautiful description of the human eye and ear, so wondrously adapted for light and sound, yet formed in the dark and silent chamber of the womb, and the contrast between the faith which ascribes this pre-established harmony between elements that have no acquaintance with each other to a mind which embraces them both, and that which attributes it to the chance effects of sunshine and air on a mass of protoplasm or primordial jelly in tickling it into some sort of feeling by the play of the one and the vibrations of the other (i. 306).

Dr. Martineau next proceeds to consider the objections to teleology. First, that suggested by Kant, that no cause operating within nature in conformity with its general laws can also be the principle which gives origin to nature. To which it is replied that the dictum is arbitrary, and the contradictory principle, that the originating cause must be like those secondary causes which it sets at work, is quite as easy to believe, and has, in fact, been believed by an immense majority of thinkers; and, again, that the dictum is equally directed against all theories as to the cause of things, for it is not possible to suggest any cause which does not resemble some which we see at work within the existing system of things. But Kant proceeds further to argue that the argument from design does not introduce us to an Absolute Being, but to an architect of the universe working upon existing materials and under limitations. And here Dr. Martineau allows that the philosopher is right. The argument from design aims only at showing the operation of mind in nature, and the idea of absolute mind operating without conditions is a contradiction. We must, therefore, acknowledge that we cannot thus attain the absolute. At the same time the conditions under which mind in nature works are not hereby proved to have any other origin than itself, any more than a sculptor who had the power of calling into being the materials on which he works would be the less an artist (i. 328).

The final objection to teleology which Dr. Martineau considers is that of the alleged blemishes in nature. There he finds plentiful scope for his loving interest in nature and animate life in justifying the ways of God to man. Nowhere do we find him declining to look facts in the face, yet he advances everywhere such thoughtful presentations of the good to be found even in things evil, as may well make this portion of his work a manual of comfort to distressed souls as well as a source of devout thought to every mind which does not demand a perfection in the world inconsistent with the existence of finite wills.

And now the great question comes up, What attributes can we ascribe to God when we regard Him as the cause of the phenomena of the world? In the first place, replies Dr. Martineau, we must invest Him with *All Power*: not a metaphysical omnipotence, but all power the existence of which does not imply a contradiction. And next, we ascribe to Him unity. The power in which the laws of our nature compel us to believe is the counterpart of our own. Now it is the essence of our personal consciousness to retain its unity through all

experiences. That highest Power to which our consciousness leads us must reflect the same character. The logical rule against multiplying causes looks the same way. A plurality of divine beings affords us no further resources for explaining the constitution of the world. Nor will the physical unity of the universe admit the supposition of any partnership in its production. And as it is inconceivable that anything should exist outside the range of the Universal Cause, He is omnipresent. But we had better state, in Dr. Martineau's own words, the creed which forms the result of his long and patient investigation of the principle of causality. 'There is one universal cause the infinite and eternal seat of all power, an omniscient mind ordering all things for ends selected with perfect wisdom.'

So far are we conducted by our intellectual faculties, and were we merely beings of intellect, here we should stop. But we are not merely intellectual, we are moral beings. We are obliged to listen to our moral intuitions, and we all regard them as guides to truth in our intercourse with our fellow-men. The relations of our will to the outward world lead us by an irresistible impulse, justified, if need be, by an irresistible chain of reasoning, to an objective causality corresponding without to our wills within. Our moral experience, in like manner, leads us to an objective authority, and here, too, our reasoning but echoes the general voice of the human conscience. The copious learning of Dr. Martineau often furnishes some illustration of his positions from an unexpected source, and nothing can be more striking than the passage here extracted from the great French jurist Michelet, in which he describes the impression made upon him by the recurring identity of the chief legal symbols and ideas among nations the most distant from each other: 'To me it was a sublime experience when first I heard this universal chorus. So world-wide an accord, if surprising in languages, was profoundly touching to me in expressions of Right. . . . From my little momentary existence I touched, unworthy though I be, the eternal communion of the human race' (ii. 5).

Is this universal sense of a moral authority the creation of society? We can understand how society can create a *must* for man, but not how it can create an *ought*. Out of an original seed of self-love it is impossible to believe that disinterested love of right can spring. Nor, indeed, have we the slightest reason to think that the original motive power of our nature is that of self-love. 'Instead of admitting that pleasure

sets up all our springs of action, I affirm that the springs of action set up all our pleasures.'

Dr. Martineau, therefore, repudiates the supposed development of conscience from original pleasures and pains, gradually transformed by the occasions of social life. But he is very far from denying that there has been a development of conscience. As it plainly and in common experience develops in the individual, so also in the race—only it must develop from principles which are fitted to produce it. 'My protest,' says Dr. Martineau, 'against James Mill's theory is not that he evolves conscience instead of treating it as innate, but that what he evolves is not conscience at all' (ii. 26). The original germ of conscience contains in it the sense of relation to God as authority and of duty owed to Him, just as we have found the original germ of our sense of God's power in the feeling that our will is encountered by another will in our first experience of an external world.

In a singularly beautiful passage, the Christian application of which it is hard to miss, Dr. Martineau reminds us that for our true moral life we are ever dependent upon the presence of some character higher than our own, the realization of our inward idea, the presentation to us in the flesh of the divine source of goodness :

'If your whole past could be laid open, where would you find its moments of purest consecration, of fresh insight into duty, and willing love to follow it? Not, I believe, when you were criticising a creed or constructing a philosophy, though with the simplest aim at truth ; not when working out the contents of some comprehensive precept, though you owned its obligation ; not when some crisis of danger brought you face to face with the alternatives of an eternal state, though you deemed them solemn and at hand ; but when first there stood near you some transparent nature, nobler, simpler, purer than yourself, that fixed your eye, and compelled you to look up. This loving wonder at such impersonated goodness is the sole attraction to which we rise : this it is which sprinkles us with a wave of true regeneration . . . the inward suggestions of conscience remain dream-like, suspicious, and do not clear the air so long as they play around our own centre . . . and the faith of conscience hovers with us meaningless and incomplete, till it rests upon a realised Righteousness' (ii. 30-3).

The form which belief in God assumes when it is attained by means of the moral nature is different from that which we ascribe to Him when we reach His being by an intellectual exercise. God is the 'supreme term in the hierarchy of spiritual natures.' 'Until we are contradicted, we are carried by our moral nature into conceptions of God which are the transcen-

dent forms of our own aims and prayers' (ii. 42). We must needs ascribe to Him Benevolence towards sentient beings, for this is the character which He has written upon our own minds and upon the general sentient life of creation. It is by means of the affections that He has bound together the races of men, and of the lower animals. And we must read His compassion and love in that of His creation. Whether we regard our affections as the means whereby we come to know Him, or as the effects of His work, we alike feel ourselves constrained to know Him as love. But His nature is not one of simple benevolence. He is Just, and distributes His treatment to moral beings according to their deeds. In us the social affections are not the crown of excellence. When they dominate unchecked within us they render us feeble ; but they must be checked and guided by our sense of right and wrong ; we infer then that it is so with Him, and that the mind of Him who made us is the prototype of our own. And, lastly, we think of Him as moved by amity towards like minds. So that it is not merely the affections which we regard as reflecting Him, nor conscience in its stern judgments furnishing an earthly image of what He is in His supreme perfection, but also the moral nature in its hours of calm, and in the inward rewards which it gives to well-doing, that speaks to man a message from the source of His being, and telling him that God loves those who are like Him. Sainly people have thought and felt in all ages that they enjoyed communion with God ; nor is there any reason to disbelieve them.

These are the attributes of God to which our moral nature leads us in its personal and individual work. So much should we know of God were we quite alone in the world : a 'separate secret for you and me'—'a private understanding between the human spirit and the divine, were they alone together.' But we discover in time that we are not alone. Our conscience is often roused by the influence of other men, and cannot do its personal work in ourselves without at the same time taking part in the great upward movement of the general conscience whereby God is recognized as the head of society, the well spring of all social progress, the founder and ruler of a kingdom of God.

Having sought and found God in the intellect through the idea of causality, and God in the soul through the idea of righteousness, it remains for Dr. Martineau to identify the two views and show that we are not led to two different beings but to one. And first he shows how we ourselves, in our own persons, unite subjection to physical order with subjection to

the moral law so closely that it is impossible to separate them. Of all the results in the physical world which display causal thought and design the sphere of human life is the most important. Not alone the wonderful structure of the human body, but the play of motives, the connexions of man with man, the linked and ordered whole which man and man's world display to him when he makes himself an object of his own thought, and, sitting apart, watches himself as he lives and moves and has his being. But he cannot long maintain this separate attitude of a speculator upon his own life and its conditions. He must be up and doing; he must not only think but live. And the moment he begins to live he places himself in a different position towards the whole frame of nature and towards its head. In the one case he demands a God to satisfy the demands of his thought, in the other a God to answer the wants of his moral life. But the two are inextricably united; we pass from one to the other in a moment, and the results of our thought furnish materials for our active life, while our active life affords the very scene on which our thought speculates. 'Moral phenomena presuppose physical as their condition . . . our probation as moral consists in managing ourselves as animal, and He that has devised the trial must have created the test. The very Ego to which He offers it is a unity of the natural and spiritual' (ii. 54); and in truth the phenomena of our moral life require a cause, and compel us to characterize that cause as moral.

Conscience busies itself about our conduct in our physical relations. We ourselves are causes in the system of the world; and the question how we have used our causality is the issue which is submitted to our inward judgment. And the laws which work in the outward world are made the instruments of moral punishment and reward. 'The Divine Causality places itself at disposal of the Divine Perfection' (ii. 56).

This assertion admits of no doubt within the sphere of our own lives, and must for ever render it impossible to separate the God who causes all things from the God who teaches us right. Yet it is but too possible to raise the question whether in nature at large the character which He fills in the one aspect does not conflict with that which He presents in the other. And this is the second question of teleology: not whether the universe is such as we should have expected from Infinite Intelligence, but whether it corresponds to Infinite Goodness, and whether life is worth living? Now the universal love of life is a test of its value. Schopenhauer ascribes

the love of life to a blind instinct, and insists that, were you to knock at the graves and offer their inhabitants a return to existence, they, delivered as they are from the delusions of this world, would refuse the offer. But this is a test which cannot be applied, and it seems reasonable to say that the choice of all creatures to live implies a sense that life is worth living. This preference is indeed an instinct, but it can be subjected in man to the test of consciousness and reflection, and even then does not lose its power. As long as life offers interests men wish to live; and when these cease they wish to die. And, in general, life abides while its interests are active, and death comes when they are over. The balance of happiness would seem to be on the side of life.

The pains which throw doubt upon this verdict are in the first place those which accompany life in its working, and in the second place those which accompany its dissolution. Of the first it is to be said that they 'work the organism;' it is the constant desire to avoid them that secures human activity. As the pessimist states the case, indeed, life is but a constant and always ineffectual attempt at escape from pain, which ever renews itself in the very moment of pleasure. But there is a more cheerful way of looking at the same fact. Life may be regarded as a constant triumph over suffering by energy—a joy of victory as well as of fruition. But the pains which end the organism, instead of urging it on to its work, are of a sadder character. We cannot explain them. We can but say that it is not possible for us to separate the possibility of imperfection from the existence of a sentient world. Once committed to a determinate method, God's will is limited by His own acts, and we have no right to argue as if it were unpledged and free, 'a system of laws which in providing for the occurrence of one set of phenomena relinquishes the conditions of another' (ii. 85). Death is a necessary part of the plan, and the support of life requires that death shall be painful and dreaded.

Sometimes we can see even in the worst calamities some hint of the connexion which they have with the plan of the world that suffices to point out to us which way the explanation lies. The convulsions of nature which destroy human life almost on as large a scale as the cruelties of man himself have their origin in this, that a physical order coexists with a moral. These disturbances belong to the story of the earth; they are 'remnants of the process of planet-making' which is still in progress, and the question is whether the appearance of life on the earth ought to have been postponed

until the earth was so ready to receive it that no possibility of injury to it from the unstable condition of its dwelling-place should be possible. Or is the preponderance of happiness so great even now that God is justified by the general suffrage as not having begun our life in a wholly ill-prepared lodging, even though an occasional disturbance proclaims that it is not yet quite in order?

There is no feature of the system of nature which repels us more than the predaceous habits of many animals. It is this, even more than the convulsions of the inanimate world, that presents nature to us as 'red in tooth and claw.' Dr. Martineau acknowledges that he cannot always free himself from these impressions; yet they arise from partial views. It is a complete exaggeration to represent animated nature as engaged in a general war. No tribe of animals selects its prey from more than a few species. The creatures that are most savage when roused by hunger are gentle and affectionate to their own kindred; and the suddenness of attack which shocks the observer is in reality a mercy to the victim and to its companions: 'the herd of deer that loses a victim to the pursuing panther turns in its flight into some fresh pasture and grazes and forgets.' Let the critic of the predaceous system balance against it the alternative that must take its place. One difficulty out of many will enable us to grasp the vastness of the problem. What would you do with the bodies of dead animals? The carnivora, including man himself, now dispose of the bodies of the slain and spare the trouble of interment. 'Nature has appointed a sanitary commission and, in her carrion-feeders, a burial board far more effective than those which watch over our villages and cities; and one of the great difficulties of our crowded civilisation is due to the fact that there is nobody to eat us' (ii. 95). Were there no carnivora every stream would be poisoned and every plain would resemble a recent battle-field. But then, it may be said, there might be an alteration in the laws of putrefaction. But then we find ourselves carried forward to a total reform of the chemical laws of the universe. The more we reflect the better we see that the blemish which offends us is interwoven with the pattern of the whole, and that its removal must entail consequences so immeasurable that it far passes our powers to say whether they would be for the better.

The additional load of suffering which we men have to bear beyond the lower creatures is the result of our additional capacities. And should we be willing to resign our memory of the past and our anticipation of the future because we

should be thereby freed from the pain which comes to us from both quarters? We should not do so even if we had to pay for our loftiness of nature by unmitigated pain. But this is not so. The intellect which multiplies our troubles by enabling us to foresee and to remember them brings us also numberless joys to which the brutes are strangers. And our moral nature finds its occasions in suffering without which there could not be pity, sympathy, or self-devotion. And not only its occasions but also its discipline. 'Ease and prosperity may supply a sufficient school for the respectable commoners in character; but without suffering is no man ennobled' (ii. 101). 'This characteristic pain is the very spring of all progressive good, and justifies the ancient aphorism, "*Dei omnia laboribus et doloribus vendunt.*" If you ask me why they are not given gratis I hold my peace, till you show me whether that would have been better for anything but our ease; and whether, in case of such gift, the thanks would have followed' (ii. 105).

And now we face the problem of moral evil. Our author acutely remarks at starting that the complaint which moral evil suggests is of the opposite character to that prompted by physical evil. For in the one case we lament that man is trampled on so inexorably by the laws of the world; in the other, that so much is left to man's choice when law should have ruled him whether he would or not. But there can be no moral probation without a play of will. It is self-determination that makes the man, and the great school for creating it is the school of difficulty. 'The life according to conscience lifts the human character to its highest altitude, and subjects the whole realm of instinct to the self-determining will;' while, on the other side, there is a reverse process of a dreadful kind, by which those who yield to the stronger rather than to the worthier impulses, lose gradually their power of self-government; 'the moral life is to all intents and purposes expunged, and the human constitution reverts to the simply zoological' (ii. 113-14). There is thus a provision, awful but conclusive, for stopping the history of sin and incapacitating the agent for indefinitely committing more. The first impulse of the prophets of righteousness when they see him thus is to cry, 'He cannot cease from sin,' and perhaps to predict for him eternal retribution; but looking a little deeper they will rather say, 'He has lost the privilege of sin and sunk away from the rank of persons into the destiny of things.' Those who have read the essay on *Eternal Retribution* which appeared in our last (p. 363) will not fail to perceive that the

awful moral fact which Dr. Martineau expounds need not be opposed to the doctrine of eternal retribution, but may be used to explain its nature. When the prophet of righteousness in Scripture speaks of those who cannot cease from sin, it is obvious that either he is using the expression 'cannot' in a sense which, though approaching that of absolute incapacity, does not quite attain to it; or, if this be not so, he is using the word 'sin' in the 'material' sense of transgression of the law, not in the 'formal' sense of an action the result of choice. In the latter case, it is the opinion of the preacher of righteousness that probation is past for the miserable people of whom he speaks, and the blackness of darkness to which he looks forward as their fate is not eternal retribution for their present sins but for their past—a mere continuation of that incapacity to cease from sin to which they have already reduced themselves (ii. 115).

Dr. Martineau's treatment of that department of the problem of moral evil which may be classed as 'the triumph of force in history,' presents to us his comprehensive view of the annals of mankind. That 'the weakest goes to the wall' is a mere truism: but if you mean that the physically weak are at the mercy of their inferiors in intellectual and moral power, the proverb only holds true on a small scale and for a time.

'There are four types of human life: (1) that of instinctive appetite or passion, in which there is the least remove from the condition of other animals; (2) that of self-conscious pursuit of personal or social ends, involving the first exercise of will; (3) that of conscience, in which these ends are taken not as we like but as we ought; (4) that of faith, in which the conflict is transcended between what we like and what we ought, and duty becomes divine' (ii. 119).

And of these four states it may be clearly shown that each is an advance in strength upon the state behind. The life of prudence saves the waste of the life of passion. The moral life adds authority to those maxims of action which had been but intellectually discerned. And when the human instinct and the divine prompting coalesce, the maximum of power which human nature is capable of attaining is secured.

And here, we regret to say, we must conclude our account of this remarkable work. Willingly should we have analyzed with greater completeness the portions on which we have dwelt. We feel that we have been presenting but dry bones of an original which is as full of beauty as of truth. Willingly also should we have gone on to lay before our readers an outline of the two divisions which succeed—in the one of which

Dr. Martineau reviews opposing systems and defends his Theism against Pantheism, and his maintenance of free will against determinism ; while in the last book he presents the natural arguments for a life to come with wonderful power. We trust that all theological teachers who use Butler's *Analogy* with their classes will resort to Dr. Martineau's concluding treatise as the best existing commentary—even if we may not say as a desirable substitute—for Butler's chapter on a future life.

Imperfect, however, as our account of the work has been, we trust that those who are already acquainted with it, and those who may be induced by our recommendation to study it as it deserves, will confess that we have given a just idea of its positive doctrine, and have omitted no essential element either of the sources or of the contents of religion which the revered teacher has presented to us. And now, retracing with honour and gratitude these successive chapters, each a store-house of delicate feeling and high thinking, we ask ourselves, have we here indeed a just and complete account of the sources of religion and of its contents? Are the sources of religion complete without Revelation? are the contents of religion completely enumerated without any mention of Worship, or of Prayer, or of Sacrifice, or of the Forgiveness of Sin? These things in one form or another, and in various proportions, have furnished the sources and contents of every historical religion, and can they be dismissed as superfluous additions in a treatise which founds its conceptions upon a consideration of man as he is? It rises upon our lips to say that Dr. Martineau has presented us with an introduction to religion, but not with an account of it ; that he has opened the way to its source, but not shown us the spring as it flows ; and has pointed us, like another Moses, to the rich contents of the Promised Land without leading us in.

But we do not think that this would be a true representation. Dr. Martineau has shown us not merely where the sources of religion lie, but a certain portion of their course ; not merely where we may go to find the contents of religion, but also a rich selection of its contents themselves. But in neither case has he led us far enough, or followed out to their complete consequences the principles which he has so admirably proved.

In the *Types of Ethical Theory*¹ the author expounds the difference between the Christian view of ethics and all which

¹ Vol. i. p. 15 (8vo ed.).

had preceded it, ascribing to Christianity an absolute monopoly of the psychological treatment of morals.

'In the Christian religion, on the other hand, the interest, the mystery of the world were concentrated in human nature. All the relations between it and God became immediate and direct, not incident to it merely as part of the universal organism, but due to its own special state and essence ; so completely that they would remain the same were the visible frame of things to vanish and leave us alone in the Infinite Presence. The sense of sin—a sentiment that left no trace in Athens—involves a consciousness of personal alienation from the Supreme goodness ; the aspiration after holiness directs itself to a union of affection and will with the source of all perfection ; the agency for transferring men from their old estrangement to new reconciliation, was a Person in which the divine and human historically blended ; and the sanctifying spirit by which they are sustained at the height of their purer life is a living link of communion between their mind and the Soul of souls.'

Who could have supposed that the author of this passage, when he came to treat directly of religion, and of religion as connected with ethics, would absolutely pass over Christianity without mention, as though there were nothing in that faith which distinguished it from other so-called religions, or as if the additions which it makes to the natural religion of causality and conscience were unworthy of notice ? We do not in the least suspect Dr. Martineau of any such opinion. We suppose that the abruptness, which he confesses,¹ in passing from the third to the fourth book of his present work is due to an omission of a large part of what properly belongs to the design and title of the work. In these missing chapters, did we happily possess them, we should doubtless meet with something we should disagree with, but also with much which, as in the extract just made, would to our minds point to Catholic Christianity most nobly conceived. Taking the work, however, as we find it, the reader will have gathered, even from our imperfect exposition, that Dr. Martineau displays two great roads which lead from man to God and from God to man. The first is the road of causality, and the second the road of morals. And he then proves that these are not two quite separate ways, but open into one another all along. He first shows us that, in our very first perception of external things, we become acquainted with causation in this way—that we ourselves, actively exerting our living powers in an outward direction, find them answered by a corresponding power acting inwards upon us. And as our own living

¹ *Study of Religion*, ii. 325.

powers have in them that spontaneity which constitutes a true cause, they are compelled to receive the response to them which comes from outward things as issuing from a true cause too. A man who calls is answered by a sound corresponding to his call; a man who pushes is resisted by a push; and human nature receives from the world without an answer of a like kind to its initiative. Perception in every smallest instance exemplifies this fact; but enlarging experience pushes back the causal source of our perceptions until it finds it in the one God, author and life of the universe. This is the first and surest truth of human life.

But the history of thought displays the danger under which we lie of exaggerating our own share in this great exchange. The initiation is ours. We open the door, and every object of perception as it enters must assume the costume of our house. We have seen how some metaphysicians have been led hereby to an extravagant egoism, and how their error has been corrected by successors, who have shown that man, in the exercise of his powers, can but regard himself as subordinate to a vaster Mind, which endows him with his faculties and with his freedom to use them, and at the same time supplies them with their necessary aliment from without. The error and the correction are not merely speculative but practical. We are constantly tempted to consider ourselves as possessed of creative powers with respect to the outward world and with respect to God, whom we discern behind it; whereas the truth is that the thrust from without is infinitely stronger than the thrust from within, to which it replies. We who feel are puny beings in comparison to the greatness of that which is felt, and of Him who makes it to be felt. Not only must we learn that the field of knowledge is infinite in comparison to our powers to know, but even those powers themselves must be recognized as but a subordinate instance of the living energy which works around us as far as thought can reach.

Therefore, when we realize God as cause, and, in the true sense of the term, the only cause, we must not think of the great discovery as one which we have found out, but as one which has found us out. We must lose the thought of our own causality in that of the infinite causality of God. And the causality of God is absolute, not (as Dr. Martineau somewhere explains) in the sense of being unconnected with any limited instances, but in the sense of being inclusive of every instance. We must regard Him as selecting the knowledge which He presents to us, the particular import and effect of

it on us, the less and the more of it; all its characteristics are from Him, and by necessary consequence they characterize Him. Accordingly, Dr. Martineau has truly taught us to find God's attributes in His causation. Now, this is Revelation in all the essential meaning of the word. The difficulty which we find in accepting the idea of Revelation is, first, that of seeing God in some events more than in others, although He is the source of all; and second, that of regarding God as imparting the knowledge of Himself to us, rather than ourselves as acquiring the knowledge. And both these Dr. Martineau leads us to overcome. He guides us to make a selection of some phenomena as characterising God better than others, and feel that in doing so we are following the selection which God Himself has made and set before us to observe: Himself the teacher, we the learners.

The second road by which Dr. Martineau guides us to God is that of morals. He shows us that our moral nature leads us of necessity to a divine source. He proves that his belief is not at all inconsistent with the recognition of progress and development in morals or with the importance of social influences. But history and society are not the originators of our moral feelings. They are the instruments of promoting in us the exercise of a spiritual faculty which has its connexions beyond the world; and they are the servants of One who acts through nature but is above it. And here again we find the idea of Revelation—Revelation in history and in the human soul. The moral influence of God upon man is exercised by selected means—by this event more than by that, by this example more than by that, by suggestions which come to us, whether through circumstances which we can trace or through thoughts that come to us we know not how. Anyway, our moral progress depends upon God revealing His will to us. We must not think of ourselves as discovering His will, but of Him as making it known. The belief that we are under God's moral guidance implies the belief that He is not precluded by His absolute nature from connecting Himself with earthly circumstance and with lives which are limited and conditioned. But this again is the essential nature of Revelation: in this consists the difficulty of the idea, and the mighty import of it as the message from God to man, the Word of God.

We come in contact, then, with God as cause in the experiences of our earthly lives, with God as the teacher and judge in the movements of our conscience. And in both departments separately, and still more in the union of the

two, we learn the character and attributes of God. The reasoner who has proved this to us has thrown the doors wide open to Revealed Religion : he has taught a revealed religion. The advanced guard of Christianity has entered under his guidance, and there is no impediment of any kind different from those which he has cleared away, to the entrance of the whole army. There are indeed difficulties, and vast difficulties, in the acceptance of Christianity. It is hard to believe that God has come to man, a creature of short life and small capacity, the inhabitant of a planet no way remarkable among the myriads of the universe. It is hard to believe that the teaching of God to the human soul should partake so much more of its imperfection than of His perfection, as to be conveyed in historical events and human writings, subject to all the imperfections in form and all the risks of forgetfulness, and all the mistakes, doubts, and disputations which necessarily attach to earthly events and to books committed to man. But whatever difficulty, whether in the general conception of a revelation or in the details of its conveyance to men, may arise from this source, has been faced and overcome by Dr. Martineau in the proof that causation, as men experience it, and right as men know it, comes to them from God. We do not, to be sure, mean that Christianity is to be accepted without its own warrant beyond and besides that which has been given of God's power and of His righteousness ; we but maintain that the evidence of Christianity and the dispositions which it demands for acceptance of it are of a precisely similar character with those which are required for the acceptance and the use of theism as a real faith and a religion for man. Yet this is often forgotten.

The readers of *Robert Elsmere*, reviewed in our last number, will remember that his religious change is effected by two agents, Mr. Gray and Mr. Wendover, one of whom supplies the positive system which is to fill for him the place of the religion which he rejects, while the other furnishes the reasons for its rejection. The division of labour between the two is complete. The one knows nothing of religious negation and the other nothing of religious affirmation ; the one nothing of evidence, and the other nothing of belief without evidence ; the one is full of moral earnestness and sympathy, the other is pure intellect, without pity, without devotion, only induced to perform a plain obligation to his dependents by the necessity of furnishing a *quid pro quo* to the proselyte who has yielded up to him his Christian faith. And when Elsmere has adopted his new creed his argument for it is that,

while it may be made perfectly clear to capable minds that Christianity is a human product, theism never can be disproved. 'By no advance of science can it be driven out of the field.' The new creed depends not on evidence, but on its noble effects, on the glory which it spreads over man's existence and the despair which it shuts out, on the divine sanction which it gives to the best things in human life; for its God is 'the force at the root of things which is revealed to us whenever a man helps his neighbour or a mother denies herself for her child.' But the old creed we are to believe is in a totally different position. 'Its grounds are not philosophical, but literary and historical; it rests not upon all facts, but upon a special group of facts.'

We totally deny the distinction, and we call upon all truthful thinkers to recognize that we are right. It is absolutely untrue that the human origin of genuine Christianity can be made clear to capable minds, and equally untrue that by no conceivable advance of science could theism such as Elsmere holds be driven out of the field. The force revealed to us when a man helps his neighbour must be, if the words are to mean anything, a special force, a force with a character, a force 'revealed' and recognized by selected facts. Not only might an advance of science be conceived which would drive the belief in such a force out of the field, but such an advance has been already made to the satisfaction of multitudes of men of science. Ask Mr. Herbert Spencer whether he believes in a special force at the root of things, as distinguished from the general force, in a force with a character, revealed in human self-denial, but not in human cruelty. He will reply that our licence to ascribe a character to the force at the root of things is absolutely disproved by science. But even if the verdict of science be otherwise read, the existence of such a force is matter of evidence. It may be prepared for by philosophy, but in itself it is matter, not of philosophy, but of history and of fact; that is to say, of special facts, groups of facts, selected out of the indiscriminate mass of phenomena for their significance and the power of their appeal. It depends on evidence, and if the nobleness of its tendencies and its agreement with philosophy are to be allowed into the question, that can only be because such considerations are demands which God and nature make of us in the reception of any evidence upon moral subjects.

When you come to Christianity the case is just the same. Philosophy prepares for it. If there were anything in the nature of man's mind and his relation to the world and God

which made such a religion impossible ; if miracles do not happen, or if the assertion that they do not happen were proof that they did not happen ; if a calm view of man and his state bore no testimony to the existence of the wants which Christianity supplies, and its capacity to supply them, we could not accept it. Neither, on the other hand, can we accept it any more than theism upon mere philosophical reasons. It also is a question of fact and history. But it is justly required that we should come to consider the evidence of this history with that conscious need of a positive religion which the theist so plainly appeals to. On what ground will you make Roger Wendover, the man without aspirations or moral craving, the judge *par excellence* of the evidence of Christianity, when you submit the evidence of theism only to your Grays and Elsmere, men of deeply spiritual nature, to whom religion and real religion is a necessity? You exempt them from the necessity of offering to Wendover evidence of their faith such as can pass his tests. How then can you justly require of the Christian to submit his faith to the criticism of the bare intellect, without any demand of spirit, of feeling, or of faith? It is not a blind superstitious priest here and there, but millions of men and women, who have found it easier to discern God in the works and words of Jesus than in humanity at large. We know what Mrs. Ward's reply to this would be : that Elsmere teaches men to see God in Jesus just as the people among whom he worked saw God in Elsmere. But even in this sense of seeing God, we do not know how to see Him in Jesus, regarded as Mrs. Ward regards Him. Nor would Elsmere's adherents have seen God in him if such corrections of the central ideas of his life and teaching had to be made by believers in him as he makes in Jesus.

Dr. Martineau is not to be accused of any such unfairness. He presents his theism on the basis of facts, and he prepares us for the reception of these facts by a genuine philosophy reasoned, not assumed. We do not remember more than one passage of his work which looks in the direction which we have described.

'The Theocratic conception of society rests upon indestructible foundations in our nature, and must for ever return, unless that nature becomes atheistic. The mischiefs it has occasioned are due, not to falsehood in its principle, but to defects in its application. Instead of giving us too much that is Divine, it has given us too little, setting up mere exclusive pretensions for an order of men, or for a particular faith, and waging war on all else as if it were profane, and failing to

recognize the sacred possibilities involved in the remaining elements of life and other forms of religion' (ii. 50).

It is indeed too true that this narrow spirit has been displayed, but it is no essential element in the most orthodox Christianity. The sacred possibilities involved in the remaining elements of life and other forms of religion may as reasonably be regarded in the light of preparations and witnesses for the supreme excellence of Christianity as taken for its contrasts and its foils. And for our part we not only prefer the former aspect, but admit that we can hardly hope to maintain Christianity at the present day in any other character than that of the Divine completion of all for which man without religion, or by the aid of inferior religions, has longed and striven. But as to the exclusive pretensions of an order of men, or of a particular faith, we cannot sanction any absolute condemnation of them, because we fear the condemnation might be so understood as to dissipate and nullify all that distinctness of belief which, under the guidance of Dr. Martineau himself, we have humbly and patiently striven to acquire. Pretensions of men depending on human pride and passion are contemptible, and so far as the word 'pretensions' may be thought to imply such an origin, we willingly renounce it. But if we must disclaim all consciousness, however humble and truthful, of the possession of a treasure of faith which those who have not learnt in the same school are without, how shall we maintain that Dr. Martineau's own teaching is true, or that it is any spiritual benefit to hold with him? Nor can we understand how any faith which is real can be other than a particular faith. Let us make our faith as comprehensive as we can, but it cannot be entirely general unless we regard it as the physical endowment of all men, whatever their belief and whatever their morals. And if it be this, to what purpose should we write books on religion or read them?

For ourselves, therefore, we profess that the revelation of God which Dr. Martineau (eternal gratitude to him for the service) teaches us to believe in, excites in us the desire and the hope of further words from God beyond those which come to us in nature and conscience; words still more helpful to deliver us from the evil that is in the world and in ourselves, still more effectual to fill our lives with the consciousness of His union with us, and with loving service of Him and of mankind for His sake; and we maintain that we find what we desire and hope in Jesus Christ, and in Him alone.

ART. III.—RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

1. *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson.* By J. E. CABOT.
2 vols. (London, 1887.)
2. *Life of Richard Waldo Emerson.* By RICHARD GARNETT,
LL.D. 'Great Writers.' (London, 1888.)

A YANKEE mystic implies a human impossibility, and Transatlantic Transcendentalism a contradiction in terms. Yet the first is, or was, a real being, and the second exercised a very definite influence. Emerson is far more than a mere mystic, and the movement which he inspired and directed broadened out beyond its local phase of Bostonian Transcendentalism. But his name suggests topics connected with both, which, to judge from the recent growth of Emersonian literature, appear full of interest at the present day.

Mr. Cabot and Dr. Garnett are Emerson's latest biographers, and their treatment of the subject is widely different. The former supplies many details of a full-length portrait which he supposes already to exist in outline; the latter paints a miniature for those to whom the figure and features of the philosopher were previously unknown. To Emerson's familiar friends Mr. Cabot's volumes are indispensable from the new material which they contain, but strangers will derive from Dr. Garnett's compact little work the most complete idea of Emerson's life, character, and writings. The one writes for an American, the other for an English, audience. But the appearance of Dr. Garnett's *Life* enables us to pursue the method of Mr. Cabot, and to presuppose some acquaintance with the outlines of Emerson's career on the part of our readers. Our only quarrel with this excellent addition to the 'Great Writers' series is the frequent introduction of Scriptural tags. The first thirty pages afford five illustrations of a practice which, viewed simply as a question of prose style, produces the effect of tawdriness.

Emerson's life was marked by few events, and Mr. Cabot exaggerates its tranquillity by a biography without facts. Ralph Waldo Emerson was born in 1803; he died at Concord (Mass.) in 1882. His forefathers for six generations had been ministers. His grandfather built the famous Old Manse at Concord, where Hawthorne afterwards lived. His father was minister of a Unitarian church at Boston, and in that city Emerson was born. His character and writings are redolent

of his nation and his ancestry. In all the details of his teaching he is the quintessence of shrewdness: he deals with the means of life like a keen man of the world; in the application of his philosophy to everyday duties he is common sense personified. His mystical tendencies are modernized and modified by his industrial surroundings, and his pantheism is checked and controlled by his vehement assertion of individuality. He writes like a man who has been bred in a creed which does not satisfy his heart and intellect, and who is driven by the materialism of the Unitarian tenets, with all the force of recoil and reaction, into ideal spiritualism. Yet he preserves in his teaching the Puritan fervour, and, although he hates its gloom, displays something of its austere tenacity; he believes in absolute morality and fixed ethical standards; he condemns artistic apathy, and enforces a stern practical rectitude in the working world. He has the Puritan's depth of religious feeling without his self-will, and the tastes of the Cavalier without his dissoluteness. His temperament is Greek in its eager love of beauty, while with an Eastern's self-abandonment he soars into the heights of ecstatic idealism. Thus he combines the Pagan and the Hebrew, the Cavalier and the Puritan, the Neo-Platonist and the industrial utilitarian, the poet and the merchant, the passivity of the mystic with the activity of the man of affairs. He has been called a 'Plotinus-Montaigne,' and Mr. Lowell (*Fable for Critics*) credits him with—

‘A Greek head on right Yankee shoulders, whose range
Has Olympus for one pole, for th’ other the Exchange.’

It is the combination of these various elements which makes his position and his influence an interesting study.

Like Carlyle, Emerson was designed for the ministry. He did, in fact, receive Unitarian orders, and from 1829 to 1832 was minister of a Unitarian church at Boston. In the latter year he resigned his pastorate, because he regarded the Sacrament as a merely commemorative rite. But up till 1839 he preached frequently, and to the end of his life constantly attended church. He came three times to England. In 1833 he crossed the Atlantic, partly in search of health, partly to see the men who had most influenced his own mind—Landor, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Carlyle. He visited England in 1847 as a lecturer, and published his impressions of ‘English traits’ in a volume which is full of quick-witted observation. His third visit, entirely of a private character, was paid in 1873, during the rebuilding of his house, which had been destroyed by fire.

His influence in America can scarcely be exaggerated. Mr. Lowell writes of him in *My Study Windows* in relation to Carlyle :

‘ Both represented the old battle against Philistinism. It was again, as in the times of Erasmus, of Lessing, of Wordsworth, a struggle for fresh air, in which, if the windows could not be opened, there was danger that panes would be broken, though painted with effigies of saints and martyrs. When Emerson wrote, New England Puritanism, as a motive of spiritual progress, was dead, and in him, the herald of its formal decease, it found a new avatar. The Puritan revolt had made us ecclesiastically, and the Revolution politically, independent, but we were still socially and intellectually moored to English thought till Emerson cut the cable, and gave us a chance at the dangers and glories of blue water. No man young enough to have felt it can forget or cease to be grateful for the mental and moral nudge which he received from the writings of his brave-spirited countryman. That we agree with him, or that he always agrees with himself, is aside from the question. But that he arouses in us something that we are the better of having awakened, that he speaks always to what is highest and least selfish in us, few Americans of the generation younger than his own will be disposed to deny.’

His countrymen will remember him for the influence of his free spirit, and for the stimulus which he imparted to mental activity long after they have forgotten his so-called philosophy. A champion of intellectual freedom, he believed that the future of American thought was marred by subservience to foreign models, and American religion by deference to human ordinances. His words braced both the will and the understanding. He gave his countrymen a lift above the outward world, enlarged and elevated their views of life, set them thinking for themselves, urged them to assert their independence in the world of thought. His oration before the Phi-Beta-Kappa Society at Cambridge, in 1838, is compared by Mr. Lowell to a lecture by Abélard or the last public appearance of Fichte. He says that it was ‘an event to be always treasured in the memory for its picturesqueness and inspiration. What crowded and breathless aisles, what windows clustered with eager heads, what enthusiasm of approval, what grim silence of foregone dissent!’ This once famous lecture on the American scholar sums up a large portion of Emerson’s subsequent teaching. The education of the scholar consists in the past, action, life, and, above all, Nature as interpreted by the mind ; his office is to inspire men with his own patience, self-denial, and love of truth, to elevate and guide the world to a knowledge of the facts that lie beneath appearances ; his duties may be briefly comprehended in the

one word, self-reliance. There is now nothing new in the teaching, but Emerson was hailed as a prophet fifty years ago, because he expressed in brief, strong words thoughts which America had failed to articulate. He was, in fact, the mouth-piece of the national mind.

In his Lyceum lectures, which proved in his hands powerful educational agencies, and in all his books, he preached this doctrine of self-reliance. It is the very core of his teaching, enforced with a rich variety of illustration in all his public utterances, whether written or spoken. His long life was devoted to reading, thinking, lecturing, and writing. But he was the most fastidious among modern men of letters. He patiently and diligently revised his style, erased, corrected, emended—always intent on compression and concentration. So parsimonious is he of words that he becomes obscure by eliminating the links of his thought. As with his style so with his matter. No man was more impressed with the responsibility of giving birth to a book. He tolerated no excuses for its existence, except that it presented fresh thought or contributed to the general stock of knowledge. He struck out all that was ephemeral, and retained only what he believed to be of abiding interest. Consequently his sentences are literally crammed with thought, and his pages laden with weighty matter. As another result his publications are comparatively few. The following are the names of his most important works with the dates of their appearance:—*Nature*, 1836; *Collected Essays*, 1st series, 1841, 2nd series, 1844; *Poems*, 1846; *Representative Men*, 1850; *English Traits*, 1856; *Conduct of Life*, 1860; *May-Day and other Poems*, 1867; *Society and Solitude*, 1870; *Letters and Social Aims*, 1875. In these books are published whatever Emerson himself thought worthy of preservation. The Riverside edition of his works, printed in 1883, contains a large number of additional pieces, many of which possess permanent interest. But Emerson's vision, though keen, is limited; his sympathies are rather high than broad; his teaching is concentrated on a few primary ethical truths. The substance of his doctrine is soon learned: wider study of all his works calls into prominence his mannerisms and repetitions; it displays wealth of illustration and power of presenting the same subject in different lights, but it does not reveal any variety in the lessons he enforces.

One of Emerson's charms as a writer is his felicity of quotation. 'Noscitur ex sociis.' Literary men are known by their favourite authors. Emerson's pet books may help to

give a general impression of the character of his own writing. He rarely quotes from Aristotle. Plato is the torch-bearer of his philosophy, and he cites him more frequently than any other writer except Shakespeare and Napoleon. Yet he charges Plato with the same want of system of which he is himself rightly accused ; he also condemns him for a lack of vital power, which he attributes to his intellectual and literary form. Homer he quotes frequently, but the classic dramatists rarely, if ever. It may be mentioned that Emerson was not a scholar, and that he read and admired Plato in the version of Mr. Bohn. He was, so far as knowledge then extended, well read in Oriental literature, though here again through the medium of translations. He quotes from Saadi and Hafiz ; his difficult poem 'Brahma' is an epitome of the *Bhagavat-Gita* ; in his essay on Plato he gives the Oriental view of 'pure being' ; in 'Uriel,' a poem based on Arabian and Persian poetry, he discusses the origin of evil, and develops the doctrine of Return :

'Line in nature is not found ;
Unit and universe are round ;
In vain produced all rays return ;
Evil will bless, and ice will burn.'

Like Coleridge he delighted in the mystics, and probably found that they 'kept alive,' as Coleridge wrote, 'the heart within the head,' and 'were a pillar of fire throughout the night, during my wanderings through the wilderness of death.' Plotinus exercised over him a powerful fascination. His own theory of Identity is the *ἑνωσις* of the Neo-Platonist. Among his favourite authors were Eckart, Tauler, Behmen, Henry More, Roger Cudworth, and George Fox. The latter, together with Swedenborg, greatly influenced his mind at the crisis of his leaving his church in Boston. But though he classed the encyclopædic Swede among the mastodons of literature, and even among the five great poets of the world, he denied his claim to any special revelation with all the jealousy of a democrat. He was well read in English literature, and was especially conversant with Shakespeare, the Elizabethan dramatists, Milton, Bacon, Newton, Swift, and George Herbert. German philosophers, like Kant, Jacobi, Schelling, Fichte, Richter, helped him towards his idealism, but it is difficult to say how far the influence was direct, or how far it operated through their French expositors. Among writers of his own day, Goethe was perhaps the greatest power. But, with his vehement assertion of personal liberty, he repudiated Goethe's theory of individual perfection through

social union. It has already been said that he visited Europe in 1833 to see four celebrated English writers. Wordsworth's religion of Nature differed essentially from that which he himself professed; he despised Coleridge's attempt to interpret an external written revelation by means of the divine illumination, for, like Schelling, he relied upon infallible intuition alone. Landor and Carlyle influenced rather the form than the substance of his teaching; yet it is difficult not to see, in the dignity of labour so strongly enforced in *The American Scholar*, some more direct trace of Carlyle's teaching.

There remain two special favourites of Emerson—Plutarch and Montaigne. Every nation has admitted Plutarch among its citizens, and is grateful to Jacques Amyot, Bishop of Auxerre, to whom the sixteenth century owed its first knowledge of the historian. It was from 'James Amiot, Abbot of Bellozane, Bishop of Auxerre,' that 'Sir Thomas North, Knight,' made his translation of the *Lives* which supplied Shakespeare with *Coriolanus*, *Julius Cæsar*, and *Antony and Cleopatra*. An inveterate collector of table-talk and *ana*, Plutarch displays that good-natured egotism which is the common element in the family of Pepyses and Boswells. He was a Neo-Platonist, and resembled Emerson in his sincerity, his constant cheerfulness of temper, his unswerving belief in the ultimate triumph of good over evil. Like Emerson, too, he is a didactic biographer rather than historian. It is remarkable that Clough, who was an ardent admirer of Emerson, should have published a revised version of Dryden's translation. Plutarch is, through Montaigne, the father of all essayists. Montaigne 'drew from him like the Danaides, filling and emptying *sans cesse*.' The sceptical philosopher is thus the connecting link between the Greek and the American. The fascination which Montaigne exercised over Emerson is easy to explain; and Sterling, another of Emerson's English disciples, made a pilgrimage to the home of their mutual teacher. Montaigne's essays are transcripts of his mind: 'Ce ne sont mes gestes que j'escris; c'est mon essence.' Emerson speaks of Montaigne's 'gross semi-savage indecency' as counterbalanced by 'his downright truth without fear or favour.' The quality of sincerity, which Emerson valued so highly in Montaigne, eminently characterizes his own work. Nor is it wholly fanciful to trace in the *gentilhomme Périgourdin*, writing in the library high up in the turret of his Gascon château, some other points in common with the philosopher of Concord. Like Emerson, he was a student and lover of Plutarch. Like Emerson, again, he played the same part, unconsciously

assuming the rôle which Emerson adopted of set purpose. The literature of his day was fashionable, modish, conventional; it was the offspring of the *salon* and of artificiality. Montaigne is a *vox clamantis in deserto*, a fearless spirit, careless of criticism, hardy, independent, original. So, too, Emerson, from his retirement, protests against deference to unnatural models which had no meaning for his fellow-countrymen. Like Emerson, again, Montaigne was not a man whose solitary musings degenerated into melancholy mania; solitude and society, reverie and action, are the blended flavour of his essays. Thus it was that Montaigne, like Emerson, was respected during the Civil Wars as a man of sound discretion and evenly balanced judgment. On the other hand, Emerson is totally devoid of Montaigne's epicurean indifferentism. Both men are fearlessly honest and transparently egotistical; both know the limits of their knowledge, but Montaigne asked his '*Que sçais-je?*' with the gay carelessness of a Frenchman, Emerson with something of the Teuton's discontent.

From the list of Emerson's favourite writers some clue may be derived as to the character of his own works. A Platonist rather than an Aristotelian, an idealist not a sensationalist, he grafts upon his philosophy the ecstasy of the Neo-Platonist, the passivity of the Oriental, and the intuition of the German. A vehement champion of individual liberty, he is not concerned to frame a system which shall fetter his own or another's intellectual freedom. A Catholic eclectic, he is less anxious to supply than to suggest the materials of philosophy. At once Pyrrhonist and dogmatist, he doubts everything except the intuitions on which he relies without fear or question. These he announces as oracles which he is content to affirm and disdains to prove. Transparently sincere, he desires only to express truly his passing thoughts, and he cares as little for inconsistencies and contradictions as for system or logic.

These characteristics do in fact reappear in almost every page of his didactic writings. He is an essayist who in brilliancy may be compared with Hazlitt, a moralist who draws moral distinctions as subtle as those of La Bruyère, a creator of aphorisms who is a formidable rival to Vauvenargues, a critic whose penetrating insight is marred by prejudices and inequality, a poet whose deep thoughts are linked to club-foot rhymes. He is also a metaphysician, philosopher, and moralist. He believes that he has found—for himself at least—

‘the golden key
That opes the palace of Eternity.’

His thought, his philosophy, and his teaching were concentrated upon religion, and it is from this point of view that we propose to consider his wide-spread influence. But it is useless to take him for more than he is worth. His teaching is a sandheap of disconnected atoms, the value of which consists in their independent suggestiveness. System he has none; he starts in one direction only to reappear from the opposite. It is impossible to build upon so shifting and unstable a foundation, and it would be wasted labour if we were to attempt to grapple with a writer who expressly disclaims the sequences of logical reasoning, and relies upon the stimulating effect of his isolated thoughts. He transmutes morality into a species of religion by the fire of his enthusiasm for personal purity and rectitude of conduct; but he knew little of religion, if we use the word in the meaning of a deep sense of our relations to a Personal God. His chief negations of orthodoxy, like his failure to construct a system, resulted from his mental limitations. He despised historical Christianity because he was alike indifferent and incompetent to test the value of evidence. He repudiated Scriptural inspiration because, consistently with his democratic creed and his doctrine of self-reliance, he enthroned intuition in the seat of reason, and claimed for every man a continuous revelation.

Emerson's philosophy embraces two fields—existence itself and the conduct of life, the infinite and the finite, the abstract and the concrete. It is in the latter field of details and practical application that he shows himself the strongest. In the former he is not only vague and misty, but inconsistent and inconsequential. At one time he sinks God and Nature in Man, and becomes an Idealist; at another he loses God and Man in Nature, and becomes a Materialist; at a third he merges Man and Nature in God, and becomes a Pantheist. Thus he doubts whether Nature is more than an apocalypse of the human mind, and believes that we ourselves produce all her forms. If we could discover the point of contact between our thoughts and outward nature, we might, by a modification of ourselves, transform the world into all that we desire. In his poetry he says:

‘The great world goeth
To thy dreaming.
To thee alone
Hearts are making their moan,
Eyes are streaming.

Thine is the white moon turning night to day,
Thine is the dark wood sleeping in her ray ;
Thee the winter chills ;
Thee the springtime thrills ;
All things nod to thee—
All things come to see
If thou art dreaming on ;
If thy dream should break,
And thou should'st awake,
All would be gone.'

At another time he makes man the slave of time and space, the prisoner of the outer world—his soul a function of the universe, his life moulded by Nature's informing grace :

'Dost thou dream that thou art free,
Making, destroying, all that thou dost see,
In the unfettered might of thy soul's liberty ?
Lo ! an atom crushes thee,
One nerve tortures and maddens thee,
One drop of blood is death to thee.
The mighty voice of Nature
Is thy parent, not thy creature,
Is no pupil but thy teacher ;
And the world would still move on
Were thy soul for ever flown.'

Emerson is a philosophical Proteus, who refuses to be confined to any single shape. Yet though isolated passages might be quoted which only prove his inconsistency, the principles which really dominate his philosophical musings are those of ideal Pantheism. He accepts that Idealism which says that God is one of Man's ideas, and thus loses God in Man. But generally his tendencies are Pantheistic, and he treats both Man and Nature as phenomena of the divine existence. In method he is rather a mystic than an idealist, and he reaches his peculiar vantage-ground by merging Man and Nature in God. Pantheists see nothing but God where atheists see no God. Hence Pantheism is often the saturnalia, the extravaganza of faith, and, startling though it may sound in the presence of Emerson's seeming flippancy, his peculiar views are, as we believe, due rather to the excess, than to the want, of faith.

Emerson's mysticism of method appears to be the peculiar product of the New World and of the American intellect. His mind is subtle and penetrating, not broad or deep ; it is keen rather than comprehensive. There was within its narrow bounds no space for the sublime ; and this incapacity explains

an attitude which in appearance often approximates to irreverence. Mysticism scarcely submits to be defined. Broad definitions include visionaries, prophets, necromancers, clairvoyants, who are not necessarily mystics ; narrow definitions exclude many who in truth belong to the goodly company. The German language distinguishes between that sober mysticism which enters into almost all religion and the licence and extravagance of fanatics. The English tongue admits of no such verbal distinctions. But if mysticism cannot be accurately defined, it may be generally described. It has always been more or less theological. In one phase of mysticism man is content to feel, in another he aspires to know, in a third he seeks a sign ; he is passive, philosophical, or material — theopathic, theosophic, or theurgic. Roughly speaking, the speculative or theosophic element predominated in the Eastern Church ; in the West the speculative and the sentimental were blended. But in all its phases the essence remains the same. The mystic retires into the recesses of his own consciousness, closes the avenues of the senses, and either sinks into, or explores, the abysses of his own being, if haply he may there behold the Infinite Spirit. Mysticism proceeds from a profound sense of the infinite. It is the earnest endeavour to bring the finite into direct communion with the ultimate principle of existence, to get beneath the superficial accretions of our nature, to penetrate the secrets of the universal life-giving process, to stand in the immediate presence of the Soul which pervades and permeates the whole created universe, to become one with the Primordial Power which mixes the atoms and bids them 'march in tune.' In moments of ecstatic reverie the mystic believed he had attained his end—

‘When dying in the darkness of God’s light,
The soul can pierce these blinding webs of nature,
And float up to the nothing, which is all things—
The ground of being, where self-forgetful silence
Is emptiness—emptiness fulness—fulness God.’

In seeking a knowledge of the absolute, mysticism is a form of idealism. But though it shares the aims, it disdains the methods of the philosopher. And herein lies its broad distinction from dialectical forms of speculation. Mysticism invokes the testimony of consciousness, appeals to faith as an ultimate authority, claims intuitive insight, scorns the slow processes of induction or deduction, prefers emotion to reason, ridicules the attempt to attain by the intellect any knowledge of the infinite, and soars in ecstasy towards its goal :

'The plumed thoughts take travel, and ascend
Through the unfathomable purple mansions,
Threading the golden fires, and ever climbing
As if 'twere homeward winging . . .'

The mystic is not content with approximations ; he puts forward no tentative doctrines, but confidently announces the truths which he has seen. Generally, though not universally, he withdraws from active life, whether it be into the extravagant fatalism of the Buddhist, the disembodied intellectualism of the Neo-Platonist, or the *sainte indifférence* of the Quietist. Almost without exception he destroys personality in universality, and merges man in God.

Though the object of his search is the same as that of the philosopher, the mystic rejects all philosophical methods of making his search. Yet he has a definite psychology. He holds that man enjoys direct communion with the infinite Spirit, and that the soul is at once the channel of God's approach and His inviolable shrine. He believes in an inward sense, an intuitive faculty of spiritual vision, an eye of the soul which beholds the unseen world as the eye of the body beholds the world of sense. Eckart's 'Spark of the Soul' is Kant's Pure Reason, Schelling's Intellectual Vision, Coleridge's Practical Reason, the source of absolute Truth, the organ of Philosophy and Theology.

Because the mind is introverted its activity is not necessarily suspended. Many mystics were the most intense and persistent of thinkers. It is its purely contemplative side which has depreciated its value in the eyes of the practical world. The mystic starts from the *petitio principii* that Truth is not the agreement of our perceptions with their external objects, but with the mind itself. Hence he assumes that the seer and the thing seen, the subject and the object, the thing contemplated and that which contemplates, are identical. By reducing the soul to abstract simplicity (Plotinus's *ἁπλως*), by rejecting all individuality, memory, imagination, reason, time and space, by thrusting forth all that separates the object from the subject, by refusing to exercise the gifts which God has given us that we may know Him, we may elevate our minds above the body, the world, and finite consciousness, reduce ourselves to one divine essence, and realize Identity (*ἕνωσις*) with the Infinite Being. In these moments which are the rare rewards of philosophers our intuitions are infallible, for we are merged in that Being who is not only the source of truth, but Absolute Truth itself. This simplification of our finite souls may be achieved by training thought to its subtlest

exercise, by reducing the body through asceticism, or through the cessation of all activity in beatific torpor.

It would be an injustice to mysticism to omit another means by which its disciples strive to attain knowledge of the Absolute. Speculation, contemplation, mortification, intuition are not the mystic's only means. He also adopts the spiritual or sentimental method. There are mystics who, with rare singleness of purpose, unremitting self-denial, and unceasing watchfulness, strive to attain knowledge of God through His likeness, to purify their hearts that so they may know Him, to dwell in love that thus they might dwell in God. They bear the cross as a daily duty; they deny themselves in order to rise to a higher life.

‘Go out, God will go in;
Die thou, and let Him live;
Be not, and let Him be;
Wait, and He'll all things give.’

This principle may, in practice, mean widely different things. One man may regard all matter as evil, and tread his body under foot; another may crucify the natural desires by rigorous asceticism; another may discipline the lusts of the flesh; another may renounce his will in order that he may cease to be a voluntary agent. It is when this spiritual element is associated with the intellectual element, when thought is wedded to sentiment, speculation to experience, that mysticism becomes the romance of religion, the chivalry of faith, and makes rich the life-blood of the world.

This brief and necessarily imperfect sketch of mysticism helps us to understand the mental attitude of Emerson. Mysticism is a form of philosophy, and

‘Philosophy itself
Smacks of the age it lives in, nor is true
Save by the apposition of the present.’

In other words, what special circumstances in America fostered the growth of mysticism? It is needless to seek the explanation in the influence of colonies like the Quakers, Behmenists and Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania, or the Labadists of New Netherlands. Mental and moral conditions explain the growth. Religion itself was torpid, depressed by a sensational philosophy, ceremonial prescriptions, and a frigid formalism from which the spirit had departed. American thought was curious and inquisitive, eager to lift the veil that separates the seen from the unseen, and to pass the dread bounds of the spirit world. Lastly, industrialism made all-absorbing demands on

human energies, and scientific discoveries annihilated not only space but leisure. Thus mysticism gratified the truly religious by its protest against literalism, fascinated the eager by its efforts to transcend the barriers of time and space, and soothed the weak by its promise of inaccessible rest. The understanding was overtasked ; utilitarian ethics choked romance ; expediency stifled reason. The same conditions have everywhere produced the same results. Plotinus rebelled against the Stoics and the Epicureans ; Bernard of Clairvaux took refuge in mysticism from an arid lifeless orthodoxy ; Eckart asserted inward religion against despotic externalism ; Schelling, Coleridge, and Emerson fought against the dominant philosophy of Locke and Hume, which robbed religion of its life.

Emerson, profoundly impressed through his Puritan ancestry with a sense of the Infinite, eager to escape from the prison-house of the senses, chafing against the dependence of his nation upon foreign models, recoiling from a religion of which the skeleton alone remained, attracted through his philosophical reading by the doctrine of intuitions, was irresistibly drawn towards the mystics. He sympathised with their assertion of the freedom of the soul against ecclesiastical authority, and his sympathy was heightened by democratic impatience of whatever seemed to trench upon his individual independence. He joined in their protest against literalism, and their preference of the spirit to the letter. Like them, he claimed for himself and his nation a right to the same inspiration which belonged to the prophets, and which he believed might be enjoyed by his own age and by every individual. Like them, he ranged himself naturally on the liberal side in dogmatic theology, and combated, not science, but worldliness. But he differed from them essentially in such points as the following. He recognized no creed, no ultimate authority which it was the province of his special revelation to interpret ; he repudiated the mystical withdrawal from practical life ; he protested against their fatalism, and vehemently asserted human individuality ; he advocated self-abnegation, but he transferred 'divine love' to no other Being ; he seeks to realize a divinity within him, not by self-annihilation, but by self-reliance. His modifications of mysticism are summed up in the effort to adapt it to the requirements of a new world and a new people, to the needs of an industrial civilization and a democratic constitution.

A brief sketch of some of the leading points in Emerson's teaching will illustrate his obligations to the mystics and his

modifications of their doctrines. Like all mystics, Emerson retires into the silent recesses of consciousness, that there he may walk with Infinite Being, as did our first parents in the morning of the world. But he does not seek to exclude the conditioned and the sublunary; he prays the aid of the senses in order to interpret the data of his consciousness. The object of his search is not so much to investigate his own being as to obtain guidance in the practical affairs of life. 'As the traveller who has lost his way throws his reins on his horse's neck, and trusts to the instincts of the animal to find his road, so must we do with the divine animal who carries us through the world.' His object is rather practical than speculative. So, too, his method is never purely contemplative. He never suspends intellectual or moral effort, or allows himself to become passively theopathic. He cultivates to their fullest exercise all his mental powers, and trains to their utmost strength the energies of his moral nature. He does not endeavour to still the waters of his soul to such absolute repose that in them the Divinity may mirror Himself. He rather seeks to become the voice through which the Spirit speaks without let or hindrance, and so passes forth into active life to preach and proselytize.

The theory of Identity lies at the back of all his teaching. He believed that the Infinite entered into and absorbed the finite; that by the annihilation of human personality in the divine immensity, man would become nothing and God everything. He began with Plato. Beneath the changeful appearances of the visible, sensible world lies the one, real, universal world. All that our senses reveal to us is varying and mimetic; it is the wax that bears the impress of the real. By study of these impressions we find the permanent, universal idea of which they are but copies. And thus we rise, tier by tier, and stage by stage, to that great central unity which is the final stage, the last analysis of all things—that Over Soul in the arms of which both man and nature rest. Nature is its symbol, man its incarnation; nature is its inferior, remoter, unconscious manifestation, man its superior, direct, conscious development. And there exists between man and the Over Soul no abysmal gulf, such as Plato fears to cross. Emerson soars over the chasm and identifies man with this Over Soul and Eternal Mind. Thus the end of creation is answered, and its mystery is solved. The moment the human soul awakens to the full perception of virtue, and can truly say, 'Virtue, I am thine,' then the soul and the man whom it inspires become, not Godlike, but God. When once

the human mind grasps this supreme idea, it perceives that it is itself only a fable and an illustration of the Eternal Mind ; and, as it penetrates into the laws of nature, it learns that the universe itself is informed by the same Eternal Mind. This was the mystery which, as Emerson believed, Jesus Christ beheld with open eye. He saw that God incarnated Himself in man ; and, in the ecstasy of sublime emotion, he cried aloud, 'I am divine ; through me God acts ; through me speaks. I and the Father are one.'

From this theory of Identity sprang his views respecting intuitions, instincts, free-will, his hostility to historical Christianity, and his doctrine of self-reliance.

The Over Soul is the vast background of our being. Nothing *is* except the Soul. Keats felt certain of nothing but the holiness of the heart's affections and the truth of the imagination. But Emerson, like Shelley, makes the Soul 'the hierophant of an unapprehended inspiration, the unacknowledged legislator of the world.' The Soul is not an organ, but animates all organs ; not a function, but uses all these as if they were hands and feet ; not a faculty, but a light ; neither intellect nor will, but the master of both. If it breathes through our intellect we call it genius, if through our wills virtue, if through our affections love. If man so throw down the walls of his being that the great Soul breathes through him without let, hindrance, and obstruction, he becomes a revelation, a law, a moral guide to himself. He is his own source of truth, his own rule of conduct ; he finds true freedom of the will in utter self-submission. God shines through each pure soul as the sun shines through the liquid air. Those who most perfectly obey the laws of being enjoy the greatest measure of inspiration. If obedience is perfect, intuition, instinct, reason are infallible, for they are the voice of God. The more completely we harmonize our lives to the Over Soul, the more we abandon ourselves to its revelation, the deeper will be our spiritual insight, the greater our spiritual freedom, the truer our spiritual independence, the more glorious our spiritual liberty. We may illustrate the point by an Eastern apologue. One knocked at the Beloved's door, and a voice from within asked, 'Who is there ?' And he answered, 'It is I.' Then the voice said, 'This house will not hold me and thee.' And the door was not opened. Then went the lover into the desert, and fasted, and prayed in solitude. And after a year he returned, and knocked again at the door. And again the voice asked, 'Who is there ?' And he said, 'It is Thyself !' And the door was opened.

Emerson's revelation to the world is this Identity, which deifies the intuitions and the instincts of mankind. Upon it he builds his airy fabric ; but as its foundations are sand, so are its walls mirage. From the identification of man and nature with God springs that doctrine of self-reliance which, whether they accepted it or not, stirred his countrymen to enthusiasm. To it, again, he owed his power of symbolism and his Swedenborgian theory of correspondences. Everywhere seeking identity and unity, he trained his eye to abnormal keenness. To him the diversity of nature is only illusory ; persons, events, things are connected by laws of association which he struggles to discover. History itself is but the biography of the eternal mind. But when he argues that the blind, unconscious, irresistible laws of nature are precisely identical with the laws which operate voluntarily in conscious man, he only plays with the word law. To the same theory of Identity may be traced the mystical view of immortality which he at one time held. He who has reached the ineffable union is already immortal ; death may bring a loss of conscious identity, but those who have realized the highest identity now on this earth enjoy eternal life. The same theory dictated his attitude towards historical Christianity. If man possesses a spiritual capacity to apprehend primary truths directly, he is above and outside theological controversy. Textual or literary criticism cannot assail intuitive faith. But if truth is thus disclosed immediately to each individual soul, there is no need of outward instruments of religion, of Church, sacraments, creeds, or ordinances. The same identification of man and nature with God governed his speculations concerning good and evil. Regarded only in the abstract, evil is the negation of good. Upon this metaphysical notion of evil Emerson seized. All created beings and existences, all capacities and actions, subserve the manifestation of this identity with all that is pure and holy. That God works good out of evil is one thing ; that evil is good in itself is another. But Emerson refused to wait for the slow processes of evolution, just as he declined the doctrine of progressive revelation. Starting from the abstract notion of evil, he leaped to the conclusion that evil in the concrete is inseparably associated with good, and that men become good through the evil that is in them. Thus he conceived of evil as the exact reverse of all that the term implies, and denied the existence of that which he professed to explain. This acrobatic feat of the intellect inspired his glowing optimism, his unswerving confidence in the future of America, his indestructible faith in

human progress. But he also asserted that evil meets its reward here, that man is not irresponsible, but is punished sternly and relentlessly. This constitutes his doctrine of compensations, which is again founded on the theory of Identity, Man cannot escape divine laws, for they have their roots in the human soul. Punishment for evil is not postponed till after death ; it is meted out at once ; every day is a day of judgment. It is spiritual and not physical, even as the government of the soul is moral, not material, and it consists in a decrease of spiritual being.

So far as Emerson recognized a Transcendental world above and behind the world of sense, his teaching was orthodox, and herein for religious-minded Americans lay his eminent value. But it is hardly necessary to point out the fatal consequences of obedience to instincts and intuitions. He bids his hearers obey the laws of the soul, for from the perception of these arises the moral sentiment which is the basis of all virtue. But he gives no rule to distinguish the higher from the lower propensities. He supplies no moral obligation except our own individual good ; wise selfishness is the only sanction of his command. Man as a social being is wholly ignored in a creed which makes each individual the centre of the universe. Such a theory encourages every antinomian tendency, inevitably tends to moral and social disintegration, bids libertines and criminals obey the promptings of their passions, however licentious or lawless they may be. So again, if thought is not only free but absolutely sacred, every crude vagary claims the awe-inspiring title of Eternal Truth. Self-reliance subjects understanding to emotion, science to surmises ; it enthrones undisciplined whims in the sovereign seat of reason, and cuts men loose from every sure anchorage to drift into the shoreless sea of universal Agnosticism.

Of the speculative dangers of such a creed Emerson's own writings afforded a striking illustration. He is wholly without constructive power ; he frames no system, formulates no creed. Consequently his philosophy rises before us vague, indistinct, indeterminate, resembling in its shadowy vastness that strange vision of universal chaos with which Victor Hugo opens his *Légende des Siècles*. From the practical perils of his teaching Emerson was himself secure. His own noble ideal is personally exemplified in the purity of his aims, the fearless sincerity of his words, the stainless integrity of his life. His character was one of the noblest gifts which he bestowed upon his nation, and he taught more efficiently by practice than by precept. He was singularly endowed with that faith, hope,

sympathy, and spirit of effort which have belonged to the most useful teachers. A famous American character, Father Taylor, the sailor preacher of Boston, said of him : ' He must go to heaven when he dies, for if he went to hell the Devil would not know what to do with him. But still he knows no more of the religion of the New Testament than Balaam's ass did of the principles of the Hebrew grammar.' The truth is forcibly, perhaps coarsely, put. But, in justice to his memory, it must be remembered that if he gave no map of the road, he indicated to thousands the direction of their journey, and lit up the gray and lampless void of their earthly pilgrimage. Many of those who followed him, as he traced the mystic stream of desire for all that is pure and noble upwards out of the low lying valleys, learnt at the foot of its inaccessible falls that the source of the Waters of Life is higher still, and yet within themselves.

ART. IV.—MORALITY AND ITS SANCTION.

1. *Progressive Morality. An Essay in Ethics.* By THOMAS FOWLER, M.A., LL.D., F.S.A., President of Corpus Christi College, Wykeham Professor of Logic in the University of Oxford. (London and Oxford, 1884.)
2. *The Principles of Morals* (Introductory Chapters). By JOHN MATTHIAS WILSON, B.D., late President of Corpus Christi College, and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford; and THOMAS FOWLER, M.A., President of Corpus Christi College, and Wykeham Professor of Logic in the University of Oxford, Honorary Doctor of Laws in the University of Edinburgh. (Oxford, 1886.)
3. *The Principles of Morals.* Part II. (Being the body of the Work.) By THOMAS FOWLER, D.D., &c., &c. (Oxford, 1887.)

THE doctrine of Evolution in England has experienced in a short time a complete change of fortune. Assailed at first with the utmost violence, regarded almost as a personal insult to humanity, it has come to be part of the stock-in-trade of everyone who is minded to treat things on a scientific basis.

It has been applied in every sphere of mental activity, to every aspect of human life. Rightly or wrongly, it has come to be used as a spell which is expected to prevail over the most obstinate and difficult facts. Few would maintain that this change of front has been productive of unmixed good ; it is inevitable that some errors must creep in which maturer reflection will eradicate ; but at the same time it is impossible to be blind to the very important accession to its power which philosophy has derived from the adoption of this theory. Among the more prominent gains which have thus come to us should be named the added significance given to the ideas of progress and history. These are now seen to have a principle working through them which accounts for them, and makes them rational. The present has grown out of the struggles of the past ; it expresses more clearly what earlier ages were trying to express ; so there is a unity which binds all ages together. There is no room for accident ; the whole is orderly, everything is in its place. Before, facts were grouped according to some arbitrary and accidental principle ; now they are seen in the light of a uniform law of change. The various methods which were in vogue before for co-ordinating and explaining facts threaten to be completely set aside now in favour of the historical method. The search for real causes, which once was a matter of such intense interest to the metaphysician, is fast falling into disrepute, at least in some minds ; and we are assured that the arrangement of the facts, just as they are, under the form of evolution, will do for us all, and more than all, that the older school of metaphysicians hoped ; for will it not at once explain the present, and anticipate the future ? What more could philosopher or scientist desire than this ?

The books named above represent the application of the historical method to morals. The first mentioned, the *Essay on Progressive Morality*, runs very close to the others. For this Professor Fowler is responsible alone. The other, as he informs us in his preface, is the result of a plan formed some years ago by the late Professor Wilson and himself. They proposed to publish jointly a work on the *Principles of Morals*, and those chapters which are contained in the first volume of the present work 'had received Professor Wilson's final *imprimatur*.' The second volume consists chiefly of work from Professor Fowler's hand, though here too certain large sections (named in the Advertisement) are either based on written or oral communications from him, or were jointly composed by him and Professor Fowler. Probably no two

men would undertake to write a book together unless their opinions were fairly coincident on the subject which they proposed to treat ; but certainly the agreement between our two authors is remarkable. This is partly accounted for in the preface to *Progressive Morality*, where Professor Fowler acknowledges the influence of his friend's mind upon his own. 'No one,' he says, 'can have been brought into close contact with so powerful a mind as that of Professor Wilson, without deriving from it much stimulus and retaining many traces of its influence.' These facts make it unnecessary for us to treat the books separately, as they, to all intents and purposes, embody one ethical theory.

This theory, as we have already remarked, is an historical theory. Our authors 'deliberately set aside' (p. 114) 'the *à priori* method, or any form of it, transcendental or intuitive.' They 'adopt an *à posteriori* method, basing moral ideas and principles on such facts as admit of verification by experience and observation' (*ibid.*). They regard moral science, in a somewhat old-fashioned way, as a part of practical philosophy, standing in a more or less definable relation to other sciences, and corresponding to an art. The means at our disposal, then, 'for the study of moral science consist in a knowledge of the *results* of those sciences which throw light (1) on the nature of the individual organism, that is, on the man himself ; (2) on the medium, whether material or social, in which he exists. Any moral system otherwise constructed can have no solid foundation of fact, and necessarily partakes of a metaphysical and transcendental, that is, as we conceive, of a purely fanciful character' (p. 12). An analysis of the nature of man is the starting-point of their exposition. Such an analysis might have proceeded by simple introspection, as in former times was the case. This, however, is at once set aside. The analysis which is to be adequate is an analysis of man as he has manifested his nature, in his progress from barbarism to civilization, in other words, as he has manifested his nature through the whole course of his evolution. To introduce this we have in the First Part an account of moral speculation in England since the time of Hobbes, as well as a short statement and criticism of the views of Kant. Here too the historical method prevails ; for the point of this section of the book is to show how various aspects of the nature of man have been dwelt on by previous thinkers, or brought into exaggerated prominence—aspects which the present work places in their right relation one to another. 'We do not mean that our system will be eclectic. Any system, however,

which pretends to completeness ought to be found, on examination, to have taken up and absorbed the elements of truth in previous systems, as well as to afford the means of accounting for their exaggerations and errors' (p. 23, 24).

The nature of man, examined by this method, is seen to be a complex one. It consists of certain definite tendencies—self-regarding, sympathetic, and semi-social. These, in order to his organic perfection, require to be brought to bear on one end. Left to themselves, the self-regarding feelings would make all society impossible. The sympathetic feelings, on the other hand, unless duly modified by egoistic considerations, would tend towards the destruction of individual life. The semi-social feelings, the love of approbation and the fear of disapprobation, are involved in, if not the product of, the union of men in a society. These three classes of feelings have come into prominence at different stages in the history of mankind. 'In the earlier periods of society the struggle with nature is so intense, that the effort to supply food and shelter and to ward off external injuries absorbs almost all a man's energies.' 'The resentful passions,' under these conditions, 'ally themselves with the self-regarding propensities, or with those narrow sympathies which alone the primitive man entertains' (Part I. p. 130). So far man is a savage, half-animal thing, with all his special characteristics undeveloped. As time goes on, however, the struggle for mere life becomes less intense, and he begins to have time and inclination for the display of his sympathetic powers. These sympathetic feelings Professor Fowler regards 'as coeval with the social form of human life' (vol. ii. p. 74). He wisely declines to enter into the question of their origin under still earlier conditions, before the human species was as yet fully evolved. This, he remarks (*ibid.*), 'carries us back to so distant a period in the history of our race, as to admit of no direct verification, and . . . transports us from the region of Ethics, properly so called, into that of speculative psychology.' The mere combination of these principles, however, is not sufficient. There is, as yet, no principle of guidance. 'This want gives occasion for the exercise of the reason, whose function it is to regulate, control, and adjust all the various principles of our nature, and adapt them to the varying conditions of our existence' (Part I. p. 131). The reason, then, reflects on our conduct, estimates its rightness or wrongness, and so gives rise to a feeling of satisfaction or dissatisfaction. The process of reflection, judgment, and subsequent emotion is performed so often, that it eventually comes to be regarded as instantaneous and immediate. 'So

readily, in fact, do the moral actions and qualities which occur to our minds range themselves under classes, or associate themselves with similar actions or qualities experienced in the past, that, as life advances, we seldom have to pause before pronouncing a judgment' (Part II. p. 207). This is the account of the immediacy of Conscience, as the faculty of judgment which deals with past actions. By anticipation, as it were, it acts as a guide to future conduct. This, however, is an indirect use of it. 'The satisfaction or dissatisfaction which results from the contemplation of an act is so intimately associated with the act itself, that, in future, no sooner is the idea of the act presented to the mind, than it at once suggests the satisfaction or dissatisfaction which was previously experienced in reflecting upon it' (Part II. p. 221). There is yet another faculty which is operative in the moral progress of mankind—the Imagination. It is to this that the whole history of moral ideals belongs. We observe 'a man acting in certain relations in a manner which approves itself to us. We have also observed the same man, or another man, acting similarly under similar, though more or less different, circumstances. After a number of observations of this kind, we are able, by successive acts of reproductive imagination, of abstraction and comparison, to attach a meaning to the general terms "just" or "justly," by which we ourselves, or others, denominate these actions' (Part II. p. 290). In the same way we form conceptions of courage, temperance, and the like. These general terms are something more than mere abstractions. The process by which they are formed gives them expanded meaning, so that they come to stand for 'almost all circumstances of a given kind which can occur' (Part II. p. 291). The combination of various particular ideals produces 'the more general conception of perfect moral goodness, which is embodied, in the concrete, in the perfectly good or righteous man' (Part II. p. 292). Thus man becomes conscious of himself as a moral being. He knows that he has possibilities—'a dignity and moral worth to which nothing in this world bears resemblance,' and this consciousness 'produces pleasures at once ennobling and consolatory' for this life, and 'strengthens and supports the hope and belief in another life . . . where, purified from all taint of original selfishness, we shall live in the enjoyment of those elevating pleasures which seem so alien to the lower and more animal part of our nature' (Part I. p. 132). Thus the conscience of man develops out of the condition where there is none.

This theoretical account of its development is brought

into connexion with the facts of to-day by means of an elaborate analysis of the various moral and immoral qualities into their most elementary factors. This is done under the head of the sympathetic, self-regarding, and semi-social feelings, and occupies a large portion of the Second Part of the *Principles of Morals*. Much of it is very able, and the whole gives evidence of a very practical mind, full of common sense, animated by a strong desire for truth, and an intention no less firm to treat facts without any hesitation or fear. We are far from agreeing with much that is to be found in this volume, but it will be better to postpone criticisms till we have stated Professor Fowler's positions more fully.

We have sketched the manner in which Professor Fowler conceives the moral consciousness of man to have arisen. We have still to describe the functions of this moral consciousness now that it has so far developed. We have to explain what sort of cases it judges, what is the sanction of it, and the justification of its existence in this form and in no other. As regards the first point, Professor Fowler holds that a moral judgment primarily belongs to cases where there is a conflict between opposing desires. According as the man chooses rightly or wrongly, lets the right or the wrong desires have the upper hand, so he is approved or condemned.

'All those acts, it seems to me (and from the characteristics of the acts those of the qualities, which give birth to them, can easily be inferred), which elicit a distinctively moral feeling have been the result of some conflict amongst the various appetites, desires, and affections, or, to use the more ordinary phraseology, of a conflict of motives' (Part II. p. 182).

'When the good or evil inducements have been eliminated by the formation respectively of a bad or a good habit, it seems to me . . . that the proper object of our blame or praise is the habit or character, and not the act; or, in other words, the permanent moral condition, and not the volition immediately preceding action' (*ibid.*).

A further point is that actions falling under a moral judgment must be of sufficient importance; they must not be trivial, unworthy of serious notice. The conflict of motives, which leads to an act fit for moral judgment, is always a conflict 'between a man's lower and higher good, or between his own good and the greater good of others, or . . . between the lesser good of some, reinforced by considerations of self-interest or partiality, and the greater good of others, not so reinforced, or even, occasionally, between the pleasure or advantage of others and a disproportionate injury to himself' (Part II. p. 183).

The right course, therefore, involves some degree of sacrifice. Where the path of sacrifice is chosen, provided it does not involve an outrageously disproportionate sacrifice, we praise the agent ; otherwise he is open to censure. Such cases must always be regarded as instances of a class, or we shall find ourselves ensnared in the complexity of particular circumstances, and our moral judgment vitiated in consequence. We must always, in other words, consider what would be the result if such action became universal. This will prevent our being deluded by the apparently satisfactory results of a bad action, or terrified by the evils which seem to attend upon a good one. At this point we come to consider what is the ground upon which such actions as those described are praised and blamed. It is simply that they tend to the well-being of the race as a whole. This seems to Professor Fowler to be the one common point in the long series of variations which the moral sentiment has passed through. The cause of the changes in the direction of moral approbation and disapprobation has been a continually growing knowledge of the real truth about actions. Acts once allowed are now known to be detrimental to the wellbeing of society, and are therefore forbidden. Moral rules take their origin 'in the effort of men to adapt themselves to the circumstances, social and physical, in which they are placed.'¹ And the test of conduct thus attained is applied in two ways—either consciously by reflective men, or semi-consciously by the community at large. It expresses itself in the legal code, and in the general social sanction, and is closely connected with religion. The relation between morality and religion is thus expressed :—'Morality lends to the object of religious regard its most endearing attributes, and receives in return a sacred and venerable character, appealing especially to our feelings of reverence and awe.'² This, of course, only belongs to the time when the religious feeling is exalted and purified; at lower levels religion often retards morality. So morality has grown with the growth of the human race. As the medium in which the human organism had to dwell became more and more complex, so his moral ideas became wider and his conception of wellbeing fuller. In obedience to the gregarious instincts which seem to be primary in him, aggregates of individuals are gradually formed. The family—the tribe—the state—these are the successive stages of man's social evolution. Throughout these stages there are continually developing

¹ *Progressive Morality*, p. 102.

² *Principles of Morals*, pt. ii. p. 346.

those regulative powers of reason and imagination by which impulse is to be kept in check. All man's varied activities in the field of knowledge, of art, of religion, are influenced by, and in their turn influence, the moral idea. What, then, is the justification of this process? What justification is there for the test which, according to this theory, is applied at every stage of moral evolution? Nothing external, Professor Fowler answers, neither religion nor law; nothing less than the 'very make and constitution of our nature.'¹ Because we are of such a nature, therefore we must follow such a line of progress. The existence of, and the need for harmonizing, our various powers and faculties is all along the sole justification for our test, the cause and starting-point of our evolution. So we return in the end to that complex human nature, the analysis of which was the point from which we started.

A question which has been conspicuous by its absence so far is that of the freedom of the will. There is a chapter devoted in Part II. of *Principles of Morals*, and to it we now turn. Professor Fowler's avowal of something very like contempt for metaphysics prepares us for the subordinate place which it occupies in his theory, and the treatment of it in Part II. ch. ix. In the first place (p. 301) we are assured that 'not the least important or satisfactory result of a study' of this question 'will be to show how little bearing the issue of the dispute, whatever it may be, has on the practical conduct of human life.' There follows then a short sketch of the history of the controversy, with special emphasis on the views of Kant, and then at p. 331 the exposition of Professor Fowler's theory begins. He finds the most satisfactory clue 'to guide us through this labyrinth of controversy' 'in the growth of that power of self-control and self-mastery which is so intimately associated with what is called the will.' In the childhood of the race, as well as of the individual, man is the victim of impulse. He has no settled plan of life, no general idea which can control the momentary desires. This control he gradually acquires as his character grows through education; and in the end he attains a power of self-assertion—a faculty of impressing his own character upon his surroundings, which is a sort of freedom. Yet all along it is a slavery. 'If he has ceased to be the slave of passion, he has become the slave of character' (p. 334). This, together with an emphatic statement of the incompatibility of moral approbation and disapprobation with the theory of necessity,

¹ *Progressive Morality*, p. 130.

and a further assertion of the unpractical character of the whole dispute, forms Professor Fowler's contribution to the question.

So far we have endeavoured to state the theory embodied in these volumes, without offering any criticisms upon it. It has been our aim to leave no points untouched which contribute to the clear understanding of the theory. We have not as yet entered into any details in connexion with the analysis of the human feelings, partly because it is not easy to bring into the compass of a review anything like a complete account of so extensive a subject, and partly because it is by the moral theory contained in it that a book really stands or falls. The treatment of outlying or subsidiary questions cannot fail to be influenced by the general theoretical tendency of the author's thought. There are, however, one or two points which it will be well to treat before we pass on to the criticism of the moral theory as a whole. As regards the historical part of the first volume, we cannot but be struck by the fact that the moralists there described are all of the English School with the single exception of Kant. This is partly accounted for by the following statement from p. 23: 'Ethical speculation is at once the peculiar and the most fruitful product of English philosophy, and any modern treatise on the subject must, whether it acknowledge its obligations or not, necessarily build on the foundations of its predecessors.' Another reason, which may have operated with our authors, is that the most famous foreign writers were metaphysicians: Spinoza and Hegel for instance; and therefore they could at once be classed as weavers of delusive fancies. Such an omission may be wise, but it certainly distorts the aspect of the history. The notices of those moralists who are treated are concise and clear, and the criticisms keen and, on the whole, discriminating, though, of course, the strong anti-metaphysical bias forms an important disturbing factor. This is very noticeable in the account of Clarke and Kant. Great emphasis is laid on Hartley and on Bentham, as would be expected. Of these the former is a much-neglected author, whose works deserve more attention than they get. It is interesting to compare the account of Bernard de Mandeville in this work with the ideal construction of his character and work in Browning's latest volume. To Fowler and Wilson he is almost as Mackintosh describes him, 'the buffoon and sophister of the ale-house.' His value is that he brings forward for the first time the importance of the semi-social feelings. He maintains the impossibility of raising 'any multitudes into a populous, rich,

and flourishing nation, or, when so raised, of keeping them in that condition, without the assistance of what we call evil, social and moral' (p. 84). Pride or Vanity is the feeling by which men are raised. With this compare Browning, *Parleyings with Certain People* (p. 33):—

No : as with body so deals law with soul
That's stung to strength through weakness, strives for good
Through evil—earth its race-ground: heaven its goal
Presumably: so far I understood
Thy teaching long ago.

The exigences of analysis seem to involve Professor Fowler in difficulties occasionally. He is obliged by the very conditions of his work to bring most of the virtues and vices under his various heads, and we cannot help thinking that he has not been always successful. To take one instance. Obedience is arranged here under the head of self-regarding feelings (p. 31). It is said to imply a developed understanding, a developed imagination, an advanced condition of self-control, a well-formed habit of calculating remoter advantages, and of making more immediate desires give way to them. Surely this is a very complicated analysis for a comparatively simple thing. Would it not be truer to say that obedience may spring from two sources—from fear and from love; that in the one case it is simply a self-regarding fear of personal harm, in the other one of many modes of expressing a habit of mind which is not self-regarding at all. We should observe, on the other hand, that Professor Fowler has some very good remarks upon the love of knowledge and of truth (p. 45). It is not sufficiently kept in mind that this is a real virtue, and one which requires cultivation and exercise.¹

There is one other point of more general importance with regard to which we cannot wholly agree with Professor Fowler. This is his optimism. It pervades the whole book in a more or less defined manner, but it comes out most strongly in dealing with social questions, like those of competition, class-distinction, and co-operation, and the like. He admits the presence of certain evils, but does not seem to think them serious. Thus, on the question of labour and capital (p. 37), he says:—

'There may be exceptional cases in which the labour of the present is underpaid or overtaxed for the benefit of the labour of the future, or in which the interests of the operatives are sacrificed

¹ But compare p. 69 on the relation of Sympathy and Law.

to the selfish enjoyments of the capitalist. At least as frequently, however, unfounded complaints are made of the rapacity of the capitalist, when he is really taking no more than is sufficient to compensate him for his risk, his trouble of superintendence, and the loan of his capital.'

This leaves the impression that on the whole there is very little real wrong, the exceptional cases on one side being balanced by those on the other. The remedies are 'ethical and intellectual.' The workman is to learn 'the nature and true functions of labour and capital,' the capitalist is to use his capital honestly and well, and the workman is to display 'a cheerful acquiescence in at least so much of his condition as is determined for him by the inexorable laws of Economics.' 'It has been suggested, too, and, as it appears to us, with considerable justice, that the relations of the labourer and capitalist might be vastly improved both by law and by custom' (p. 38). Similar remedies are proposed for the strong feuds between class and class, but this time legislation is deprecated. We are prepared to agree with Professor Fowler in thinking that class-feeling 'is, at all times, a feeling of questionable propriety' (p. 100), and we extend our censure to the various forms of social feud mentioned in this book ; but we think the remedies are singularly inadequate for the disease. It is surely a very pressing evil, and hardly to be kept waiting until education, ethical and intellectual, has made its way through the various strata of society. We do not deny the value of such education ; but it is useless if not illustrated by examples. Men must recognize in practice that they owe to their neighbours real sacrifice, and not merely the odds and ends of time or money which they happen not to want themselves. We dare not hope too much ; so perhaps we are unpractical ; for on Professor Fowler's plan 'we may fairly look forward to a time when, within such limits as our own organization and the constitution of the material universe admit, the happiness of men and the stability of nations will be secured' (p. 41).

These, however, are details. It is time that we passed on to a more general criticism of the whole theory. We have seen that from the outset a great parade is made of indifference to *a priori* theories. They are fanciful, they are unscientific, they render progress impossible either in moral theory or practice ; worst of all, they are formed independently of facts. We are unable, however, to resign the belief that these accusations are untenable, and we venture to think also that had Professor Fowler adhered consistently

to this position the failure of his own theory would have saved us the trouble of arguing in favour of our own views. For Professor Fowler is not really consistent with himself. He seems to us to hold an erroneous view of the meaning of evolution, but to have applied it in a more or less unexceptionable manner. Evolution, as we said above, makes history rational by showing in it the working of a definite principle. It is not a blind succession of events which simply follow one another. The events of history regarded from the point of view of evolution follow a definite and rational law. If we think of the evolution of the physical organism of animals under this form, the central point of interest is not the vague, shapeless thing from which they arose, but the ideal type towards which they all tended by increasingly complex reaction upon environment. This is the key to the evolution: this is the sole ground which we have for calling it an evolution at all. So with morality. The central point of interest is not the state of barbarism out of which civilization has probably developed, but that ideal condition which has all along formed the motive and significance of the successive changes. It is not necessary that this should have been present in full consciousness throughout; indeed it is obvious that it has not fully come into consciousness yet. Only it is necessary that the idea which the evolution is gradually expressing should be a single one, and that it should be more clearly outlined at each stage. To use an Aristotelian phrase, in evolution as elsewhere the end is prior to the means. This may be called, perhaps, an *à priori* idea of evolution, but it does not follow from that that it is an inadequate or fanciful one. Professor Fowler, as we have said, seems to recognize in practice what he denies in theory. When he comes to inquire what is the justification of the progressive movement of morality, he finds it in the actual conditions of human nature. We could desire nothing better than this. We do not know how far Professor Fowler would accept our version of his statement, but it seems to us to come to this, that the determining cause of the changes which have taken place in the evolution of morality have been all along the ideal type to which they tend. The progress has been governed by law: that is, the gradual assertion, for instance, of the principle of self-sacrifice is not a mere accident of the position in which men found themselves, but depends on that purpose which history is slowly working out. To a believer in a God whose will guides and supports the order of nature and history, this conception would appear to present little dif-

ficulty. Even though it is *à priori* in a sense, it does not seem to make progress impossible; the fixed ideal of humanity comes forth gradually, just as the changeless will of God is progressively revealed. There is a considerable degree of misconception attaching to these terms *à priori* and *à posteriori*. It is usually assumed that an *à priori* method starts with an absolute disregard for facts, forms certain purely imaginary conceptions, and expects to fit them on to the facts afterwards. Such a method as this would deserve all the scorn which Professor Fowler could heap on it. But this is not what we mean by an *à priori* method. We understand by this phrase a method which deals with facts, but with facts as expressive of a rational principle, and not simply in and for themselves. An apt illustration of this will be found in Professor Fowler's remarks upon the State. To him the State is an artificial product, an aggregate of individuals, and nothing more. The existence of it is not to his mind involved in the nature of man. It is a convenience and nothing more. To Professor Green, on the other hand, it is a natural and inevitable consequence of the constitution of mankind. It is the sphere in which alone man's capabilities are realized, and its end is to give to the largest number of individuals the fullest possible self-realization. Accordingly we find in Professor Green a much more definite view of the limits within which legislation may interfere. He has an ideal before him by which he can estimate facts. Placing as he does the chief emphasis on the organic unity of the State, he is less afraid than Professor Fowler of those curtailments of merely individual liberty which legislation frequently involves. Professor Fowler, on the other hand, in his close adherence to mere facts, can give hardly any help at all. Legislation sometimes does more harm than good; sometimes is advantageous. That is the experience of the past. It offers no suggestions as to the causes of past failure, or hopes of future success. It is simply sceptical.

There is a second point closely connected with the foregoing which we think Professor Fowler has overlooked, and we trace to it many of our differences from him. It often happens that those who use the idea of evolution to co-ordinate facts betray a distaste for the admission of new facts. They seem to imply that because one stage has arisen out of another, the higher condition of things can be explained in terms of the lower without any new terms at all. It is frequently implied, and sometimes directly stated, for instance, that man's activities and man's life can be explained

or described in terms of less developed activities and life. Whereas the truth lies in the opposite direction. The poorer and less developed forms of life are significant in the history of the evolution of the world, just because they hint at a higher state yet to come. And it seems to stand to reason, that the appearance of this higher condition of things places the organism in a wholly new relation to the world. To take an instance, for which we are indebted to Dr. Martineau. An animal which has no sense of sight or sound, but is only capable of reaction on touch, has a certain life possible to it, and no more. The development of sight places the animal which possesses it in an entirely new condition. It has a new command over the world, new possibilities of development, and the terms which might have been adequate to describe the life of the lower creature are entirely unfit for the higher, even though it be true that sight is a special form of touch. So, again, human life, whatever its history, is a wholly new thing; and it is entirely impossible to explain it in terms of merely animal life. Evolution may have made the lines of demarcation between one species and another indistinct and wavy, but it has not abolished the differences of species. Such obvious truths as this, perhaps, may seem scarcely worth stating; they have an application, however, within human life. We do not suppose that mankind ever existed as merely intellectual, without even a rudimentary conscience; but we do not believe that conscience can be explained in merely psychological terms. The moral aspect of life is a different one to the intellectual; the conscience is, in a way, a new sense. We are warned against this idea in Part I. p. 48, on the ground that 'the decisions [of conscience] seem to arise necessarily, though often by a complicated and circuitous route, out of the operations of the reason and the gratification or disappointment of the sympathetic and self-regarding feelings.' This is exactly what we do not believe. We do not deny that intellectual development is a valuable assistance to moral growth; but it is a matter of quite ordinary experience, that an extreme sensitiveness to moral claims may exist without any high intellectual attainments, and that very high intellectual powers are compatible with feeble morality. The infirmities of genius are half proverbial, while almost any parish priest could give evidence in support of the other case. Then, again, remorse for an evil deed is a wholly different thing from the annoyance one feels at having made a mistake in a sum, or calculated chances wrongly. Only if we have reason to suppose that our carelessness was culpable and serious, do

we feel anything approaching moral self-condemnation. Conscience, we maintain, looks at facts in a new light, and estimates them on new principles. They appear as the expression of the character of man, far more than as involving this or that result. It does not treat them so much as instances of a class, as in their relation to the character of the man under the given conditions of temptation or doubt. The judgment falls on persons in action, and tends always to become a simple judgment of right or wrong. There are countless ways of confusing the issue, and of deriving false utterances from conscience. There is often a strong desire to use irrelevant facts as excuses, and to neglect the real conditions of the will. But none the less there is a general feeling that life may move on the wrong road or the right, and this tends to express itself in the judgments of conscience. And when we are convicted by our conscience of wrong-doing, we are convicted, as Dr. Martineau has pointed out, of having done all the wrong in our power at the time, and not of having made an erroneous calculation of results, or of having omitted to consider our action *sub specie æternitatis*. Most of this Professor Fowler has ignored. He admits, indeed, 'that when we come to the particular acts of individual persons or of definite aggregates of persons . . . it seems impossible, in forming our judgment, to keep out of sight either the predominant motive or motives, on the one side, or, on the other, the results' (p. 196). But moral actions are generally judged as a class, and then the attention is directed to results. 'Murder and lying, for instance, regarded as classes of acts, seem to be reprobated on account of their pernicious consequences, with little or no regard to the motives which usually give birth to them' (*ibid.*). This concentration on results seems to us to have involved Professor Fowler, in company with Bentham, in a juristic view of life, which is only indirectly moral at all. Results have to be taken into consideration by a jurist, because, as we pointed out before, the end of the State is to allow the fullest self-realization to all the individuals composing it. The jurist has to take care, therefore, that no one has his liberty unjustly limited. And they are useful to the moralist, pure and simple, because they show him the general tendency of actions. If he believes that there is a purpose in history, they illustrate individual life, and out of them he learns as much as he can of the permanent principles which rule human progress. But, for all that, morality is primarily personal; questions of conscience are for the individual soul to decide for itself with such helps as may be

had. This leads on to the consideration of the subject which Professor Fowler has placed last in his book—the connexion of morality and religion. The true connexion, as we conceive it, lies through conscience. Conscience, as we observed a moment ago, is closely connected with Personality. It is recognized as giving the decisive judgment upon all the deepest questions in the moral life. Its utterances, as we have said, fall on persons, and they come with the authority of a law. And this law, though external in the sense that it is independent of the individual will, is yet felt to correspond to the truest affinities of the human self. What is the nature of the law? Is it an adequate account of it to say that it is a short abstract statement of moral facts just as they are? Surely not; for it has to do with what *ought to be*, not in the same sense with what *is*. And the consciousness of having acted in defiance of a natural uniformity brings with it no sense of moral wrong. Penitence is not the state of mind of the unsuccessful aeronaut. Prometheus rebels against the hard irrational conditions which bind the human race, and yet glories in the suffering which the envy of the gods inflicts. It is wholly different with a sin. Then there comes a feeling of a law broken which never ought to have been broken—of a breach, not of a uniformity only, but a law. And the question is then—What or who imposes this law? Surely nothing less than a perfect moral Being, as personal as ourselves. We conquer the laws of nature by obeying them. We never conquer the moral law. We can never use it for our own purposes; it binds and conditions us everywhere and always. Civilized man becomes gradually free of nature: he never becomes free of the moral law. Surely we have in this view, for which again we are largely indebted to Dr. Martineau, a truer account of the relations of morality and religion. Religion, resting upon a personal God, is the climax to which morality leads. It, too, like morality, has had a history. It has seemed at times to defy the moral law, at times it has aided in developing it. But the real relation between the two is only fully seen when the best and highest truths of morality are found to be the starting-point of a new sphere of human activity, where obedience to a law is transformed into love of a personal God.

So we have passed in review some of the more striking points in these volumes. We have not space to discuss many others which are worth discussion—the freedom of the will, for instance, or the relation of pleasure to desire. But we have said enough to give a general idea of the tone and character

of the books as a whole. We confess that we are considerably disappointed in them. The style is somewhat pompous and stilted, and the bias under which they are written considerably diminishes from their usefulness. Professor Fowler might no doubt urge that he and Professor Wilson had persuaded themselves that metaphysic is cumbrous nonsense before the books were begun, and that therefore there was no reason for complicating the problems by polemics. There is something to be said for this; but still we cannot agree that it is wise to leave aside such a widely represented mental attitude as Transcendentalism in its various forms. Its very extensiveness, one would think, would be enough to show that it is not mere fancy, but does answer to a real need of the human mind—a need as real as that of morality itself. Such a desire is not satisfied by logical divisions of virtues and vices, or by definitions of their names; and one is the more disappointed because, so far as we have discovered, there is no addition made in these volumes to positions which Professor Green spent so much labour in confuting. But we must restrain ourselves. We would avoid that vice of excessive criticism which Professor Fowler condemns in his *Progressive Morality* (p. 192). We would not wish to be less 'keenly alive to the difficulties' of the subject than to the errors in treatment which we seem to ourselves to have discovered. We cannot but admire the perseverance and real moral zeal which these volumes display. We do not ignore the freedom with which Professor Fowler has adopted the new knowledge which science has brought to bear upon the subject. But yet, after all, the problems seem to us to be treated in too fatally easy a fashion. The human race is still very far from being ideal; and we cannot but believe that any theory which will help much towards the moral development of mankind will be one which takes far more account than this of the vast importance of personality, and the tremendous strain which lies upon the individual will.

ART. V.—THE GREAT FLOOD.

The Mammoth and the Flood: an Attempt to confront the Theory of Uniformity with the Facts of recent Geology.

By HENRY H. HOWORTH, M.P. (London, 1887.)

A CENTURY or more ago, when those dreary treatises called *Theories of the Earth* were still thought profitable reading, geologists—if we may anticipate the use of a term not yet invented—were divided into Neptunists and Vulcanists. The former invoked water, the latter fire, as the agent which had moulded the crust of our earth; and, animated by that virulence which mere theorizing always engenders, the rival sects set up a fierce controversy, amidst which the still small voice of science gained little or no attention. Gradually, however, after long years wasted in baseless wranglings, the truth came to be recognized that patient observation of facts, and notably the study of the organic remains distinctive of different strata, would lead to more profitable results than mere theory. In other words, the modern science of geology came into being, and a host of observers directed their best energies to ‘getting the rocks into their right order in the field.’ When this task had been to a certain extent accomplished, and the strata, not merely of England, but of Europe, had been mapped out, it was not unnatural to seek for a theory of causation that would embrace the observed phenomena. Then it was that the late Sir Charles Lyell taught, in his *Principles of Geology*, of which the first edition appeared in 1830, that it was unnecessary to suppose that violent cataclysms had rent our globe asunder, for that the causes now in operation, if sufficient time be granted to them, were powerful enough to account, not merely for ‘conformable’ stratification, but even for the most extensive dislocations and disruptions. This theory was no creation of the fancy, invented by a scholar dreaming at his desk; it was the result of long labour in the field, and careful study of the recorded observations of others. Nor can it, by this time, be called a new thing. More than half a century has elapsed since its first promulgation, and during the whole of that period it has been steadily winning the approval of those most competent to judge it. *Rien n’est sacré pour un sabreur*, however; and in these latter days Mr. Howorth has donned his armour, and ridden forth like a knight errant of old (the simile is his, not ours) to do battle

with what he terms 'a metaphysical and scholastic delusion.' We are afraid that, like Don Quixote, he has not unfrequently mistaken a windmill for a giant; that he has failed to comprehend the theory he would fain banish from our text-books and our lecture-rooms. But, notwithstanding, he has written a very interesting treatise, which theologians, as well as men of science, will find profitable reading. It will be readily understood that our space will not allow us to notice in detail a volume which contains upwards of five hundred closely-printed pages, replete with facts, and often, as the nature of the case demands, dealing with the technicalities of science, but we will try to state with fairness the main points of the argument.

Before entering on this task it will be best, we think, to extract from Mr. Howorth's preface his own statement of the conclusions which, in his belief, are proved by the facts which he has brought together.

'They prove, in the first place, that a very great cataclysm or catastrophe occurred at the close of the mammoth period, by which that animal, with its companions, were overwhelmed over a very large part of the earth's surface. Secondly, that this catastrophe involved a widespread flood of water, which not only killed the animals, but also buried them under continuous beds of loam and gravel. Thirdly, that the same catastrophe was accompanied by a very great and sudden change of climate in Siberia, by which the animals which had previously lived in fairly temperate conditions were frozen in their flesh under the ground, and have remained frozen ever since. Fourthly, that this catastrophe took place when man was already occupying the earth, and constitutes the gap which is almost universally admitted to exist between so-called palæolithic and neolithic man. Fifthly, that this catastrophe is, in all probability, the same one pointed out in the traditions of so many races as the primæval flood, from which their legendary history begins. Sixthly, that, while this flood was exceedingly widespread, considerable areas escaped, and from those insular areas man, animals, and plants spread out again and reoccupied those districts which had been desolated. Wherever we turn in the temperate regions of the world we seem to be on the track of this great catastrophe, which swept away the greater part of an ancient fauna, and which especially destroyed the larger and more unwieldy animals, allowing the smaller ones to escape, and which forms a great dividing line in the recent biological history of Australia as well as Europe, of Siberia as well as America. This vast effort seems from inexorable evidence to have been due to the exertion of some cataclysmic force by which the earth's crust was greatly disturbed, not merely locally, but over a large part of its surface. It was in consequence of this dislocation that the loose watery envelope which covers a large portion of the

world was set in motion, and sweeping over the land drowned and then buried deep in gravel, loam, and clay hecatombs of human beings, a vast cemetery of life, causing a deluge apparently unparalleled in extent and completeness in any other geological period; a catastrophe which may well claim, therefore, to be spoken of as "the great flood."

If we turn, in the next place, to the chapters dealing with the extinction of the mammoth—from which, incorrectly enough, the whole work derives its name—we shall find that fascinating romance re-told in minute detail, from the first discovery of a few tusks and teeth to the disinterment of whole carcasses. We would fain linger over the curious learning amassed in the first chapter, where Mr. Howorth shows, by quotations from early travellers, that the words 'mammoth' and 'behemoth' are identical, the former being merely a Russian corruption of the latter, applied in very ancient times by Arab traders to huge bones—probably those of extinct elephants—which were shown to them in Tartary; that the griffon—both classical and mediæval—may be identified with an extinct rhinoceros (*R. tichorinus*), a contemporary of the mammoth, between whose skull and that of a bird a fanciful resemblance may be traced, and whose horns were believed to be its claws; that the classical fable of the griffon guarding gold was suggested by the fact that gold-seekers in Western Siberia laid bare the bones of huge extinct animals, the elephant and the rhinoceros, in the course of their excavations; and, finally, that the bones of giants, so common in mediæval legends, were only those of mammoths. But in treating of the mammoth truth is stranger than legend. In the seventeenth century the Russians began to obtain ivory from Northern Siberia, sometimes in the form of whole tusks, but more frequently worked by the natives into snuff-boxes, combs, and other objects. The mystery which attended this supply tempted adventurous explorers to investigate the sources of it, and about the middle of the last century a Russian merchant, named Liachof, discovered the island, which now bears his name, off the mouth of the Lena. There, when the sun melted the ice, he found vast heaps of tusks and bones of mammoths. The ivory was often, we are told, as fresh and white as that from Africa. Liachof was engaged for many years in digging ivory there, and on the neighbouring islands, which, since his time, have yielded an almost incredible amount of tusks. It is impossible to form any estimate of the quantity found during the years immediately succeeding the first discovery; but it has been computed that

during the last twenty years the tusks of twenty thousand mammoths have been exported from a very limited area, nor has any diminution in the supply been as yet observed. This estimate, it should be remarked, takes no account of the number exported to China, where ivory from this source was utilised from a very early period.

But it must not be supposed that mammoth remains are confined to the islands off the Siberian coast. The whole northern sea-board of Asia, from Behring's Straits to the Ural Mountains, is rich in them. They are found not only on the banks of the long rivers and in their deltas, but perhaps even more abundantly on the very short rivers which fall into the Arctic Sea. Nor are they confined to the beds or banks of rivers. They occur in nearly all parts of the *tundra*, or flat, moss-covered waste, which forms the northern zone of Siberia. The traveller Wrangell says :

'The best mammoth bones, as well as the greatest number, are found at a certain depth below the surface, usually in clay hills, more rarely in black earth. The more solid the clay the better the bones are preserved. Experience has also shown that more are found in elevations situated near higher hills than along the low coast or on the flat *tundra*.'

Nor are bones only disinterred. The discovery of entire carcasses, both of the mammoth and the rhinoceros, has been repeatedly recorded ; and, as Mr. Howorth observes, these probably do not represent a tithe of those about which the natives have preserved a discreet silence. When extracted from the frozen earth the skin, covered with wool and long hair, is usually intact, as are the ears and trunk, while the flesh is as fresh as if recently taken out of an Esquimaux cache or a Yakut subterranean meat-safe. In several cases both skeletons and carcasses have been found standing upright in the ground, as though they had sunk down into soft earth while yet alive, and been buried in that position. Further, the curious fact has been noted that a large number had their heads turned towards the north.

It is not surprising that these marvellous discoveries should have given rise to several theories to account for the remains of such huge animals being deposited under conditions so unusual. It was suggested in the first place that they had floated down the rivers from a country where the climate was less severe. But, as Sir Richard Owen pointed out long ago, 'the bones exhibit no marks of detrition ; their ridges, their apophyses, are in perfect preservation ;' and, it might be added, how could carcasses float down rocky streams

such as the Yenissei, for hundreds of miles, and retain not only their flesh but their long hair? Again, the remains are more plentiful on the *tundra* than in or near the rivers; they are found not only in rivers flowing towards the north, but in those that flow in the opposite direction; and, most fatal fact of all for the acceptance of this theory, not only do they become less plentiful the farther we advance towards the south, but the mammoths found in southern localities can be separated specifically from those which are so plentiful in the north. A second theory invokes seasonal migrations. Because certain circum-polar animals are in the habit of migrating to fresh feeding-grounds in summer and winter, it has been argued that the mammoth and the rhinoceros did likewise, passing their summers in the north and their winters in the south. To this theory Mr. Howorth makes the following reply:—

‘In the first place, it must be remembered that the question is not so much one of climate as of food. There is nothing here for these great beasts to eat in the summer, for they cannot browse like reindeer on *tundra* mosses and grasses. In summer no less than in winter, the district where the mammoth remains chiefly abound is quite unsuited to their mode of feeding, and neither in quantity nor in quality of food could they have supplied their wants. For we must remember it is not a question of finding food for a sporadic pachyderm or two, but for enormous herds, whose hecatombs are buried there. Again, if we consider the configuration of Siberia, and the vast distances over which this migration would have to pass, we shall come to but one conclusion. Where could the mammoths from Kamschatka, or the banks of the Kolyma, or the islands of New Siberia, migrate to to gain a favourable wintering station?

‘But we may go further. If the mammoth migrated in large herds with his young ones for a summer jaunt to the Arctic Sea, it is hardly credible that he should take with him, stored up in his paunch, a sufficient store of food to last him while there. We know the kind of food he and the rhinoceros fed upon, and we have the actual *débris* of their food forthcoming from the recesses of their teeth, and this food is not now found along the Arctic Sea, or in Chukchi land, or in New Siberia. This is a crucial test. While this kind of vegetation is not now found growing there, *débris* of a similar kind is largely found in the same beds as the mammoth remains, and with it also a large assemblage of *helices*, and other land shells, now living much farther south. . . . Plants and snails cannot migrate. They must stay the winter through’ (p. 621).

The molar teeth of the mammoth exhibit a succession of triturating surfaces placed close together, and the tusks, frequently of enormous size, extended laterally, like two scythes, in the same horizontal plane, with a contour of fully three-

quarters of a circle. The former would be as admirably adapted for crushing twigs of soft-wooded conifers, as the latter for catching and holding down top-branches while they were being stripped by the trunk. Further, the wool and long hair with which the mammoth was covered would render him less accessible to cold than his Indian or African half-brother at the present day. That the sterile wastes of Northern Siberia, swept by icy tempests, and enlivened by nothing save a few hardy flowers during the so-called summer, once possessed the conditions for life indicated by these peculiarities, has been amply proved by the researches of more than one competent naturalist. In many places large birch-trees have been found, complete with bark, branches, and roots; in others large stems, with their roots fast in the soil; while the deposits in which the carcasses occur consist generally of clay alternating with layers of vegetable matter—mosses, grasses, roots, leaves, and pieces of branches. The natives recognize this wood as indigenous, and call it Adam's wood (*Adamo-vshtshina*) in contrast to *Noashina*, or drift-wood. This evidence indicates that the flora of the district resembled that of Southern Siberia at the present time; that it was well-wooded; that the limit of the woods extended far to the north of their present range; that the winters were temperate and not Arctic.

In striking contrast to the conditions which once prevailed, the ground is now so completely frozen that it has been calculated that boring must be carried to a depth of 630 feet before water can be found in a fluid state. This fact being ascertained, we need not marvel that buried flesh should remain undecayed; but we are led to an important corollary, namely, 'that the bodies of mammoths and other animals entombed in it must have been frozen immediately after death, and have remained frozen since they were first entombed' (p. 93). This corollary is formulated, in almost identical language, by Lyell himself, and also by Buckland and Cuvier.

Up to this point Mr. Howorth is at one with previous writers; but, when he propounds a theory of causation, he widely differs from most of them. He maintains—and so far his position is unassailable—that it would be unreasonable to postulate as many catastrophes as there are skeletons, and that we have to seek for 'some catastrophe which operated over a wide area, and not through the slow processes of the ordinary struggles for existence.' Here, however, he shall express his favourite theory in his own words:—

'We want a cause that should kill the animals, and yet not break to pieces their bodies, or even mutilate them, a cause which would in some cases disintegrate the skeletons without weathering the bones. We want a cause that would not merely do this as a widespread murrain or plague might, but one which would bury the bodies as well as kill the animals, which could take up gravel and clay and lay them down again, and which could sweep together animals of different sizes and species, and mix them with trees and other *débris* of vegetation. What cause competent to do this is known to us, except rushing waters on a great scale? Water would drown the animals, and yet would not mutilate the bodies. It would kill them all with complete impartiality, irrespective of their strength, age, or size. It would take up clay and earth, and cover the bodies with it. This is the very work it is doing daily on a small scale. Not only could it do this, but it is the only cause known to me capable of doing the work on a scale commensurate with the effects we see in Siberia' (p. 184).

In support of this theory Mr. Howorth aptly cites the observations of Professor Brandt on the rhinoceros found by Pallas. That distinguished naturalist states that 'the blood-vessels, and even the finer capillaries, were filled with brown coagulated blood.' Von Schrenk also examined another rhinoceros, discovered under similar conditions, and found the nostrils wide open and the mouth partly open, whence, he says, 'it may be concluded that the animal died from suffocation, which it tried to avoid by keeping the nostrils wide asunder.' These appearances unquestionably point to death having been caused by asphyxia. Again, the position of certain skeletons is cited as a further proof; for instance, an example quoted by Cuvier, where an elephant was 'rolled up with its tusks between its hind legs' (p. 187). To the action of a great flood moreover Mr. Howorth attributes the occurrence (not in Siberia, but elsewhere) of

'those immense caches in which the remains of many species of wild animals are incongruously mixed together, pell-mell, often on high ground, a position which is paralleled by the great floods which occur occasionally in the tropics, where we find the tiger and its victims all collecting together on some dry place, and reduced to a common condition of timidity and helplessness by a flood which has overwhelmed the flat country. In the present case all were overtaken by the water, tossed and tumbled together in a common destruction, and then covered thickly with a mantle of clay or gravel—a mantle, be it remembered, spread over immense areas, without a break external or internal, and in which we can find no traces of local disturbance, such as would be caused by any process of subsequent burying, and showing that bones and covering were laid down together' (p. 186).

Lastly, as regards Siberia, Mr. Howorth cites the weighty authority of the distinguished traveller and geologist Erman, who concludes that the strata near Yakutsk 'have been deposited from waters *which at one time, and it may be presumed suddenly, overflowed the whole country as far as the Polar Sea* ;'¹ and in a subsequent passage, where he is describing the islands called New Siberia, he points to the wild disorder of the trees and bones on the summits of the hills as a proof that these islands 'opposed the last bar to the diffusion of the waters,' which, in his opinion, poured over the country from the south.

Mr. Howorth has allowed his narrative of the extinction of the mammoth and its companions to occupy 191 pages out of the whole 464 contained in his volume, and it is evident that he intended his peculiar theory to be fully set forth in what may be justly termed this elaborate monograph. We have therefore followed in his steps, and have given as detailed an analysis of it as our space would admit. In consequence we shall be obliged to pass somewhat hastily over the other divisions of his treatise.

The subject next undertaken is 'the evidence of the caves and fissures in the Old World.' These have been divided by their explorers into three classes : (1) those containing skeletons and ungnawed bones ; (2) those which were evidently the dens of carnivorous mammals ; (3) those which served for human habitations. The remains found in caves of the first class must have belonged either to animals who came into them to die, or were brought into them by some other agency. Now, when it is remembered that bones of animals so diverse as elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, ox, deer, horse, beaver, otter, rabbit and other rodents, bear, hyena, wolf, lion, are frequently found together in the same cave, it is incredible that they should all belong to animals who died there. It is not the custom of many of the above-mentioned animals to slink into caves to die ; and, even if it were, they would hardly have taken their young with them—and the bones of young animals are frequently found mixed up with those of adults. Nor can the agency of beasts of prey be invoked, for, as stated above, the bones are always ungnawed, and sometimes undisturbed—in other words, the bones of an entire skeleton have been found, still preserving their natural relations to each other. As regards the caves of the second class, no one has ever questioned the fact that the animals to which the bones there found belonged 'were dragged into them

¹ The italics are Mr. Howorth's, not ours.

whole or piece-meal, and there devoured and their bones crushed' (p. 201); but the position of the bones in some of them has been thought to indicate that they have been re-arranged since the animals left them. The same appearances are found, most unmistakeably, in caves of the third class, many of which have been used—of course not simultaneously—by man and by carnivorous mammals. A cave in Belgium, which had once served for human habitation, was examined by the well-known naturalist Professor Van Beneden, who found in it as many as thirteen skeletons, but 'in an inconceivable state of disorder' ('dans un état de désordre à peine croyable'); and in another, in Sicily, Dr. Falconer found ashes and flint implements imbedded in a breccia containing bones of elephant, hyena, bear, and lion. A similar confusion of bones has been observed in fissures, notably in those of Malta, which have been submitted to a very close and searching examination by Dr. Leith Adams. Various theories have been advanced to account for the above phenomena, and most cave-explorers have postulated the introduction of water—say a river or a land-flood—as being the only agent which would account for the peculiar position of the bones—their accumulation in the narrowest passages, and at points where the stream was arrested by a current or an obstacle, and the deposition of the larger pieces in such a direction that their largest axes are parallel to the walls of the cave or fissure. Mr. Howorth, as might be expected, goes far beyond the modest theories of a Gaudry or a Boyd Dawkins. Nothing will satisfy him short of the Great Flood, and we admit that he supports his favourite theory by two very weighty considerations, first that the contents of the caves are covered with a *diluvium* precisely like that which is spread over hill and dale in the adjoining districts; and secondly, that the stalagmitic floor 'separates a period of profuse life from one when life was very scanty, one in which certain animals now extinct abounded from one in which they completely disappeared' (p. 211).

The evidence afforded by human remains (in which category we include all articles indicative of human workmanship) has been marshalled very skilfully by Mr. Howorth in support of his theory, and we specially commend to the attention of those who may take up his book with neither wish nor leisure to read the whole of it, the chapter (the ninth) which deals with this subject. The traces of prehistoric man which have been gradually coming to light during the past half-century have naturally been submitted to the most critical examination; and the evidence has been received with a caution

which, considering the momentous issues involved, can hardly be thought excessive. That man should have been the contemporary of the cave-animals was thought at first to be simply incredible ; and so long as the evidence was confined to one district, or consisted of a few flints that might have been fashioned by other agencies than human hands, doubt was not merely natural, but justifiable. Gradually, however, as the evidence became overwhelming, even the most sceptical were convinced, and before long it became possible to separate the objects discovered into two broad divisions, the palæolithic and the neolithic, and the human beings who fashioned them into palæolithic and neolithic men. This distinction has now been universally admitted, and it is not difficult to enumerate the chief characteristics of each. The former dwelt in caves, procured their food by the chase, had no domestic animals, and used weapons of unpolished flint. Yet some of the articles made by them—such as their bone harpoons—show considerable ingenuity, and their artistic sense was strong enough to enable them to draw pictures of animals which are at least recognizable. Neolithic man, on the other hand, lived on rudely fortified heights, had domesticated animals, used weapons of polished flint, and was, in general, a well-to-do, comfortable person, who did not trouble himself about the arts. As Mr. Howorth says, translating M. de Mortillet—

‘ in the former period we have a uniform type of man ; in the latter, one showing great diversity. In the former, a nomadic population ; in the latter, a sedentary one. In the former, a race of hunters and fishermen, without agriculture ; in the latter, agriculture well developed. In the former, no monuments, and no traces of sepulture ; in the latter, abundance of both ’ (p. 247).

It is conceivable that this latter state of things might have been developed out of the former, but there is a concurrence of opinion among the best judges that such was not the case. There are no transitional forms, and nowhere has any well-certified instance been met with in which the remains have been found mixed. This is not Mr. Howorth’s own opinion ; it is a statement which depends on the authorities whom he quotes, and it is indeed ‘ a startling fact,’ as he calls it, ‘ that the two sets of men, their remains, and their animal companions are sharply and definitely separated by a complete gap ’ (p. 246). On this subject there is no higher authority than Professor Boyd Dawkins. He is no friend to Mr. Howorth’s theory, and yet he can express himself in the following terms. After pointing out that the mammoth and

its companions were unknown in Britain in the neolithic age, he proceeds :—

‘Speaking in general terms, the wild fauna of Europe, as we have it now, dates from the beginning of the prehistoric age, and consists merely of those animals which were able to survive the changes by which their pleistocene congeners were banished or destroyed. The survival of the domestic animals under the care of man in the neolithic age, and their extension over the whole of Europe in a wild or semi-wild state, coupled with the disappearance of the wild species mentioned above, constitutes a change in the mammal life at least as important as any of those which define the miocene from the pliocene, or the pliocene from the pleistocene periods.’¹

These are strong words, and we are not surprised that Mr. Howorth should quote them approvingly. But he and their author view the same facts from standpoints separated by so wide a gulf that no bridge can span it. Professor Boyd Dawkins postulates a gradual extinction ; Mr. Howorth will be content with nothing short of a sudden cataclysm—a flood of waters which passed over the land, drowning the animals and then burying their remains—a catastrophe which ‘forms a great break in human continuity no less than in the biological records of animal life, and is the Great Divide where history really begins’ (p. 256).

This interesting chapter closes the case for the petitioner against the doctrine of uniformity so far as the Old World is concerned. In the four following the evidence on the same side from the New World is laid before us. This, as might be expected, does not differ in its main features from what we have been already made familiar with, and therefore it need not be examined in detail. Beginning with North America Mr. Howorth argues that

‘the remains of the mammoth and its companions are found in Alaska, and as far north as Point Barrow, under the same wintry conditions that they occur in in Asia. As in that continent they are found imbedded in frozen soil, which, on account of their fresh condition, must have remained frozen from the time of their entombment. And although no actual mummies have occurred, this is probably due to the slight exploration which the country has as yet received ; but the remains in Alaska have been found in a singularly fresh condition, and the explorers of the cliffs at Eschholz Bay speak of the strong smell of decaying animal matter there’ (p. 266).

Among the companions of the mammoth in America the most interesting and important is the mastodon, a closely allied form, which in Europe belongs to a more ancient

¹ *Cave Hunting*, by W. Boyd Dawkins, p. 266.

geological period. In America, on the contrary, its remains, as Sir Charles Lyell has pointed out, are 'not unfrequently met with in bogs and lacustrine deposits formed in hollows in the drift, and, therefore, in a geological position much resembling that of recent peat and shell-marl in the British Isles, Denmark, or the valley of the Somme. Sometimes entire skeletons have been discovered within a few feet of the surface.'¹ Mr. Howorth relates at length the discovery of several of these, which bear a remarkable analogy to the mammoth-mummies of Siberia. Their hair, skin, and flesh, it is true, have not been preserved, but beneath the ribs have been found, in several instances, a mass of twigs and other vegetable matter—evidently the contents of the stomach. This fact shows that the skeletons rest where the animals died; and, as in Siberia, full-grown, half-grown, and young animals are found lying together. They occur at different depths—sometimes in surface soil, sometimes buried deep in marl or gravel; sometimes with the fore legs extended and the hind legs drawn under the body, as though the animal had been overwhelmed while swimming; and sometimes in a vertical position. Moreover, it has been observed that, like the mammoth, the skeletons lie in a definite direction, usually south-west and north-east. Here, as in Siberia, we are evidently in presence of a great catastrophe, which appears, so far as the phenomena can be interpreted, to have overwhelmed an entire race, old and young together. Such, at any rate, is the opinion of competent American naturalists who have specially examined the mastodon remains.

The analogy between the phenomena presented by North America and Europe has been further strengthened by the discovery of human remains in similar situations, and associated with the remains of a similar mammalian fauna. Indications of the former existence of palæolithic man are by no means so abundant in America as they are in Europe; still, enough have been discovered to justify the conclusion that 'man has left his remains in America, as in the Old World, in beds of distinctly pleistocene age.' The beds here referred to are river-gravels of great depth, in which, and occasionally 'under the great boulders which pervade them,' palæolithic flints have been found. Here, again, the existence of the gap noticed above between palæolithic and neolithic man in Europe may be recognized. As a careful and un-biassed observer, frequently quoted by Mr. Howorth, has recorded:

¹ Lyell, *Antiquity of Man*, ed. 1863, p. 352.

‘It is not practicable to trace any connection between the characteristic chipped palæolithic implements and the polished, pecked, and finely-wrought objects of Indian origin, the one form certainly not having any necessary connection with the other.’¹

South America offers a still more remarkable series of phenomena, which may with still greater certitude be referred to the action of water on a great scale. In the plains of the Pampas there are found buried quadrupeds, usually of gigantic size—elephants, sloths, and armadillos—in such vast quantities that it has been estimated that any line whatever drawn across that territory would probably cross the skeleton of some extinct animal. All observers are agreed that they and the strata in which they lie have been deposited together. The bones are evidently of no very great antiquity. Darwin remarked of specimens discovered by himself that they appeared ‘so fresh that it is difficult to believe that they have lain buried for ages underground. The bone contains so much animal matter that when heated in the flame of a spirit-lamp it not only exhales a very strong animal odour, but likewise burns with a slight flame;’ and, as with the Siberian mammoth and the North American mastodon, there is little doubt that the animals were buried soon after death. Moreover, here as elsewhere, young and old lie side by side, and animals the most incongruous have been overwhelmed by the common destruction, whatever it may have been. That it was an inundation was the opinion of M. d’Orbigny, than whom no one, not even Mr. Darwin, has studied South America more laboriously. He says:—

‘I argue that this destruction was caused by an invasion of the continent by water, a view which is completely *en rapport* with the facts presented by the great Pampian deposit, which was clearly laid down by water. How otherwise can we account for this complete destruction, and the homogeneousness of the Pampas deposits containing bones? I find an evident proof of this in the immense number of bones and of entire animals, whose numbers are greatest at the outlets of the valleys, as Mr. Darwin shows. This proves that the animals were floated, and hence were chiefly carried to the coast’ (p. 352).

Human remains undoubtedly associated with these great mammals are extremely rare; but enough have been found to justify Mr. Howorth in claiming palæolithic man for their companion, and in establishing here, as elsewhere, a decisive break between him and the tribes of living Indians.

From South America Mr. Howorth turns to Australia and

¹ Abbott, *Primitive Industry*, p. 512.

New Zealand, where, in the destruction of the great marsupials, and the struthious birds called *Dinornis*, or by the natives moa, he finds fresh confirmation of his theory. The evidence respecting the marsupials is scanty, and to our minds inconclusive; but respecting the moa there is no lack of information. That it survived down to the occupation of the country by the Maoris, and that they completed its extirpation, there can be no doubt. The evidence of Maori tradition is overwhelming, and Mr. Howorth frankly accepts it. But, besides the Maoris, other and more primitive savages hunted the moa, as is evidenced by the traces of their camp fires, where they roasted the flesh of the birds they had succeeded in killing, and by their rude weapons, of which considerable numbers have been discovered. Those who examined the New Zealand court of the Colonial Exhibition in detail will remember the extensive series of these, got together by the care and skill of the late Sir Julius von Haast, to whom we owe much of our knowledge respecting the different species of moa, and of all that relates to its persecution and final extinction. This part of the moa's history, however, is a mere episode, from Mr. Howorth's point of view. The deposits of moa bones connected with this later period have but little interest for him. He is more concerned with those localities in which the bones occur in vast heterogeneous masses, various genera and species mixed together, and commingled with the remains of other birds now extinct. One of these, at a place called Glenmark, was covered by sixty feet of river shingle. It was computed that the number of specimens there imbedded must have reached a thousand, if not more, and they were of all ages, from the chick to the adult. The description of one of these masses is the description of all. None of the bones are weathered, or gnawed by animals, or broken into by savages. To what cause, then, are we to ascribe the remarkable conditions under which they are found? Fire in the forest, a poisoned spring, an entanglement in a morass, are examined in turn, and dismissed as inadequate. In fact the New Zealand explorers who had the benefit of studying the whole problem on the spot, are as much puzzled as those who only read accounts of it. To Mr. Howorth it seems

‘that these facts are consistent only with the same theory which I have quoted to account for the caches, and similar deposits of heterogeneous bones in Europe, Asia, and America, namely, the animals being overtaken in some place of vantage by a sudden and transitory wave of water, which drowned the creatures *in situ*, but did not disperse or triturate their bones, or mix them with extraneous *débris*’ (p. 409).

Mr. Howorth keeps very properly to the last 'the evidence of human tradition.' In a final chapter he shows that a vast number of native legends and traditions start with a great flood. Beginning with the Bible, he traces it through the early Hindus, the Greeks, the Norsemen, the Chinese, the Esquimaux, the Mexicans and Peruvians, the Caribs, the Polynesians, the Fiji Islanders, the Australians, and others. These tribes are, in his view, the descendants of 'a once continuous community broken asunder by some great disintegrating cause.' If this were so, the continuous community in question must have embraced some strangely divergent elements, which mere considerations of climate and surroundings are surely insufficient to account for.

Again, we have seen how strongly Mr. Howorth insists on the gap between palæolithic and neolithic man—that relics of the one race are never found mixed with those of the other, &c. But from what source could the descendants of his 'once continuous community' derive their customs, if not from their own ancestors, that is to say, from palæolithic men of some sort? If, on the other hand, he postulates a new creation for neolithic man, he finds himself at variance with the human traditions he invokes, for they all provide for the escape of a chosen few 'to increase and multiply and replenish the earth.'

It often happens that those who write a book with a purpose achieve some other end than that which they proposed to themselves when they started. Mr. Howorth intended to overthrow the theory of Uniformity, but to our minds he leaves that theory very much where he found it, and has succeeded only in bringing together a very remarkable *catena* of evidence in favour of a Great Flood in various portions of the earth. The theory is not new. It formed the basis of Buckland's *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*, published in 1823. It was defended by Professor Sedgwick in 1825. But it has been reserved for Mr. Howorth to state it with a fulness of research for which the older geologists had no materials. At first sight it seems to fit the facts very neatly; but, when we come to think it over, various difficulties present themselves. For instance, if the mammoths now found in Siberian drifts were placed there by this flood, they must, we suppose, have been all alive when it took place. What, then, has become of those which died previously? We are aware that bodies of wild animals that have died a natural death are rare; still, such animals do die, and their remains ought not to be left out of consideration. On the other hand, was Siberia large

enough to contain the myriads whose bones are now buried in its soil, supposing them to have been all alive together? Again, are we to suppose that the floods of which we have been tracing the effects were all simultaneous? Did they sweep over the whole country, or only over a portion of it? The Pampas, for instance, are only a small portion of South America, and while they were being formed, what was going on in the adjoining territories? If we understand Uniformity aright, the distinguished geologist who propounded it taught that the causes which had moulded the earth's surface had always been the same in kind as at the present time, though not in degree. His theory does not exclude cataclysmic actions of various kinds: volcanic eruptions, floods, upheaval and subsidence of land, and the like. Many of the cataclysms which he chronicles would, if space enough be assigned to them, produce the effects Mr. Howorth requires. For instance, the eruption of Skaptár Jokull in Iceland, which began in 1792, and lasted for two years, is said to have destroyed more than 9,000 human beings, besides overwhelming with lava, or drowning with water, large tracts of country. Had a herd of mammoths come in the way of so violent a cataclysm, it would have made short work of them.

Mr. Howorth promises us a second volume at no distant date, which shall deal with the peculiarly geological side of the problem. We shall await this with impatience, and read it with attention; but, as a preliminary exercise, we strongly recommend to him the immediate withdrawal from circulation of the work before us, and its re-issue in a form better calculated to impress the public favourably. At present it is far too long; too full of irrelevant matter; too carelessly put together; and written in a style which is never clear, and often ungrammatical. There is no index; no list of authorities quoted; and the references are made so clumsily that it is frequently difficult, if not impossible, to discover what work is being cited. It is unsatisfactory to find 'Op. cit.' at the bottom of a page, and then, after a long search, to discover that the full title has never once been given. Moreover, the typographical blunders are simply innumerable. It is not too much to say that hardly a single quotation is given accurately, while in some, as, for instance, in the lines from Lucretius prefixed to the ninth chapter, the blunders deserve a punishment which we regret to learn is being given up for such offences even at our public schools. Sir Galahad ought to have more self-respect than to go forth to battle with his armour unpolished and his accoutrements in disorder.

But, after all allowances have been made, we repeat, in conclusion, that Mr. Howorth's volume should be welcomed with respect by believers, on account of the undesigned coincidence between his researches and the narrative of the Flood in the Book of Genesis. There was a time when the Word of God and the results of science were supposed to be antagonistic ; when religious men even went so far as to refuse to look into what Professor Sedgwick used to call 'the other volume,' because they feared that it might unsettle their faith. There was a time, too, when a Burnet or a Woodward—and we might almost add a Buckland—imagined that they were doing God service by taking Genesis for their starting-point, and straining the observed facts to make them fit the dogma for which they held a brief, in a way that was little short of dishonest. Mr. Howorth has taken a very different course. He has said no word about the religious question ; he puts the Biblical account of the Flood on the same level as the traditions of the Polynesians and the Esquimaux ; for all we know to the contrary, he may even be an agnostic—though it is scarcely an agnostic tenet to consider it 'irrational to refuse credence to a story *because it is contained in the Bible*' (Pref. p. x.). He has viewed the facts from the scientific standpoint alone, and from that standpoint he finds himself compelled to postulate a Great Flood as the only agent capable of producing effects observed in all regions of the world. The conclusion is irresistible. Nature, though she may be 'red in tooth and claw with ravine,' does *not* shriek against our creed ; and geology, if its records be read aright, becomes the handmaid of Revealed Truth.

ART. VI.—TRUTHFULNESS IN SCIENCE AND RELIGION.

Science and the Bishops. (Nineteenth Century, November.)
By Professor HUXLEY. (London, 1887.)

CONTROVERSIES which on a hasty glance seem to be merely of an ephemeral character are very often found to involve and even to imperil principles and verities of the greatest value, which cannot be too often asserted or too vigorously defended.

It is on this ground we proceed to consider, somewhat tardily, an Article in the *Nineteenth Century* of last year, which we think furnishes ample illustration of the truth of what we have been saying.

Setting aside the part of Professor Huxley's article which is of a personal character, its general teaching seems to be epitomised in three passages. At all events, these passages are so full of meaning and hang so closely together that they are well worth considering by themselves.

The first is an assertion of the principle that science and theology cannot be kept apart :—

‘There is another portion of the Bishop of Bedford's sermon which I think will be warmly appreciated by all honest and clear-headed men. He repudiates the view of those who say that theology and science occupy wholly different spheres and need in no way intermeddle with each other’ (p. 627).

The second is a claim on the part of men of science to set as high a value as any one upon the spiritual elements of the Christian faith.

‘It does not appear to have entered the imaginations of these people that outside their pale, and firmly resolved never to enter it, there are thousands of men, certainly not their inferiors in character, capacity, or knowledge of the questions at issue, who estimate those purely spiritual elements of the Christian faith, of which the Bishop of Manchester speaks, as highly as the Bishop does, but who will have nothing to do with the Christian Churches because in their apprehension, and for them, the profession of belief in the miraculous, on the evidence offered, would be simply immoral’ (p. 632).

The third is an indictment of the unscientific character of the evidence for the Christian miracles.

‘I do not know of any body of scientific men who could be got to listen without the strongest expressions of disgusted repudiation to the exposition of a pretended scientific discovery, which had no better evidence to show for itself than the story of the devils entering a herd of swine, or of the fig-tree which was blasted for bearing no figs when it was not the season of figs’ (p. 632).

Professor Huxley appends a prophecy and an imputation. The prophecy is as follows :—

‘I venture to warn this preacher, and those, who, with him, persist in identifying Christianity with the miraculous, that such forms of Christianity are not only doomed to fall to the ground, but that, within the last half-century, they have been driving that way with continually accelerated velocity’ (p. 631).

The imputation (justly so described on account of the comparison implied in its concluding words) is this :—

‘There is one moral benefit which the pursuit of science unquestionably bestows. It keeps the estimate of the value of evidence up to the proper mark; and we are constantly receiving lessons, and sometimes very sharp ones, on the nature of proof. Men of science will always act up to their standard of veracity when mankind in general leave off sinning: but that standard appears to me to be higher among them than in any other class of the community’ (p. 632).

Some of us do not believe in this prophecy nor admit the justice of this imputation. We think that Christianity will survive, and survive in a miraculous form; and we hold that those who believe in a miraculous form of Christianity are not for that reason liable to the imputation of using a lower standard of veracity than men of science. It is for the purpose of justifying these opinions that we propose to examine the three texts above quoted from Professor Huxley: it being well understood that he is only responsible for the texts, and not at all for the expositions, the correctness of which must be left to the judgment of the reader.

It would be an unheard-of thing to expound a text which was not accepted as true; and Professor Huxley’s three propositions appear to us all perfectly true. Science and theology cannot be severed; and multitudes of scientific men, while rejecting the miraculous, accept the spiritual elements of Christian faith: the evidence upon which the miracles of the New Testament are received is such as could not be admitted for scientific purposes, and the most convinced Christian would probably be greatly taken aback if he saw them recognized as data in a scientific treatise. The question, then, is not whether these propositions are true, but what they mean.

I. The impossibility of severing science and theology does not depend upon an identity either of subject or method between the two pursuits. Science can be separated from life and from personal intercourse. Theology in its very name introduces us to personal communion with a living Being. And this connexion between theology and life appears more strongly still when we consider the relations of theology with religion; how useless and objectless it seems unless it is constantly used for religious purposes; and how the Bible, from which our theology must be taken, is not a book of science, but of religious life. Now, nothing can be more different than the attitudes of mind which are assumed in science and

in religion. In science (by which we are here to understand physical science) the mind observes, registers, and classifies phenomena. In religion it thinks, feels, and wills. The man of science notes and records his facts. Those which offer themselves most readily to his purpose are found in what we call the material world ; and there is a tendency in science to make as much of this class of facts as possible. But we need lay no stress upon this point. There is no reason why facts other than those of matter and motion should not be deemed physical facts and subjects of physical science, if only it be certain that they exist in nature. But the recognition of immaterial phenomena would not at all abolish the distinction between the acts of mind implied in science and in religion, or assimilate their subject matter. Religion is thinking, feeling, and willing. But even if science were to busy itself about thinking, feeling, and willing, the very attempt to consider them would show that thought as a fact subjected to the observation of science is not the same with thinking considered as the living exertion of the mind. Will, as offering itself for inquiry, is not the action of willing. And feeling, the substantive, which is the only thing that science can examine, is not feeling, the participle, which denotes, not a thing, but an act. The examinations of science must always be *post mortem*. Even if the same person furnishes the mental phenomena to be studied, and himself conducts the study, he can never catch the mental action as an action. When he runs round to that end of the glass to which he must apply his eye he *ipso facto* vanishes from that end of the glass at which the object must be placed. He cannot be subject and object at once. Other people, indeed, he can observe while they are willing, thinking, and feeling. But then an impenetrable veil hides them from him and presents to him acts as facts—a difference which, though it be but of one letter, is immeasurable in its importance.

Let us imagine a physician in communication with a patient. He is the man of science. And first he studies the material phenomena of the case : he feels the pulse and tries the temperature. He does this part of his work with the utmost care and confidence, and very likely finds enough in it, without going further, to determine his prescription. But perhaps he does go further. He asks the patient about his feelings and experiences. But here the confidence with which he observed the material facts forsakes him, and he is cautious and distrustful. For he knows that the patient is not a man of science accustomed to note and remember facts ; and even

if he were, that it is impossible for the mind to grasp feelings as felt. Even the patient can only bring them before himself as thought of or remembered, while in passing from him to the physician they lose still more of their life. And with all that he can do by observation or inquiry the man of science must confess that the feeling of his patient, as such, is in the nature of things outside of his science.

Thus if it be true that religion is an affair of thinking, feeling, and willing in the most perfect way attainable by man, while science is an affair of observing and registering facts with correctness, nothing can be more different than the two spheres; and what is it then that unites them so closely that they cannot be severed?

There are connexions which are, as it were, accidental, yet by no means unimportant. The man of science striving to take account of all the facts and sequences of phenomena which are real and genuine is struck by the existence of religion among men as an obstinate and persistent object to his view. Scientific men have recognized this of late years, and religion as a fact in the natural history of man has been frequently treated by them as a fit and important matter of inquiry. On the other hand, religious men, whose business it is to think, feel, and will as rightly as they can, have acknowledged that they never could do so if they neglected the truths which science has brought to light: it would be immoral and irreligious to shrink from them. But these connexions are not essential. The sphere of science is so wide that no scientific man deserves his title the less for leaving the science of religion aside in his attention to other parts of the field. And though in our particular age and circumstances science forces itself upon religious people, there have been times when this was not the case; yet we look back upon those periods as displaying a peculiar purity of religion. And men of science and men of religion have entertained feelings of mutual dislike and suspicion of each other's pursuits without being thereby considered to forfeit the praise due to each in his own sphere.

But there are connexions which are absolutely essential and which must render for ever impossible the attempt to cut off from each other by a dividing wall these two domains so different in their nature and their productions. Although science considered as the observation of phenomena and their sequences is something wholly different from thinking, feeling, and willing, yet science considered as the act of observing carried on by living minds imperatively requires the whole

three. The difference is great. Observation is one thing, the act of observing is another; no observations help us to know what the act of observing is and how it is done, and the ideal instrument of observation would seem to be some automatic machine by which facts of all sorts should be registered without any of the failures and uncertainties which attend the use of human faculties. But as it is, observations can only be made by observing. And the science of the most rigidly scientific man is thereby brought into the same sphere of thinking, feeling, and willing to which religion belongs. It is in this way that science often becomes a kind of religion to those who follow it, both in respect of devotion and of moral power. They endow their science with a kind of personality and they imagine that all this emotion and moral influence is part of the science, when in reality it is the effect of science or of the pursuit of it upon powers of human nature which have no essential connexion with science. Science in itself is the same whatever the spirit in which it is pursued. When we take up a scientific book it is absolutely unknown and indifferent to us what the motives of the author were in making his observations and recording them, and what the emotions were which accompanied the task. That he had some motives and some emotions is certain, because he was not a disembodied or a self-acting intellect, but a living man. But neither of them have any business in his scientific book, and it would be excessively unscientific to give them a place in it. Whatever they be, they belong to a totally different class of literature: that which treats of feeling, thinking, and willing as living acts, not of the conditions under which they arise, or of the facts they produce. If science claims to exert a practical power over men, it is thereby claiming a kind of influence which is moral and not scientific. Its effects on man, being moral and spiritual, must be judged of by moral and spiritual, not by scientific, standards; and it must submit to be compared in respect of its practical power with other influences of a purely moral and spiritual character.

When we regard the subject from the side of religion we equally perceive the impossibility of divorcing it from science. Religion is a matter of thinking, feeling, and willing, while it hands over to science the whole body of facts. But we find that feeling, thinking, and willing are dependent upon facts. Certain conditions are necessary before these acts of the mind become possible; and when science informs us that no act of the mind can in our present life be performed without a corresponding material change in the brain, there cannot be a

doubt that the information is of high importance to religion. When religion leads us to think about God, to love Him, and to will what He wills, it is implied that God exists, and that His will can be known to men, and these are facts. Religion requires a theology, and theology is a science which cannot renounce connexion with other sciences, or refuse to accommodate herself to them. The thinking, feeling, and willing, of which religion consists, must be attached to facts either past or future, either in heaven or earth : from facts these actions must set out, and to facts they must tend. And no fact can be wholly withdrawn from science.

Is science then the only source of truth ? The magnificence of the claim staggers us. We cannot but see that as things are we should, if left dependent on the truth which science can originate or even test, be barely furnished indeed. Whatever concerns the action of the mind in ourselves or others is outside its reach. It may lead us up to the actions of the mind, but cannot accompany us through them. The whole of our living intercourse with living men, our loves and hatreds of people, and even of things, arise independently of science, which has no methods for providing them. It is possible to imagine that science should be able from a consideration of a man's constitution and circumstances to predict exactly how he will behave ; so that we should choose our friends, as we choose horses and dogs, by their points. We should be able to know what a man is and what he will do by an induction of facts, and an inference therefrom, with the same certainty as we can pronounce on the properties of a chemical compound by analysing its composition, or foretell the direction in which a stone will fall by observing its weight and the forces which bear upon it. We may choose, if we please, to imagine that a similar power of foresight would be ours in the case of man, if only we were able to observe his constitution with more accuracy. And indeed the body and the mind of man, and the social influence of men on one another, have all been claimed as subjects of scientific study ; and results of the most solid value have been secured in all the three departments. But this does not tell us clearly what is the practical connexion between science and the actual life and action of man, singly or in community. Does science consider that everything in man's life and action is a proper subject of its inquiries and of its authority, and does it conceive its methods to be for every purpose the best ? Does it aim at the prospect of one day giving a scientific account of every movement of every sort to which the body, soul, or mind of man is subject.

—the transports of the lover, the devotions of the saint, the thoughts of the poet, all alike? And does it, moreover, also hold not only that these human activities are proper subjects of scientific inquiry as to how they come to pass, but that also they all should, as far as is possible, be scientifically done: science affording not merely the account of the action, but the model method of carrying it out? Is she supreme arbitress of human life?

Now, we do not want to refuse an entrance to science anywhere throughout the whole region of matter or mind. And as all life concerns itself with matter or mind, or the relations of either to the other, it is hard to say where in all life science may not hope to find facts upon which to found her advance. Ascertained movements in the brain lead in an invariable sequence to results in the world of mind; physical changes in nature are connected by a never-failing experience with results in the feelings of human beings subjected to them. There is no limit to the discoveries in these directions which the past progress of science may lead us to expect in the future. Yet no past experience leads us to imagine that science could ever actually conquer the whole kingdom of facts concerning man, so that nothing more should be left her to explain, but the whole conditions and occasions of every part of the active life of man should be made plain to it. No rule or claim of religion, or any other power whatever, forbids science to proceed with her search and her explanations, but she herself stops short for want of power to go on. In the higher movements of the mind the experiments necessary are impossible to her, and while she knows that she could conceivably go much further in physical explanation than she has done, she confesses that the science which shall do so must be one better provided than she is.

But even if science had come to know everything which belongs to the domain of science, the larger part of human life would still remain entirely shut out from her. She would have, indeed, to confess that while she knew all the conditions of life, life in itself and in its acts was hid. Where life begins to work she has to let go her hold. There is something in the very nature of science which must ever prevent her from making any essential change in her position towards life and its action.

Now in this department, which is thus shut out from the reach of science, a great deal more than mere feeling is included. All morality belongs to it. To be sure, science can

observe the facts in human history and in the constitution of man, on which human morality depends. But it views them and the facts which constitute human immorality with equal eye. It has nothing to do with what ought to be, but simply with what is. If it has any moralizing tendency upon man, it is not as science that it possesses this tendency, but as a serious and unselfish occupation of the mind, which keeps it well employed and out of mischief—merits which are not scientific but moral. The truthfulness which Professor Huxley claims for it may or may not be extended beyond the limits of the laboratory. It may or may not have any moral tinge in it whatever. This truthfulness in scientific matters is a professional instinct, like the obligation of the lawyer to give a sound opinion, or of the physician to make a true diagnosis. And as sound lawyers have often been scoundrels, and good physicians have often behaved in a manner which was not for the general health, so it is perfectly conceivable that an able man of science might in matters unconnected with science be most untruthful. The sort of evidence which is required in his science is so different from that which is required in affairs, the whole sphere in which his mind moves during its occupation with science is so different from that of practical life, that his pursuits might actually unfit him for attention to the considerations that operate in life and to the conclusions which should be drawn from them. And accordingly it will be found that Professor Huxley's opinion of the superior general truthfulness of scientific men has by no means passed into general experience. As a security for truthful behaviour in the intercourse of life and for truthful judgments upon its occasions, almost all men would prefer genuine religion, or the practical moral habits which are as unscientific as religion, to scientific eminence. The two claims combine in many cases, but that must not lead us to confound them; and if sometimes religion is considered an insufficient security for truthfulness, that is only because religion sometimes becomes mere science: knowledge without feeling or willing.

But it might seem that at all events there is one department in which scientific evidence must be supreme and scientific methods the best for weighing it, namely, that of physical fact. Where something is said to have happened or to be about to happen in the visible world, there science is in its own domain, and judges of matters peculiarly its own. How then can any kind of proof in this department be complete which does not appeal to science? and how can those

who understand scientific proof be expected in matters of this kind to content themselves with any lesser?

Now it is certain that scientific evidence in matters of physical fact is the highest that can be given. If Professor Huxley discovers a fact in the world of sense, he has a right to feel more sure of it than he could be in any other way. We are more sure of physical facts the physical evidence of which is before us than of any facts in the moral world. Yet it is certain that there are vast numbers of physical facts which we all believe, and feel it our duty to believe, of which no physical evidence can be given. Most facts which depend on human will are of this kind. Science cannot tell us what the will is going to do, nor what the will has done, except in the cases, of which there are very few, where actual experiment is possible. There is something in the connexion of will with its effects which is quite beyond the reach of science. Cases meet us constantly in which all facts known would have led us to expect an act of will of one kind, yet in which the act turns out to be of another. And physical effects follow the act. If miracle is to be taken to mean a wonder, the appearance of which in the visible world is not apparently due to the existing visible causes, then the word miracle is applicable to every act of human will, for in none of them are the physical circumstances enough to account for the result, and in none of them can the mysterious agency of their production submit itself to the understanding in its nature or its methods.

But it will be said that, even though this wonder-working power of the will be recognized, it still works within certain limits which science is capable of defining; and while we have no right to make our anticipations the measure of what human wills can do within these bounds, we are incapable of believing that it has done anything beyond them. We answer that the will must work through nature, and cannot use nature against nature's laws. But we are daily learning to be cautious in coming to a conclusion what particular facts this principle permits us, and what it forbids us, to accept. All we know is, that when something which we never should have supposed possible for the human will to effect has been done, we shall not say 'here is something done by the will against nature,' but 'here is something which by means of nature the will was able to do.'

And thus we are constantly believing physical facts as effected by other men to which no scientific test has been applied or could be applied. Not things to which scientific

tests are inapplicable, for it is impossible to give that description of any fact ; but facts which science cannot get at with its tests, and which depend on a power it cannot gauge, namely the will. Is it untruthful to believe those things? It would be absurd to say so. Life would stop short if we did not believe them. Their evidence cannot be pronounced equal to that of scientific facts ; yet nobody is accused of falsehood for attaching to them a credence practically equal to that he gives to any facts of science.

What, then, is the evidence upon which such facts are accepted? It is various in its character, and a great deal of it depends so much on feeling and instinct that it cannot be expressed in words. There is the evidence of human testimony ; the evidence of conformity to the character of the agent ; the evidence of consistency in the story of the fact, and in the whole history of its antecedents and its consequences. And there is the nameless evidence of sympathy which identifies us with the person, and so shows us what he could do. There is room, as every man in his senses allows, in this unscientific acceptance of facts for every sort of carelessness, credulity, and untruthfulness ; but there is room also for just as much of these very qualities in rejection.

The evidence which is applicable in such matters is called moral evidence, a term which, if we mistake not, is used in different senses. For sometimes it means merely an amount of scientific evidence which, though less than might be demanded, is yet sufficient to lay on us a moral obligation to act on it. But the proper meaning of moral evidence seems to be a different thing from this, namely, a kind of evidence which does not belong directly to the physical world at all, but to the moral. This evidence comes to us in the active play of life, in the use of our feelings, conscience, and affections, as well as our reason. It is the kind of evidence upon which we form our judgments of character, our expectations of the future action of others, and in many cases our belief as to their action in the past. It is absolutely impossible to class this kind of evidence in the same category as the scientific, and equally impossible to replace it by that of science. And it is the species of evidence on which the larger part of life is conducted.

And the relations of science to that living action of men in the present which is daily making history show us how far we can allow its claim to be a judge of man's history in the past. Science cannot absolutely withdraw its claim to a voice in any part of human history. For, after all, what is man's

history but the natural history of man, the physical facts in which his nature is displayed ; and why should it be withdrawn from the observation of science, any more than the natural history of ants or bees ? It is conceivable that the history of mankind should be written as a natural history ;¹ that is to say, that every movement, action, and event should be traced to their natural causes and placed under physical laws. But this has never been done, and it is not probable that with our present powers it ever could be done. Here and there science can interpose with a decisive judgment as to what can have been effected, or can in the future be effected, by man. Where it can do this its judgment is final. But it can do so very seldom, and if it could interfere oftener, those who read history with human sympathy, and still more those who are making history by living, would feel that in the scientific view the most important part of history was left out. Between the facts which led up to each act of will and the effects which follow upon it—both of which are physical events and fair subject of science—intervenes the act of will itself, which science cannot reach. And this gives us two points of view from which to regard human history and life : one as a series of acts of free will, and the other as the operation of laws without any will at all. Each of them, while you regard it alone, is apparently quite complete and sufficient. And no way has yet been discovered of marking off a boundary between them ; sensible people can only allow to each its proper value and place without permitting it the liberty of devouring its antagonist. It is possible that if we knew the inner life of even ants and bees, they might protest that their natural history was not the whole of their history, and that if they themselves tried to act as if it was the whole, the very spring and source of life would be taken out of their existence. But we men are able to speak for ourselves, and protest that we cannot be rightly treated as the creatures of matter and motion, and that you will not be able to judge of the facts of our existence in the past, nor to predict them in the future, if you omit to take account of the action of will. And this protest cannot be accepted without limiting the claims of science, which knows nothing of the action of will.

Now religion is a part of human history. The alleged facts of revelation are facts alleged in human history, and the consequent acts of thinking, feeling, and willing demanded from man by religion are the materials out of which other facts in history are made. And while science must be allowed

¹ See *Darwin's Life*, vol. iii. p. 99.

a voice in respect of them, she cannot be allowed a supremacy as to the facts of religion, which does not belong to her in the general history of man's life.

II. We come now to consider Professor Huxley's claim that many scientific men estimate as highly as any one 'the purely spiritual elements of the Christian faith.' Professor Huxley is justly celebrated for making things clear; but the meaning which he here attaches to the expression 'spiritual elements' is not clear. If we were to take the words in their ordinary meaning, we should consider the word 'spiritual' as implying faith and devotion towards a being above nature. It is quite true that great numbers of scientific men do feel and practise this faith and devotion. And we should all gladly welcome the permission to include Professor Huxley's great name among their number. But it is to be feared that he intends his words to be taken in another meaning: that, namely, of a morality very lofty in its claims, deeply tinged with emotion, and depending on a highly sublimated view of matter, but still all natural, all physical, and all material. However, in order to be sure of not going wrong, we shall consider the words 'spiritual elements' first in the one of these meanings, and then in the other.

Taking the words as excluding the supernatural, it seems impossible to say that a man whose faith is of this kind estimates highly the spiritual elements of the Christian faith. He may claim to have a faith and a spiritual faith: that point does not come under our discussion. But the Christian faith has essentially depended on a supernatural belief, and fed itself and spread itself by the power of this. A faith which does not include the supernatural, whatever other elements of Christianity it may reproduce, has no right to say that it includes the Christian spiritual element. Materialism sometimes claims a kind of spirituality of its own. Materialists suppose that they are abolishing, or at all events softening, the contrast between the new and the old by using the language of idealism and protesting that we are not to attach to matter that low and coarse conception which a former generation held, and which was derived from a contrast with mind which does not really exist. Matter, they tell us, is only known to us through mind, and is a mental, and if you please a spiritual, thing just as truly as a material. But if the practical issue of the business is that our power of will vanishes into matter and motion, and that we ourselves are nothing but forms of matter, with the aggregations of which we began to exist and with the dissolution of which we are to perish, it signifies not a straw

whether this matter, in which we are drowned both here and hereafter, be gross or spiritual. When Professor Huxley attributes an inferior veracity to non-scientific people, he means, of course, by the expression only an unconscious failure to look facts in the face. He will not, therefore, resent our saying in the same sense, that he cannot have a deeper feeling of the unconscious unverity of theologians in any fiction they try to pass off on themselves, than they have of the unconscious unverity of men of science in attempting to dress up matter to look like spirit.

If, therefore, we are to take the spiritual elements which Professor Huxley values to mean elements which may exist without belief in the supernatural, we pronounce with the utmost confidence that they are not the spiritual elements of the Christian faith. Professor Huxley does well to appeal to the 'imagination of these people' to recognize the existence of spiritual Christians who believe in nothing but what is physical; for the imagination is the only faculty of man which is capable of accepting such a paradox.

But let us suppose that Professor Huxley means by spiritual elements not those which are purely physical, but such as make some recognition of a supernatural world: not so definite as those who believe in miracles believe in, but still real. It is certain that there are a very large number of such persons, and that their faith enables them to appreciate the spiritual elements of Christianity in a quite different fashion from those who are absolute materialists, and who can but value the outward conduct to which Christianity leads, while regarding its inward principles as pure error. They call themselves agnostics, but that word does not in ordinary use express an absolute denial that we can know anything of God. It rather denotes a knowledge, vague but real, which enables us to know that there is something beyond nature, but forbids us to characterize it. The knowledge that there is even something there is real knowledge; and it is probably impossible for one who holds so much as this to help going further and making some application of it in history. He believes that, if not as a certainty yet as a possibility, and if not in particular events yet in the general course of nature, he can recognize the work of the great Something which he will not claim to know. Mr. Herbert Spencer talks of 'the naturally-revealed end towards which the Power manifested throughout Evolution works,' an expression which implies a revelation of the divine will to man as real as that taught by St. Paul.

The principles of one who entertains such a faith as this

differ from the Church not so much in kind as in degree. His agnosticism admits of revelation ; nay, positively believes in it, and makes it a practical and important element in a genuine spiritual life. And if he advances on the one side to meet Christianity, it on the other side advances to meet him. There is a large infusion of agnosticism in Christianity. It is over and over again declared in the Bible, and recognized by the Church, that we cannot know God with completeness. 'No man hath seen God at any time,' is certainly not spoken of bodily sight alone ; nor is St. Paul's description of Him as dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto, Whom no man hath seen or can see. The very boldness of the human images under which God is presented in the Bible seem often to imply a feeling that the subject in itself is beyond reach, and, because it is beyond reach, resorts to whatever images will make this inaccessible truth practical for man.

But can men who have a vague but real faith in the supernatural adopt the language of Professor Huxley and say that to them a belief in the miraculous, on the evidence offered, would be simply immoral ? The expression 'the miraculous' appears to show that the writer is not simply thinking of the particular miracles of the New Testament, but of the appearance of a miraculous element in the world at all. He holds no abstract principles rendering his belief in the miraculous impossible ; he is diligent to impress on us that it is to him pure matter of evidence. But looking at it as pure matter of evidence, can the believer in the unknowable really set the miraculous at an utter distance, and reject it in the name of truth and morality ? If the unknowable has no connexion whatever with the world known to us, how do we come to be able to know that there is such a thing ? If the human brain and the human mind have worked through all time upon material impulses, and under a material system of causation, where or how has this element of so different a character found room to make itself felt by them ? And if the unknowable, either by acting through matter and force, or by some influence outside matter and force, has become known to man, this amounts to an interposition of the supernatural in nature which prepares the mind for miracles ; in other words, it is evidence that the miraculous is possible. It will not be found possible to recoil from the miraculous with the absolute repugnance which Professor Huxley shows, without shutting ourselves so completely within the circle of our sensible experience that we ought to cease to talk about the unknowable, or pretend even to know that there is such a thing.

Perhaps it may be replied that the knowledge that there is an unknowable, with the reasons of this knowledge, belong to the sphere of the mind, while the miraculous belongs to the outward world. But the distinction will not stand. It will not stand when it is used for the defence of religion, as, for instance, to find a sphere for answers to prayer, without supposing God to interfere in the processes of external nature. For the connexions of mental changes with material movement in the structure of our frame, have been established so far that it is untruthful to presume that they are not complete. There is probably no thought of the mind of any sort whatever which has not its accompaniment and counterpart in motions of the matter of our frame, motions connected with physical causes preceding just as much as any other part of the world of nature. Whatever argument stands good as a defence of prayer for mental influences, stands good as a defence of prayer for rain, for it involves equally the expectation of an influence brought to bear upon matter. The brain or the clouds, what is the difference? Unless indeed we pray to a God who we know cannot answer, for the sake of exerting a subjective influence on ourselves: a make-believe and an unreality which honest men should be ashamed to resort to. But if the solidarity of the physical circle is true for one purpose, it is true all round. There are no gaps in the circle, but whatever notion reaches us from beyond, were it but the idea of the existence of the unknowable, serves to show that, in some wonderful way inscrutable to our understanding, the supernatural can make its way into nature without infringing law.

And this, then, is our comment upon the second text from Professor Huxley. We do not doubt in the least that there are many scientific men who, without accepting belief in miracles, value the spiritual elements of the Christian faith. But if they mean by spiritual elements that morality tinged with emotion which may exist without belief in the supernatural, especially in a community in which the influences of supernatural belief are spread even among those who do not personally share it, they are mistaken in supposing that this materialistic spirituality is really the Christian spirit. While, on the other hand, if they mean by spiritual elements such forms of moral thought and action as come from a sense or feeling of the supernatural, this cannot exist except on the supposition of some kind of revelation of the supernatural within the life of man, drawing with it in principle the same interposition of the infinite in the finite, which goes by the name of the miraculous.

When Christians speak of the spiritual, they mean something which is dependent on supernatural influences ; and when they speak of the supernatural, they do not mean a something entirely out of relation to themselves, a non-existent existence, an unpractical dream, if that is even a dream which takes no forms ; but they mean something which they know to exist, and which, therefore, bears a real relation to their minds. Whatever be the reasons by which those for whom Professor Huxley speaks are moved to believe in a spiritual element, whether it be the universal consent of mankind or the imperative demands of their own moral nature, are reasons with Christians for believing in God. Are they to be accused of untruthfulness in this? 'To them' it would be absolutely immoral to stop short of believing in God. They do not dare to palm off upon themselves that which appears to their thought nothing better than an unreality and a deception.

III. God's connexion with the mind and life of man being thus assured as a basis, Christ builds upon it. No one has ever claimed for the religion of Christ that the evidence of it is scientific. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that this admission throws Christianity upon sentiment for its support. It is the most comprehensive example of that species of belief on which our active life depends, and which grows and strengthens by its adaptation to our faculties in their use. It takes up and completes the affections, the hopes and fears, and all the complicated system of motives upon which our moral life depends. It brings nearer to us Him who is already not far from everyone, for in Him we live and move and have our being, and it makes better known to us Him whom we already know. It uplifts to communion with the eternal the soul of man, which is already full of vague thoughts and longings for the eternal. And the facts by which this great system calls out our faith and love are fitted for its purpose as a body of living and active truth. It is witnessed to by the words and lives of a number of men of extraordinary powers, moral and intellectual, of very various characters of mind. It connects itself with a long series of human history. It takes up and satisfies the religious wants and observances which have shown themselves most strongly and permanently in various early religions, but especially in the greatest and deepest of them, the Jewish. It quickens the hopes and fears of man by extending his prospects beyond this world. Above all it embodies itself in a perfect human life, in which ever since it was seen on earth the best men have

found that which raises them higher, and the bad not only reproof for their selfishness, but also the hope and opportunity of amendment.

Now the miraculous forms an essential element in the life of our Lord. It is not a separable accident, but part of the texture. There is no room for doubt that He claimed to work miracles ; many of the sayings and acts in which His moral treatment of men and the spiritual character which has attracted faith to Him come out best, accompanied His miraculous cures. Even were this not so, the facts of His own history, which place Him in the relation to men upon which His power over them depends, are miraculous : a Christ who never rose would not be the Christ of Christianity. And even if neither of these things were the case, the spiritual elements of the life of Christ, in the most complete separation from outward events that could be made, would still be miraculous. All thinking, feeling, and willing have the nature of miracle. They rise up amidst the series of material causation without our knowing how they arise ; and they produce great effects in the world of facts without our understanding how they produce them. But we see this miraculous character in the thinking, feeling, and willing of our Lord more plainly than in any other case ; and should see it even if those events which we ordinarily call His miracles could be removed from His history.

Thus His miracles appear to us to be in Him just what the great deeds of great men are in them. These men would be great even if they did no such deeds ; but such deeds are the natural effect and testimony of their greatness. The belief in the great deed depends in some degree upon our knowledge that there was a great man to do it ; but our knowledge of the greatness of the man is also built up from the greatness of his deeds, some of them producing vast effects in the world, and some of them only consisting of a word or a gesture, but all of them contributing to the impression of the whole.

It may be said of any such deed that our certainty of it is inferior to that which we have of a fact tested by science. The evidence is of a different kind. The one is physical evidence, as far apart from man's moral nature as the forces which act upon his body. The other appeals to him as a living spirit, and all his living powers come into play in the act of believing it. And it is universally felt that to call for scientific tests in these matters of life and action is not reasonable so long as you have as much of the other kind of testimony as ought to suffice. Our moral qualities

and our affections are educated by constant acceptance of belief in deeds past or present, all of them outrunning the physical causes of which we are aware. And we feel that the call for physical evidence would change the attitude of the mind from a condition in which the deed which we believe passes at once into use for the purposes of feeling and example, to one in which it becomes the subject of speculation, and is very likely never to be anything else. We consider it an absolutely untruthful proceeding to separate the fact from the person who performs it, and consider its evidence as if it stood perfectly alone; only less untruthful than it would be to determine that we will believe the fact without evidence because it seems to us what might be expected of the person.

As we view the matter, the whole history of man's moral and spiritual life prepares us for Christianity, and Christianity is miraculous. Professor Huxley compendiously states the evidence for the miracles as he views it, by resting it upon the word of the unknown authors of the Gospels. But he leaves out the whole spiritual preparation for Christianity in the mind and the history of man, and omits the acceptance of the Gospels by the Christian Church of their time and ever since, as the basis upon which this great working system recognizes itself to be founded, and upon which its life proceeds. It is no more the part of truthfulness to disregard this portion of the evidence, than it would be to consider the doings of men apart from their character and from the effects we know them to have worked.

Professor Huxley warns those who persist in identifying Christianity with the miraculous, that their systems are destined to fall to the ground. The prophecy would be more intelligible if he or any one else had ever presented to us a form of Christianity which is not identified with the miraculous. What is the use of getting rid of a few miracles from the Gospels, even if that could be done without fatal injury to faith, if after they were gone the most etherialized version of the religion could not be given without somewhere or other involving an influence of spirit on matter which is beyond science?

Miraculous Christianity will never be expelled except by a form of religion which will do the positive work for souls which it now effects. Its work appeals to spiritual wants of our nature which are the deepest things in us, and which we cannot disregard without gross untruthfulness. And as the years of absolute free speech about religion, in which we are living, pass over, and no one produces to us the better religion

which is to supersede Christianity, the conviction grows stronger and stronger in our mind that it cannot be produced. Positivism, with a courage and sincerity for which we cannot be too grateful, attempted a new religion at which the mass of mankind only smile. The religion of the Unknowable has never proceeded even so far as to establish a tabernacle. The religion of the Unconscious is equally far behind. The Eternal, not ourselves, is the creed only of an individual or two. And while these unsuccessful ventures have at least issued some species of prospectus, even that cannot be said for the spiritual elements of the Christian faith which Professor Huxley claims to hold while excluding the miraculous. No blindfold adherent of any priesthood ever accepted a creed so undefined as this. And Professor Huxley would be the last man to say that truthfulness can consist in accepting a form of words the import of which we cannot understand.

ART. VII.—BOSWELL AND HIS EDITORS.

1. *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D., together with the Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides.* By JAMES BOSWELL, Esq. New Editions, with Notes and Appendices by ALEXANDER NAPIER, M.A. Six volumes. (London, 1884.)
2. *The Life of Samuel Johnson, &c.* By JAMES BOSWELL. Illustrated with Portraits by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Edited by HENRY MORLEY, LL.D. Five volumes. (London, 1886.)
3. *The Life of Samuel Johnson, &c.* A Reprint of the First Edition. To which are added Mr. Boswell's Corrections and Additions, issued in 1792, the variations of the Second Edition, with some of the Author's Notes prepared for the Third; the whole Edited, with new Notes, by PERCY FITZGERALD, M.A., F.S.A. In three volumes. Second Edition, with a Preface by the Editor, and a Boswell Bibliography by H. R. TEDDER, F.S.A. (London, 1888.)
4. *Life of Samuel Johnson.* By Lieutenant-Colonel F. GRANT. 'Great Writers' Series. (London, 1887.)
5. *Boswell's Life of Johnson, including Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, and Johnson's Diary of a Journey into North Wales.* Edited by GEORGE BIRKBECK HILL, D.C.L., Pembroke College, Oxford. In six volumes. (Oxford, 1887.)

WRITING to Pope in 1728 concerning the annotation of the *Dunciad*, Swift comments upon the prompt oblivion which overtakes the minor details of contemporary history. 'Twenty miles from London nobody understands hints, initial letters, or town facts or passages, and in a few years not even those who live in London.' A somewhat similar opinion was expressed by Johnson. 'In sixty or seventy years, or less,' he said, 'all works which describe manners require notes.' His own biography is a striking case in point. Almost from the beginning the editorial pen was freely exercised upon it, and long before the minor term he mentions it was already, to use an expressive phrase of Beaumarchais, 'rongée d'extraits et couverte de critiques.' With Mr. Croker's edition of 1831 it might have been thought that the endurable limits of illustration and interpretation had been reached, and, indeed, for some time that opinion seems to have obtained. But in the

last few years three other editions of importance have made their appearance, each of which has its specific merits, while thirteen years ago was published another, recently reissued, which had, at least, the merit of an excellent plan. Boswell's book itself may now, in Parliamentary language, be taken for 'read.' As Johnson said of Goldsmith's *Traveller*, 'its merit is established, and individual praise or censure can neither augment nor diminish it.' But the publication, in Lieutenant-Colonel Grant's excellent brief memoir, of the first systematic bibliography of Johnson's works, coupled with the almost simultaneous issue by Mr. H. R. Tedder, the able and accomplished librarian to the Athenæum Club, of a bibliography of Boswell's masterpiece, affords a sufficient pretext for some review of Boswell and his editors.

Johnson died on the evening of Monday, December 13, 1784. According to a letter dated May 5, 1785, from Michael Lort to Bishop Percy, printed in Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, and somewhat too readily accepted by Mr. Napier, the first Life appeared on the day following the death. But this is a manifest mistake, as reference to contemporary newspapers, or even to the pamphlet itself, should have sufficed to show. At p. 120 is an account of Johnson's funeral, which did not take place until Monday, December 20. Moreover, the portrait by T. Trotter, for which Johnson is said to have sat 'some time since,' is dated the 16th, and in an article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December it is expressly stated that the book 'was announced before the Doctor had been two days dead,' and appeared on the ninth morning after his death. It may even be doubtful if this is strictly accurate, as the first notification of the pamphlet in the *Public Advertiser* appears on Thursday, the 23rd, and promises its publication that week. Its title is *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D., with Occasional Remarks on his Writings, an Authentic Copy of his Will, and a Catalogue of his Works, &c.* 1785. It is an octavo of iv, 144 pages, and its publisher was the G. Kearsley, of 46 Fleet Street, who issued so many of Goldsmith's works. Its author, too, was the William Cooke who subsequently wrote recollections of Goldsmith in the *European Magazine* for 1793. In Kearsley's advertisement great pains are taken to avert the possible charge of catchpenny haste, by the statement that the book had been drawn up for some time, but had been withheld from motives of delicacy. This anticipatory defence is, however, negated by a communication in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December, evidently written by or on behalf of the author, in which certain of its errors are excused upon the ground of

'hurry.' It professes, nevertheless, to be 'a sketch, warm from the life,' and, although speedily superseded by more leisurely efforts, is certainly not without interest as the earliest of its kind, even if it is not quite so early as it has hitherto been affirmed to be.

Cooke's Life was followed by articles in the *European* and the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December, which, according to the fashion of those days, appeared at the end and not at the beginning of the month. That in the *European Magazine*, which was more critical than biographical, was continued through several numbers, and contains nothing to distinguish it from the respectable and laborious journey-work of the period. The sketch in the *Gentleman's Magazine* is of a far more meritorious character, and was from the pen of Tom Tyers, the 'Tom Restless' of the *Idler*, and the son of Jonathan, 'the founder of that excellent place of publick amusement, Vauxhall Gardens.' Tyers had really known Johnson with a certain degree of intimacy, and even Boswell is obliged to admit that Tyers lived with his illustrious friend 'in as easy a manner as almost any of his very numerous acquaintance.' He has certainly not caught Johnson's style, as his memories are couched in abrupt shorthand sentences which are the reverse of Johnsonese. But apart from a certain vanity of classical quotation, with which he seems to have been twitted by his contemporaries, 'Tom Restless' writes like a gentleman, and is fully entitled to the praise of having produced the first animated sketch of Johnson, who, from a sentence towards the close, appears to have anticipated that Tyers might be one day called upon 'to assist a posthumous account of him.' Mr. Napier says that Tyers continued his sketch in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January 1785. This again is an error, which Mrs. Napier practically corrects, since in the valuable volume of *Johnsoniana* which accompanies her husband's edition, she prints no more than is to be found in the December number. The mistake probably arises from the fact that in the annual supplement to the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1784 Tyers inserted a few corrections, which might with propriety have figured as foot-notes in Mrs. Napier's reprint.

Without a close examination of contemporary advertisement sheets it would be difficult to fix precisely the date of publication of the next biography. It is a small duodecimo of 197 pages, entitled *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Late Dr. Samuel Johnson*. The title-page is dated 1785. In the Preface mention is made of assistance rendered by Thomas Davies, the actor-bookseller of Russell Street,

Covent Garden, who is described as 'the late.' The book must therefore have appeared after Thursday, May 5, when Davies died. Its author is supposed to have been the Rev. William Shaw, 'a modest and a decent man,' referred to in Boswell as the compiler of 'an Erse grammar,' subsequently issued in 1788 as *An Analysis of the Gaelic Language*. Colour is given to this supposition by the fact that another of the persons who supplied information was Mr. Elphinstone, by whom Shaw was introduced to Johnson, and by the references made to the Ossianic controversy, in which Shaw did battle on Johnson's side against Macpherson. For the book itself, it is like most of the pre-Boswellian efforts, Tyers's sketch excepted, mainly critical, and makes no attempt to reproduce Johnson's talk or sayings.

Chit-chat and personal characteristics are, however, somewhat more fully represented in what—neglecting for the moment Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*—may be regarded as the next effort in the biographical sequence, the famous *Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson, LL.D., during the Last Twenty Years of his Life*, by Hesther Lynch Piozzi, which was published in March 1786. Written in Italy, where she was then living, it was printed in London. Its success, as might perhaps have been anticipated from her long connection with Johnson, was exceptional. The first edition, like that of Fielding's *Amelia*, was exhausted on the day of publication, and other editions followed rapidly. Boswell, as may be guessed, was not well disposed towards the work of his fortunate rival, and in his own book is at considerable pains to expose her 'mistaken notion of Dr. Johnson's character,' while his coadjutor, Malone, who tells us that she made 500*l.* by the *Anecdotes*, plainly calls her both 'inaccurate and artful.' We, who are neither editors nor biographers of Boswell, need not assume so censorious an attitude. That Mrs. Piozzi, by habit of mind, and from the circumstances under which her narrative was compiled, was negligent in her facts (she even blunders as to the date when she first met Johnson) may be admitted, and it is not inconceivable that, as Mrs. Napier says in the 'Prefatory Notice' to her *Johnsoniana*, her account would have been 'more tender and true if it had been given by Mrs. Thrale instead of Mrs. Piozzi.' But the cumulative effect of her vivacious and disconnected recollections (even Malone admits them to be 'lively') is rather corroborative of, than at variance with, that produced by Johnson's more serious biographers. Her opportunities were great—perhaps greater than those of any

of her contemporaries—her intercourse with Johnson was most unrestrained and unconventional, and, notwithstanding all its faults, her little volume (which we are glad to see has been recently reprinted in popular form by Professor Henry Morley) remains an essential part of Johnsonian literature.

Boswell, whose *magnum opus* we are now approaching, so fills the foreground with his fame that the partial obliteration of his predecessors is almost a necessary consequence. In this way Sir John Hawkins, whose *Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, 1787, comes next in importance to Mrs. Piozzi's *Anecdotes*, has suffered considerably; and his book, which immediately after Johnson's death was advertised as 'forthcoming,' is, to use the words of a recent writer, 'spoken of with contempt by many who have never taken the trouble to do more than turn over its leaves.' That he seems to have been extremely unpopular can scarcely be denied. Malone, who accumulates a page of his characteristics, says that Percy called him 'most detestable,' Reynolds 'absolutely dishonest,' and Dyer 'mischievous, uncharitable, and malignant,' to which garland of dispraise the recorder adds, as his own contribution, that he was 'rigid and sanctimonious.' Johnson, too, styled him 'an unclubable man.' But against all this censure it must be remembered that he was selected as one of the first members of 'The Club' (to whose promoters his character can scarcely have been unknown, for he had belonged to the earlier association in Ivy Lane), and that Johnson appointed him one of his executors. Boswell, whose vanity Hawkins had wounded by the slight and supercilious way in which he spoke of him in the *Life*, could scarcely be supposed to feel kindly to him; and though he professes to have modified what he said of this particular rival on account of his death, we have no means of knowing how much he suppressed. He gives, nevertheless, what on the whole is a not unfair idea of Hawkins's volume. 'However inadequate and improper,' he says, 'as a *Life* of Dr. Johnson, and however discredited by unpardonable inaccuracies in other respects, [it] contains a collection of curious anecdotes and observations which few men but its authour could have brought together.' What is commendatory in this verdict is not exaggerated, and those who care enough for Johnson to travel beyond Boswell will certainly find Hawkins by no means so ponderous as Boswell would have us believe. Many of the particulars he gives are certainly not to be found elsewhere, and his knowledge of the seamy side of letters in Georgian London was 'extensive and peculiar.'

To speak of Hawkins after Mrs. Piozzi is a sequence more convenient than chronological, as it involves the neglect of an intermediate biographer. But the *Essay on the Life, Character, and Writings of Dr. Samuel Johnson*, from the pen of the Rev. Joseph Towers, which comes between them in 1786, has no serious import. It treats more of the writings than the character and life, and, except as the respectable effort of an educated man, need not detain us from Boswell himself, whose first offering at the shrine of his adoration was made in September 1785, when he published the *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* The tour, of which Johnson had himself given an account in his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, had taken place as far back as 1773, and Boswell's journal had lain by him ever since. But the manuscript had been lent to different persons—to Mrs. Thrale among the rest. 'I am glad you read Boswell's journal,' said Johnson to her; 'you are now sufficiently informed of the whole transaction, and need not regret that you did not make the tour to the Hebrides.' A more emphatic testimony is contained in the *Journal* itself. Johnson, we are told, read it diligently from day to day, and declared that he took great delight in doing so. 'It might be printed,' he said, 'were the subject fit for printing,' and further on he forbade Boswell to contract it. In his dedication to Malone, whose acquaintance he made in Baldwin's printing office while correcting the proofs, Boswell showed that he was conscious of the strong point of his work, 'the numerous conversations, which (he said) form the most valuable part.' In the third edition, dated August 1786, the success of the book justified an ampler note of gratification :

'I will venture to predict, that this specimen of the colloquial talents and extemporaneous effusions of my illustrious fellow-traveller will become still more valuable, when, by the lapse of time, he shall have become an ANCIENT ; when all those who can now bear testimony to the transcendent powers of his mind shall have passed away ; and no other memorial of this great and good man shall remain but the following Journal, the other anecdotes and letters preserved by his friends, and those incomparable works, which have for many years been in the highest estimation, and will be read and admired as long as the English language shall be spoken or understood.'

Whether this variation of *exegi monumentum* is justifiable or not—and certainly some of the 'incomparable works' have but faintly fulfilled their promise of perpetuity—Boswell's accentuation of his distinctive excellence, his admirably cha-

racteristic records of conversations, is unanswerable evidence of a settled purpose and a definite aim.

On a fly-leaf of the *Tour to the Hebrides* (not, as Mr. Napier seems to suppose, confined to the third edition) was announced as 'preparing for the press' the greater work by which the *Tour* was succeeded in 1791. At first it was to have been comprised in one quarto volume, but it ultimately made its appearance in two. The publisher was Charles Dilly, of the Poultry, and the title-page ran as follows :—

'The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D., comprehending an Account of his Studies and numerous Works, in chronological Order ; a Series of his Epistolary Correspondence and Conversations with many eminent Persons ; and various original Pieces of his Composition never before published : the whole exhibiting a View of Literature and Literary Men in Great-Britain, for near half a Century, during which he flourished.'

In the dedication to Sir Joshua Reynolds, referring to the earlier book, Boswell dwells upon a difference of treatment which distinguishes the *Life* from its predecessor. In the *Tour* he had, it seems, been too open in his communications, freely exhibiting to the world the dexterity of Johnson's wit, even when that wit was exercised upon himself. His frankness had in some quarters been mistaken for insensibility, and he has therefore in the *Life* been 'more reserved,' and though he tells nothing but the truth, has still kept in his mind that the whole truth is not always to be exposed. In the Advertisement which succeeds he enlarges upon the difficulties of his task, and the labour involved in the arrangement and collection of material, and he expresses his obligations to Malone, who had heard nearly all the book in manuscript, and had revised about half of it in type. Seventeen hundred copies of it were printed, and although the price in boards was two guineas, between May (when the book appeared) and August twelve hundred of these had been sold. Boswell, who gives this information to his friend Temple, in a letter dated the 22nd of the latter month, expects that the entire impression would be sold off before Christmas.

This hope, however, does not appear to have been realized, since the second edition, in three volumes, considerably revised, and including 'eight sheets of additional matter,' was not published until July 1793. During the progress of the book through the press many additional letters and anecdotes had come to hand, which were inserted in an introduction and appendix. These numerous improvements were at the same time printed in quarto form for the benefit of the purchasers

of the issue of 1791, and sold at half-a-crown, under the title of *The Principal Corrections and Additions to the First Edition of Mr. Boswell's Life of Dr. Johnson*. As in the *Tour to the Hebrides*, the success of his labours inspired their author with a greater exultation of prefatory language. Referring to the death of Reynolds, which had taken place in the interval between the first and second editions, he says that Sir Joshua had read the book, and given 'the strongest testimony to its fidelity.' He has *Johnsonized* the land, he says farther on, and he trusts 'they will not only talk but think Johnson.'

He was still busily amending and retouching for a third edition when he died on May 19, 1795, at his house, No. 47 Great Portland Street (not Great Poland Street, as stated by Mr. Napier). The task was taken up by Malone, who had been his adviser from the first, and under Malone's superintendence was issued, 'revised and augmented,' the third edition of 1799. From the fact that it contains Boswell's latest touches, this edition is held to be the most desirable by Johnson students. Boswell's friends contributed several notes, some of which were the work of the author's second son, James, then a student at Brasenose College, Oxford. Fourth, fifth, and sixth editions followed, all under the editorship of Malone. Then, shortly after the publication in 1811 of the last of these, Malone himself died. Seventh, eighth, and ninth editions, all avowedly or unavowedly reproducing Malone's last issue, subsequently appeared, the ninth having some additions by Alexander Chalmers. Then came what is known as the 'Oxford' edition, by F. P. Walesby, of Wadham College, which contained some fresh recollections of Johnson and some stray particulars as to Boswell, whose portrait for the first time is added. A tiny issue in one volume, beautifully printed in double columns at the Chiswick Press, is the only one that needs mention previous to the historical edition by the Right Honourable John Wilson Croker, published in 1831.

As will be seen, the foregoing paragraphs deal more with Johnson's earlier biographers than with the ostensible subject of this review, Boswell's editors. But the earlier biographers are, if not the chief, at least no inconsiderable part of the material employed by those editors, and by none more conspicuously, more ably, and at the same time more unhappily, than by the one whose labours attracted the censure of Macaulay and Carlyle. What is most distinctive in Boswell is Boswell's method and Boswell's manner. Long before, Johnson had touched upon this personal quality when writing of the

Corsican tour. 'Your history' (he said) 'is like other histories, but your journal is in a very high degree curious and delightful Your history was copied from books ; your journal rose out of your own experience and observation. You express images which operated strongly upon yourself, and you have impressed them with great force upon your readers.' From less friendly critics the verdict was the same. Walpole, though caustic and flippant, speaks to like purport ; and Gray, who has been 'pleased and moved strangely,' declares it proves what he has always maintained, 'that any fool may write a most valuable book by chance, if he will only tell us what he heard and saw with veracity.' This faculty of communicating his impressions accurately to his reader is Boswell's most conspicuous gift. Present in his first book, it was more present in his second, and when he began his great biography it had reached its highest point. So individual is his manner, so unique his method of collecting and arranging his information, that to disturb the native character of his narrative by interpolating foreign material, must of necessity impair its specific character and imperil its personal note. Yet, by some strange freak of fate, this was just the very treatment to which it was subjected.

From the very outset indeed, it would seem, his text was considerably 'edited.' Boswell, like many writers of his temperament, was fond of stimulating his flagging invention by miscellaneous advice, and it is plain from the comparison of his finished work with his rough notes, that in order to make his anecdotes more direct and effective he freely manipulated his reminiscences. But it is quite probable—and this is a point that we do not remember to have seen touched on—that much of the trimming which his records received is attributable to Malone. At all events, when Malone took up the editing after Boswell's death, he is known to have made many minor alterations in the process of 'settling the text,' and it is only reasonable to suppose that he had done the same thing in the author's lifetime, a supposition which would account for some at least of the variations which have been observed between Boswell's anecdotes in their earliest and their latest forms. But the admitted alterations of Malone were but trifles compared with the extraordinary readjustment which the book, as Malone left it, received at the hands of Mr. Croker. Not content with working freely upon the text itself—compressing, omitting, transposing, as seemed good in his eyes—by a process almost inconceivable in a critic and *littérateur* of admitted experience, he liberally interlarded it with long extracts and

letters from Hawkins, Piozzi, Cumberland, Murphy, and others of Boswell's predecessors and successors, and so turned into an irregular patchwork what the author had left a continuous and methodical design. Furthermore he incorporated with it, among other things, under its date of occurrence, the separate volume of the *Tour to the Hebrides*, having first polled and trimmed that work according to his taste and fancy. Finally, he added—and this is the least questionable of his acts—an inordinate number of foot-notes. Many of these, it must be conceded, are of the highest value. Penned at a time when memories of Johnson and his contemporaries were still fresh in men's minds, and collected by a writer whose industry and curiosity were as exceptional as his equipment and opportunities, they must always remain an inestimable magazine of Johnsoniana. Their worst fault is that they are more a warehouse than a treasury, and that they exhibit less of literary resource than literary incontinence.

But, if the intrinsic worth of Croker's voluminous annotations has survived the verbal artillery of Macaulay and Carlyle, it has luckily been otherwise with his remodelling of Boswell's text, the principles of which were virtually abandoned in the second edition of 1835. Unfortunately, the execution of this concession to popular opinion was only partial. Although the majority of the passages added to the text were rearranged as foot-notes or dispersed into appendices, the Scotch *Tour* still upreared itself in the midst as a huge stumbling-block, while the journey to Wales and the letters of Johnson and Mrs. Thrale were still retained. In 1847, when Mr. Croker prepared his definite edition, he continued impenitent to this extent, although he speaks in his 'Advertisement' of abridgment and alteration. Nay, he even acquiesced in the perpetuation of another enormity which dates from the edition of 1835 (an edition which he only partly superintended), the breaking up of the book into chapters. This was a violation of Boswell's plan which can only be described as an act of Vandalism. 'Divisions into books and chapters,' says Mr. Napier, unanswerably (if somewhat grandiloquently), 'are, as it were, articulations in the organic whole of a literary composition; and this special form cannot be superinduced merely externally.' Yet, all these drawbacks to the contrary, Mr. Croker's edition enjoyed a long popularity, and the edition just referred to was reprinted as late as 1876.

It would be beyond the province of this article to trace the post-Crokerian issues of Boswell's book, which, with the exception of an illustrated edition under the superintendence of

Dr. Robert Carruthers, author of the life of Pope, were mainly reprints of Malone. But from what has gone before, it will be surmised that the presentation, as far as practicable, of Boswell's unsophisticated text must sooner or later become the ambition of the modern editor. In this praiseworthy enterprise the pioneer appears to have been Mr. Percy Fitzgerald. In May 1874, acting with the encouragement and countenance of the late Mr. Carlyle, to whom his work was dedicated, he published with Messrs. Bickers an edition of Boswell's *Life* in three volumes, of which the object was to exhibit Boswell's text in its first published form, and at the same time to show the alterations made or contemplated by him in the two subsequent editions with which he was concerned. Thus the reader was enabled to follow the process of revision in the author's mind, and to derive additional satisfaction from the spectacle of the *naïf* and highly ingenuous motives which prompted many of Boswell's rectifications and readjustments. As was inevitable in such a plan, the *Tour to the Hebrides* was placed by itself at the end, an arrangement which had also been followed by Carruthers; the *Diary of a Tour in Wales*, which Mr. Croker had turned into chap. xlv. of his compilation, disappeared altogether; and the interpolated letters knew their place no more. The division into chapters also vanished with the restoration of the original text, which, together with Boswell's spelling, punctuation, paragraphs, and other special characteristics, was religiously preserved. By this arrangement, taken in connexion with the foot-notes exhibiting the variations, the reader was placed in the position of a person having before him at one view the editions of 1791, 1793, and 1799, as well as the separate 'Corrections and Additions' issued by Boswell in 1793. Mr. Fitzgerald also appended certain notes of his own; but, wherever they occurred on the same page as Boswell's work, carefully fenced them by a line of demarcation from what was legitimate Boswell. Upon these notes, generally brief and well chosen, sometimes hasty and ill-considered, it is not needful to dwell. The noticeable characteristic of Mr. Fitzgerald's edition is its loyalty to Boswell, and for that, if for that only, the lovers of Johnson owe him a deep debt of gratitude. We are glad to note that after thirteen years this edition has been reissued, with a new and interesting preface, to which is added, from the *Bookseller*, the valuable bibliography by Mr. H. R. Tedder, already referred to.

In 1880, six years after the first appearance of the above edition of Boswell's *Life*, Mr. Fitzgerald published, under the title of *Croker's Boswell and Boswell*, a volume which was

apparently the outcome of his earlier labours in this field. With the first part of this, which treats mainly of the feud between Macaulay and Croker, and the peculiarities and defects of the latter as an editor, we have no immediate concern. But the second part, which exhibits Boswell at his work, collects much valuable information with respect to his method of note-making, and, with the assistance of the curious memoranda belonging to the late Lord Houghton, published in 1874 by the Grampian Club under the title of *Boswelliana*, shows how much judicious correction and adroit compression went to produce these 'literary and characteristical anecdotes . . . told with authenticity, and in a lively manner,' which, as Boswell explained to his friend Temple, were to form the staple of his work. Other chapters of equal interest deal with Boswell's strange antipathies and second thoughts, both of which themes, and the former especially, are of no small importance to the minute student of his labours. We have mentioned this book of Mr. Fitzgerald's, because, among the many productions of his rapid pen, it is the one which has always interested us most, and it is obviously, as he declares in his preface, written *con amore*.

That the reproduction of Boswell neat—to use a convenient vulgarism—had attracted closer attention to the defects of Croker's concoction may be fairly assumed, and the volume just mentioned probably, and certainly among specialists, enforced this impression. Accordingly, in 1884, a new edition of the *Life*, upon which the editor, the late Rev. Alexander Napier, vicar of Holkham, had been engaged for many years, was issued by Messrs. George Bell and Sons. It was illustrated by facsimiles, steel engravings, and portraits, and was received with considerable, and even, in some quarters, exaggerated, enthusiasm. In this edition the arrangement of Boswell's text was strictly followed, and the tours in Wales and Scotland were printed separately. Many of Croker's notes were withdrawn or abridged, and Mr. Napier, in pursuance of a theory, which is as sound as it is unusual, also omitted all those in which his predecessor had considered it his duty 'to act as censor on Boswell' and even on Johnson himself.

'The editor's duty,' said Mr. Napier, 'is to subordinate himself to his author, and admit that only which elucidates his author's meaning. . . . It cannot be the duty of an editor to insult the writer whose book he edits. I confess that the notes of Mr. Croker which most offend are those in which, not seldom, he delights—let me be allowed to use a familiar colloquialism—to snub "Mr. Boswell."'

In this deliverance no reasonable reader can fail to concur. Besides the editing of Croker, however, Mr. Napier added many useful notes of his own, as well as some very interesting appendices. One of these reproduces the autobiographical sketch of Johnson prefixed by Richard Wright, of Lichfield, in 1805 to Miss Hill Boothby's letters; another deals with that mysterious *History of Prince Titi* which figures in Macaulay's review of Croker's first edition; a third successfully dissipates the legendary account of a meeting between Ursa Major and Adam Smith, which represents those 'grave and reverend seignors' as engaged in competitive Billingsgate. *Carleton's Memoirs*, Theophilus Cibber's *Lives of the Poets*, and the daughters of Mauritius Lowe are also treated of in this, the newest part of Mr. Napier's labours.

But his edition also includes a valuable supplement in the shape of a volume of *Johnsoniana*, collected and edited by Mrs. Napier, whose praiseworthy plan is to avoid merely fragmentary 'sayings' and 'anecdotes,' and, as far as possible, to give only complete articles. Thus Mrs. Napier opens with Mrs. Piozzi's book, and then goes on to reprint Hawkins's collection of apophthegms, the Hill-Boothby correspondence, Tyers's sketch from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the essay published by Arthur Murphy in 1792 for his edition of Johnson's works, and various recollections and so forth collected from Reynolds, Cumberland, Madame D'Arblay, Hannah More, Percy, and others. But her freshest *trouvaille* is the diary of a certain Dr. Thomas Campbell, an Irishman who visited England in 1775, and, after the fashion of the time, recorded his impressions. This diary has a curious history. Carried to Australia by some of its writer's descendants, it was peaceably travelling towards dissolution when it was unearthed behind an old press in one of the offices of the Supreme Court of New South Wales. In 1854 it was published at Sydney by Mr. Raymond, and from that date until 1884 does not seem to have been reprinted in England. Dr. Campbell had some repute as an historian, and it was he who prepared for Percy the memoir of Goldsmith which, in 1837, was in the possession of Mr. Prior, and formed the first sketch for the straggling compilation afterwards prefixed to the well-known edition of Goldsmith's works dated 1801. Campbell's avowed object in coming to London was to 'see the lions,' and his notes are sufficiently amusing. He lodges at the Grecian Coffee House, and at the Hummums in Covent Garden, where once appeared the ghost of Johnson's dissolute relative, Parson Ford, the

'Fortem validumque combibonem
Lætantem super amphorâ repletâ'

of Vincent Bourne's hendecasyllabics ; he saw Woodward in Hoadly's *Suspicious Husband*, and Garrick in Lusignan and Lear, in which latter character Dr. Campbell, contradicting all received tradition, considered 'he could not display himself.' He went to the auction-rooms in the Piazza ; he went to the Foundling and the Temple and Dr. Dodd's Chapel ; he went to Ranelagh and the Pantheon, where he watched those lapsed lovers, Lady Grosvenor and the Duke of Cumberland, carefully avoiding each other. He dined often at Thrale's, meeting Boswell and Baretti, and Murphy and Johnson. With the great man he was not impressed, and his portrait affords an example of Johnson as he struck an unsympathetic contemporary. According to Dr. Campbell this was his picture :—

'He has the aspect of an Idiot, without the faintest ray of sense gleaming from any one feature—with the most awkward garb, and unpowdered grey wig, on one side only of his head—he is for ever dancing the devil's jig, and sometimes he makes the most driveling effort to whistle some thought in his absent paroxysms. He came up to me and took me by the hand, then sat down upon a sofa, and mumbled out that he had heard two papers had appeared against him in the course of this week—one of which was—that he was to go to Ireland next summer in order to abuse the hospitality of that place also [a reference to the recently published *Journey to the Western Islands*]. His awkwardness at table is just what Chesterfield described, and his roughness of manners kept pace with that. When Mrs. Thrale quoted something from Foster's "Sermons" he flew in a passion, and said that Foster was a man of mean ability, and of no original thinking. All which tho' I took to be most true, yet I held it not meet to have it so set down.'

From this it will be perceived that Dr. Campbell was of those who identified the 'respectable Hottentot' of Chesterfield's letters with the 'great Lexicographer,' an identification which Dr. Birkbeck Hill, in *Dr. Johnson: His Friends and His Critics*, has successfully shown to be untenable.

Towards the close of 1884 Mr. Napier's edition was re-issued in the 'Standard Library,' making six small volumes, in which some only of the portrait illustrations of the first issue were reproduced. The chief addition consisted of a series of letters from Boswell to his friend Sir David Dalrymple. Extracts from this very interesting correspondence, bearing upon Boswell's first acquaintance with his Mentor, had appeared in the volume of *Boswelliana* already mentioned, but they had been but extracts. Mr. Napier gave the letters *in extenso*. Two years later Professor Henry Morley pub-

lished, in five exceedingly handsome volumes, what, from the fact of its decoration by portraits from the brush of Sir Joshua, he christened the 'Reynolds' edition. In common with all Professor Morley's work, the editing of this issue was thoroughly straightforward and sensible. A new and noticeable feature was the prefixing to each of the prefaces of the different editors a succinct account of the writer. At the end came an essay entitled the 'Spirit of Johnson,' to which can scarcely be denied the merit which a recent critic has claimed for it of being 'one of the best descriptions of Johnson's character that has ever been written.' There were also elaborate indices, of which one can only say in their dispraise that they were less elaborate than that prepared by the editor who follows Professor Morley. Like Mr. Napier, Mr. Morley was largely indebted to Croker, and like Mr. Napier he freely pruned that gentleman's luxuriance.

Lieut.-Colonel Francis Grant's excellent little memoir in the 'Great Writers' series deserves mention, because, although exceedingly unpretentious, it is the work of one who, to borrow Boswell's epithet for Malone, is certainly 'Johnsonianissimus.' It is impossible to turn his anecdotal pages without seeing that he is steeped in the literature of the period, and that, for him, the personages of the Boswellian drama have all the reality of living friends. His volume, too, includes a valuable bibliography by Mr. John P. Anderson of Johnson's works, which, in point of time, preceded the special bibliography of Boswell's *Life* in Mr. Fitzgerald's new edition. And this brings us to the last work on our list, the sumptuous edition by Dr. G. Birkbeck Hill, issued in 1887 from the Clarendon Press, a work which has been received with an almost universal chorus of praise.

That Dr. Hill's book is 'un livre de bonne foi' there can indeed be little doubt. He is well known as a devoted worshipper at Johnson's shrine. He has been for years a persistent reviewer of books on this subject (especially Mr. Fitzgerald's), and his essays (collected in 1878 from the *Cornhill* and other periodicals under the title of *Dr. Johnson: His Friends and His Critics*) bear that unmistakable stamp which denotes the writer who has not crammed his subject for the purpose of preparing an article, but who has, so to speak, let the article write itself out of the fulness of his resources. Besides these he edited, in 1879, Boswell's *Journal of a Tour in Corsica* and his correspondence with Andrew Erskine. But he has crowned his former labours by this sumptuous edition with its excellent typography, its handsome

page, and its exhaustive index, which last, we can well believe, must have cost him, as he says, 'many months' heavy work.' That he himself executed this 'sublunary task,' as a recent writer has described it, is matter for congratulation; that he has also verified it page by page in proof almost entitles him to a Montyon prize for exceptional literary virtue. Our only regret is that his 'Preface' is touched a little too strongly with the sense of his unquestioned industry and conscientiousness. However legitimate it may be, the public is always somewhat intolerant of the *superbia quæsita meritis*. Moreover, it is an extremely difficult thing to display judiciously, and, after all, as Carlyle said of Croker's efforts, the editing of Boswell is 'a praiseworthy but no miraculous procedure.'

This note of self-gratulation in Dr. Birkbeck Hill's introductory words is, however, but a trifling drawback when contrasted with the real merits of a work which, in these days of piping-hot publication, has much of the leisurely grace of eighteenth-century scholarship. The labour—not only the labour of which the result remains on record, but that bloomless and fruitless labour with which everyone who has been engaged in editorial drudgery can sympathise—must have been unprecedented. Nothing could be more ungracious than to smear the petty blot of an occasional inaccuracy across the wide field which has been explored so observantly—certainly it could not be the desire of those who have ever experienced the multiplied chances of error involved by transcription, press correction, revision, and re-revision. At the same time we frankly own that we think Dr. Birkbeck Hill's edition has not escaped a dangerous defect of its qualities. It unquestionably errs on the side of excess. 'I have sought,' he says, 'to follow him [Johnson] wherever a remark of his required illustration, and have read through many a book that I might trace to its source a reference or an allusion.' And he has no doubt been frequently very fortunate, notably in his identification of the quotation which Johnson made when he heard the Highland girl of Nairne singing at her spinning-wheel, in his solution of 'loplolly,' and in half a dozen similar cases. But, as regards 'remarks that require illustration,' there are manifestly two methods, the moderate and the immoderate. By the one nothing but such reference or elucidation as explains the text is admissible; by the other anything that can possibly be connected with it is drawn into its train, and the motley notes tread upon each other's heels much as, in the fairy tale, the three girls, the parson, and the sexton follow the fellow with the golden goose. To the latter of these methods rather than

the former Dr. Birkbeck Hill 'seriously inclines,' and almost any portion of his book would serve to supply a case in point. Take, for instance, the note at p. 269, vol. i., to the verse which Boswell quotes from Garrick's Ode on Mr. Pelham :—

'The same sad morn, to Church and State
(So for our sins 'twas fix'd by fate)
A double stroke was given ;
Black as the whirlwinds of the North,
St. John's fell genius issued forth,
And Pelham fled to heaven.'

Neither Malone nor Croker has any note upon this, and as Boswell himself tells us that Pelham died on the day on which Mallet's edition of Lord Bolingbroke's works came out, and as the first line of his paragraph gives the exact date of the event, it is difficult to see what ground, and certainly what pressing need, there could be for further comment. Yet Dr. Hill has no less than four 'illustrations.' First he tells us, from Walpole's letters, that Pelham died of a surfeit. This suggests another quotation from Johnson himself about the death of Pope, which introduces the story of the potted lampreys. Then comes a passage from Fielding's *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* to the effect that he (Fielding) was at his worst when Pelham died. Lastly comes a second quotation from Walpole, this time from his *George II.*, in which we are told that the king said he should now 'have no more peace,' because Pelham was dead. The recondite erudition of all this is incontestable, but its utility is more than doubtful. Dr. Hill's method is seen more serviceably at work in a note on Reynolds's visit to Devonshire in 1762. First we get a record how Northcote, 'with great satisfaction to his mind,' touched the skirt of Sir Joshua's coat, and this quite naturally recalls the well-known anecdote how Reynolds himself in his youth had grasped the hand of the great Mr. Pope at Christie's. The transition to Pope's own visit as a boy of twelve to Dryden at Will's Coffee House thus becomes an easy one. 'Who touched old Northcote's hand?' says Dr. Hill. 'Has the apostolic succession been continued?' and then he goes on to add :

'Since writing these lines I have read with pleasure the following passage in Mr. Ruskin's *Præterita*, chap. i. p. 16 : "When at three and a half I was taken to have my portrait painted by Mr. Northcote, I had not been ten minutes alone with him before I asked him why there were holes in his carpet." Dryden, Pope, Reynolds, Northcote, Ruskin, so runs the chain of genius, with only one weak link in it.'

This is an excellent specimen of the concatenated process at the best. We are bound to add that there are many as

good. We are also bound to admit that the examples of its abuse are by no means obtrusive. Dr. Birkbeck Hill, in short, has done his work thoroughly. His appendices—e.g. those on Johnson's Debates in Parliament and on George Psalmanazar—are practically exhaustive, and he has left no stone unturned in his labour of interpretation. If in the result of that labour there is something of 'surplusage,' to use a word which Croker, with mock humility, applied to his own efforts, it must also be conceded that Boswell's famous book has never before been annotated with equal learning, industry, and enthusiasm.

ART. VIII.—THE APOCRYPHA.

The Holy Bible according to the Authorized Version (A.D. 1611), with an Explanatory and Critical Commentary, and a Revision of the Translation by Clergy of the Anglican Church. 'Apocrypha;' edited by HENRY WACE, D.D., in two volumes. (London, 1888.)

SINCE the article on the Apocrypha appeared in the *Church Quarterly Review* of January 1881, much has been done to bring within the reach of English readers such information as is accessible on the subject of the 'Biblical Apocrypha,' and of the kindred Jewish literature which modern research has brought to light. In the volumes before us we have the subject treated in a fuller and a more exhaustive way than in any previous work in our language. The authors seem to have spared no efforts to render the subject interesting and attractive, and to bring to bear upon it the results of modern research—antiquarian, geographical, historical, and Rabbinical. The *Speaker's Commentary* will probably succeed better in drawing attention to the Apocrypha than Dr. Bissell's laborious but somewhat dry production, published in 1880, uniformly with Lange's *Commentary on the Old Testament*. This work has been followed by those of Dr. Neubauer on Tobit, by Mr. Deane's careful commentary on Wisdom, and a series of articles by the same author in the *Expositor* and *Monthly Interpreter*; whilst less advanced students have found their wants supplied by the *Commentary* of the Christian Knowledge Society, and the *Uncanonical Scriptures* published by Mr.

Whitaker in 1884. Outside the Biblical Apocrypha such works as the Book of Enoch, the little Genesis, the Psalter of Solomon, the Book of Adam and Eve, and the Apocalypse of Baruk, have received due attention, either in separate treatises or in articles devoted to them in dictionaries or periodicals. Thus a large field of study and enquiry has been opened to view, having a close affinity to the later Jewish and Rabbinical literature, and yet differing from it in many of its features and tendencies.

The Biblical Apocrypha stands distinguished from the Books of the Hebrew Canon on the one side and the extra-Biblical Apocrypha on the other. Of the two lines of distinction, the first is more clearly drawn than the second. There has been no distinct uniform rule in the Christian Church as to the classification of the uncanonical books ; some collections of the ancient Scriptures including books and portions of books which were not found in others ; some, which were excluded from the Vulgate, being found both in the old Greek and Latin editions ; some being added to Polyglotts and versions which had no place in either. The traditions of the Christian Church appear to be as favourable to portions not included in the Tridentine Canon as to the books which were there enumerated, especially to the 151st Psalm, and the other additions to the Psalter, including the Prayer of Manasses ; the additions to Proverbs, the preface to Lamentations, and the Fourth Book of Esdras, whilst the preference by the Council of Trent of the Greek Esther to the Greek Esdras is not easily explained. The exclusion of certain books contained in the old Latin version from the newly-defined Canon was hardly consistent with the words : 'If any one receive not as sacred and canonical the said books entire with all their parts as they have been used to be read in the Catholic Church and as they are contained in the old Latin Vulgate edition . . . let him be anathema.'¹ The probable origin of the Canon as based upon a supposed Greek authority, was discussed in the *Church Quarterly Review* of January 1881. The upholders of it supposed (erroneously) that the Prayer of Manasses was not extant in Greek. But the strangest inconsistency lay in accepting as canonical Jerome's dislocated fragments of the Greek Esther and rejecting the Greek Esdras, whose relation to the Hebrew Ezra closely resembled the relation of the other to the Hebrew Esther. Dr. Salmon, in his able introduction, agrees with the view taken in the *Church Quarterly Review*,

¹ Swete, *Handbook of the Roman Catholic Controversy*, p. 3.

January 1881 (p. 327), that the aim at the Council was to give canonical authority to certain passages which had been much used in the controversies of the period rather than to bring the books as a whole into new prominence :—

‘ The majority of the Council, being men who took much more interest in the polemical discussions of their own day than in learned research as to the opinions of early times, were mainly induced to give so high a rank to the Apocrypha by the controversial use to be made of a few texts in it ’ (Tob. xii. 12, 15 ; 2 Macc. xv. 12–14, xii. 44, 45).

Under the head of ‘ Deutero-canonical Books ’ the relations of the Anglican and Roman Church on this question were fully treated by Dr. Pusey in the third part of the *Eirenicon*, pp. 122–157. He observes that the Homilies of the English Church seem to concede an inferior kind of inspiration to Tobit, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus.

‘ We retain the Canon of St. Jerome and the distinction which he draws between the books of the Old Testament, upon which our Lord expressly set His seal ; yet both books of Homilies, in some forty-three places in all, quote, either in the body of the Homily or in the margin, the Deutero-canonical Books. They quote them as “ Scripture written by the Holy Ghost,” “ the Scriptures,” “ the Old Testament,” with the formula, “ it is written,” as “ the Word of God,” “ the infallible and undeceivable Word of God.” They quote them, together with other Scripture and under the same formula, even together with words of our Lord Himself. . . . And whereas the Deutero-canonical Books are quoted so often in the Homilies, it is remarkable that amid the copious quotations from Holy Scripture in the Council of Trent one place only is quoted from them, and that only upon a matter of practice ’ (Tobit i. 6, with other Scripture, ‘ that the payment of tithes is owed to God,’ Sess. xxv. c. 12).

Dr. Swete (*England versus Rome*, p. 18) observes ‘ that Du Pin was willing to accept for the Apocryphal books the title “ Deutero-canonical,” thereby contravening the plain language of the Council of Trent, and exposing himself to its anathema.’ This is, however, giving a sense to the word ‘ Deutero-canonical ’ which was not avowed by its authors. Their Deutero-canon was of later authorization, not of inferior authority, as Dr. Salmon rightly observes (p. xxxiii.). It is a further question whether the writers of the Biblical Apocrypha claim anything like inspired authority ; indeed, whether they do not emphatically disclaim it. There is no claim of prophetic inspiration ; no declaration like ‘ Thus saith the Lord,’ ‘ Hear the word of the Lord,’ even where, as in Baruch, the language of the Hebrew prophets is paraphrased and applied. The authors write as pious Israelites, with their minds stored with the teaching of

the Hebrew Scriptures, and applying that teaching to the existing circumstances and hopes of their nation. The son of Sirach only professes to be a gleaner and a collector of the thoughts and sayings of others (Ecclus. xxxiii. 16, 17). The prevailing language is that of prayer to God, not of prophecy or message from God. In hard times of sore national affliction the authors exhort their fellow-countrymen to seek the mercy which the ancient law assured to them if they sought it by the way of repentance. However much they may exalt their nation or minimize their faults, nothing is said in praise of themselves; there are no pretensions to superior wisdom or claims of a personal nature. If they are teachers of truth to the world, it is only as possessing in common with the rest of Israel the deposit of the Divine Law. This modesty is most conspicuous in the book chiefly selected for controversial use in the Reformation period, the Second Book of Maccabees. The author professes to compile his narrative from certain letters and documents, which he intersperses with pious and patriotic reflections of his own: 'And if I have done well, and as is fitting the story, it is that which I desired: but if slenderly and meanly, it is that which I could attain unto' (2 Macc. xv. 38).

Another objection to the 'inspiration' of the Apocrypha is well stated by Dr. Salmon (p. xxxiv.):—

'It necessitates a low theory of Inspiration. . . . It is intimately connected with the question how much is meant by the inspiration and authority ascribed to the books of the Hebrew Old Testament. The two classes of books can be put on the same level, either by magnifying the authority ascribed to the former, or depressing that ascribed to the latter. The rationalistic critic of the present day, who does not ascribe inspiration, as the Church understands the word, to any books, has no inclination to set the Books of the Apocrypha in any inferior position. Jewish literature of one age has as many claims on his regard as Jewish literature of another.'

We are thankful to Dr. Salmon for giving prominence to this feature of the controversy. The 'Pseudo-Solomon' of the Book of Wisdom is by recent 'results' placed on a level with the 'Pseudo-Solomon' of Ecclesiastes or the 'Deutero-Isaiah,' not by the exaltation of the former, but by the disparagement of the latter; the so-called 'post-exilic' and 'Maccabean' Psalms will naturally come to be classed with the Prayers and Hymns of the Apocrypha. The 'fables' of Tobit and Judith will not be more unhistorical than the myths and 'allegories' of the Pentateuch, if the views of some recent writers obtain general acceptance. To such theorists there

seems to be nothing preposterous in making the simple narrative of events a later development, and regarding the 'myth' as the original form of human records, although we find in the earliest writings which have come down to us a series of genealogies and accounts reaching back to the beginning of the human race. The legends of the Apocrypha can hardly be alleged in support of such theories. Here the 'allegory' is based upon history, and is not a mere creation of poetic fancy. Historical events are embellished, imaginary names are introduced, circumstances are added, and thus some moral suited to the times of the writer is inculcated from a story which disguises the present in the garb of the past. Thus the story or tradition of the three youths at the court of Darius in the Greek Esdras is taken to illustrate the maxim, 'The truth is great and will prevail,' the frame of the picture being a cento of extracts from the Canonical Scriptures. The author's object is not to hand down an accurate record of events, but to inculcate some esoteric teaching. But this kind of writing implies an historical basis. The Apocryphal writers took the ancient books of the Hebrew Canon as their chief source of ideas, they assume their authority, they abound in quotations and 'reminiscences' of the sacred text. Their later and inferior kind of writing is most valuable as a testimony to the Hebrew Scriptures. From Genesis to Malachi every part finds its recognition in the Biblical Apocrypha. Without the aid of the Law and Prophets they could not have constructed their stories and allegories, or framed their prayers and instructions, their hymns and praises. On these grounds we deprecate as superficial and inadequate the following remarks on the *Song of the Three Holy Children*, vol. ii. p. 307:

'Many expositors of Scripture . . . conspicuously lack that *orientation* which is an indispensable preliminary to a right understanding of the treasures of Eastern thought; I mean the inveterate tendency of Jewish teachers to convey their doctrine not in the form of abstract discourse, but in a mode appealing directly to the imagination, and seeking to rouse the interest and sympathy of the man rather than the philosopher. The Rabbi embodies his lesson in a story, whether parable or allegory, or seeming historical narrative; and the last thing he or his disciples would think of is to ask whether the selected persons, events, and circumstances which so vividly suggest the doctrine are in themselves real or fictitious.'

If the Apocryphal narratives were mere Arabian Nights or Æsop's Fables, their presence within the sacred volume could not be defended. But if, though inferior to *inspired Scriptures*, they are truly *scriptural*, inculcating the moral lessons which

the Scriptures inculcate, and expressing the belief of the writers in the authenticity of the Scripture narratives, and the reality of the persons whose names and actions they derive from Scripture, the Apocrypha is truly a margin to the great historical revelation of the Old Testament, and a witness to it. The Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus thus testify to a very large part of the sacred history, beginning with the creation of the world, the life of Adam the protoplast, the personality of the Tempter, the Fall and the repentance after the Fall, the Deluge, the Tower of Babel, and the call of Abraham. Where allegorical applications are introduced, as in the Fourth Book of Esdras, the historical reality of the persons who are taken as types is assumed. The Egyptian darkness is made the type of Tartarus or hell ; but the basis of the application is the literal narrative of the plagues of Egypt. The deliverance of the three Jewish princes from the fiery furnace loses none of its historical reality by becoming a type of the Divine preservation of all Israel in the furnace of affliction, kept from ruin by the presence of Him 'Who dwelt in the bush,' and gave it that vitality which the power of the enemy could not destroy. The theory which regards the Apocrypha as a mere handful out of a mass of Rabbinical literature destroys all the rationale of its inclusion in the sacred volume, or of the Commentary on the Bible being extended to it.

The distinction between the Biblical and extra-Biblical Apocrypha is correctly given in the Introduction, p. xlii. :

'It is the Christian use of the Apocrypha which accounts for the limitation of the contents of the present volumes. The writings included in them are not the only pre-Christian writings which may be studied with advantage in order to trace the religious progress of the Jewish people. Some materials for the study have indeed only recently come to light. The Book of Enoch has special claims on our attention ; and there are some of the so-called Sibylline verses which are certainly pre-Christian, and which may be used to illustrate the history of Messianic expectations. . . . But whatever acceptance other apocrypha may have met with in Jewish circles, the books included in the present volumes have enjoyed a consideration in the Christian Church to which no others can lay claim.'

These excellent remarks in the Introduction, however, raise hopes which are not altogether realized in the Commentary. Most of the authors give a great preponderance to the Rabbinical over the Patristic element in their notes. In some the latter element is almost evanescent, whilst they revel in an exuberance of Rabbinic illustration, more curious than profitable, and somewhat wearisome to the student, who is left to

search for a few rare grains of wheat in the midst of these mountains of chaff. Mr. Lupton and Mr. Fuller have given fuller recognition to the Fathers of the Christian Church than the other commentators ; but throughout the volumes very little is said of the liturgical use of the Apocrypha. In the Introduction the Reformed English Prayer Book is said to have included lessons from the Apocrypha in its Lectionary ; but little is said of the extensive use made of it in the ancient offices of the Church ; of the Fourth Book of Esdras (or its later additions) in the Commemoration of Martyrs ; of the prayers of Judith in the Liturgies of St. Mark and St. Basil ; of Tobit in the Itinerarium ; of Tobit, Judith and Maccabees in the Lectionary of the Autumnal Breviary ; of the Epistle of Jeremias in the Commemoration of the Angels ; of Wisdom in the Pentecostal Offices ; of Ecclus. xxiv. in all the Offices of our Lady ; or of the very ancient use of the Song of the Three and the Prayer of Manasses as Canticles, of which the evidence is seen in their inclusion in the appendix to the Greek Psalter. Little is said of the influence of Wisdom upon the Alexandrian fathers, or of the application of its teaching about the manna to the Eucharist, both in homiletic and liturgical use. The Rabbinical sphere of illustration has a strange fascination for the Biblical commentators of the day. The time may come when the Christian aspect of these books will again claim a fuller attention.

One remarkable feature of the Biblical Apocrypha is the absence of such anticipations of the office and work of the Messiah as might have been expected from devout readers of Hebrew prophecy. It seems to illustrate, not the attitude of Simeon and Anna, and the faithful remnant who were waiting for the kingdom of God, but rather that of the Jewish rulers who 'knew Him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets which are read every Sabbath day' (Acts xiii. 27). The roll of prophecy was a sealed book, the true hidden meaning of the ancient law was waiting to be revealed by a new light of supernatural origin. Even in this dimness of perception of Divine truth an evidence is furnished of the truth of the Gospel as a new revelation. It could be no development of such Jewish thought as we find in the Apocrypha.¹ We find here a remarkable absence of any basis for the speculations of Strauss, 'that the Gospels originated in a transference into the history of Jesus of the Jewish expectations of the Messiah,

¹ The attempt of Dean Plumptre to trace in the Epistle to the Hebrews a development of the teaching of the Book of Wisdom must be regarded as a failure. See Dr. Farrar's remarks in vol. i. pp. 413, 414.

those expectations being grounded on the Old Testament prophecies and types and their current interpretations' (*Church Quarterly Review*, 1888, p. 97). Upon this subject Dr. Farrar's remarks in the Introduction to *Wisdom* deserve special attention :—

'In the Book of Wisdom, as in Ecclesiasticus, there is no personal and no suffering Messiah. The Messianic hope has come to mean nothing but the dominance of Israel and the universal worship of Jehovah (Wisd. iii. 8; v. 16; viii. 14). Mention is made indeed of "a faithful prophet," in 1 Macc. xiv. 41; but on the whole the Advent of a Divine Deliverer of the tribe of David has been merged by the writers of the Apocrypha, as by Philo, into a vast incoherent dream (vol. i. p. 410). . . . The author of *Wisdom* not only falls behind the writers of the New, but even below the prophets of the Old Testament, in the fact that he seems wholly to have lost sight of the hope of a personal Messiah' (vol. i. p. 414).

Dr. Edersheim observes similarly on Ecclus. xxiv. :—

'The older Church writers regarded this personification of *Wisdom* as the Christ. But the vital difference of thought in Ecclus. is apparent from the following verses (see especially verse 9). We find here not the beginnings of Christianity, but of Alexandrianism; and the personification (?) or rather distinction of *Wisdom* as God manifesting Himself, points forward to Philo, not to the Gospels' (vol. ii. p. 126).

This remarkable failure of the Jews in the preparation for the Gospel brings into greater prominence the share of the Gentiles in the work. With their poetry and philosophy for their 'Pædagogues' they were approaching to truths which those who had the advantage of the possession of the oracles of God failed to apprehend. 'What then? are we better than they? No, in no wise. Is He the God of the Jews only? Is He not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also' (Rom. iii. 9, 29).

On the other hand, the writers of the Apocrypha show a very deep sense of the Fatherly love and care of God for all the souls which He hath made. In *Wisdom* God is the *φιλάνθρωπος*, and His Holy Spirit is the *πνεῦμα φιλάνθρωπον*, hating nothing that He has made. Through Israel as His sons God purposed to give the uncorrupt light of the law to the world (Wisd. xviii. 4). This light was a treasure, not to be hoarded up and concealed (Ecclus. xx. 30, 31), but to be communicated freely without envy or grudging (Wisd. vi. 22, 23). On the first of these passages Dr. Farrar rightly observes (vol. i. 525) :—

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'Here, as in the song of Simeon (Luke ii. 32), we find the distinct conception that ultimately "the law" was not to be confined to the Jew only, but was to be "a light to lighten the Gentiles" (comp. xiv. 13). It is strange that the scribes of our Lord's day, and the people under their teaching, should so completely have lost sight of the old prophecies of the universal conversion of the heathen (Isa. ii. 1-5, xxvii. 13; Mic. iv. 1-13). Comp. Tobit xiii. 11, "A clear light shall shine to all the ends of the earth;" *id.* xiv. 6, "And *all the nations which are in the whole earth* will turn and fear God truly, and will forsake their idols."

Dr. Edersheim in his notes on Ecclus. xxiv. (vol. ii. 127) connects this thought with the legend in the Talmud that the law had been offered to, and refused by, every nation before it was accepted by Israel on Mount Sinai:¹—

'Possibly the legend represents a survival of the fundamental thought of Alexandrianism, or rather of that more free thinking which in Palestine itself formed the root and source of what afterwards was developed in Jewish Hellenism as the idea of an original share of all mankind in that highest Wisdom which found its full expression in the Law.'

On the other hand, the Book of Baruch dwells on the exclusive privileges of Israel which were not to be found with the princes of the heathen, the Agarenes, Themanites, &c. (Bar. iii. 15, &c.) Even here, however, there are traces of the thought that Israel had received the law that they might be the guides and teachers of the nations. Dr. Edersheim calls special attention to Ecclus. xlv. 22, 'With Isaac did He establish *the blessing of all men*, and the covenant.' Here the son of Sirach adopts the received rendering of Gen. xxii. 18, in opposition to the confident assertion of modern critics that the correct translation is, 'With thy seed shall all the nations of the earth bless themselves.' So in Ecclus. xxxvi. 14-17, the prayer that God would fill Sion with His unspeakable oracles, and raise up prophets, is in order that 'all they which dwell upon the earth may know that Thou art the Lord, the eternal God.'

The repeated assertions of the Apocryphal writers of the peculiar favour shown by God to Israel are mostly paraphrases or 'reminiscences' of portions of the Canonical Scriptures, and should not be pressed against them as implying unworthy conceptions of the God of all, with Whom there is no respect of persons. The same writers speak with no less emphasis of 'the mercy of the Lord which is upon all flesh'

¹ Compare also the Targum of Jonathan on Deut. xxxiii. 2. On the theory of a pre-Mosaic revelation see *Christian Remembrancer*, vol. xl. pp. 431-450.

(Ecclus. xviii. 13), for 'as His Majesty is, so is His mercy' (Ecclus. ii. 18; Wisd. xi. 23). Israel is exhorted to be patient under the heaviest chastisements, by the reflection that they might have been treated with far greater severity, as in the case of other nations who had been left to fill up the measure of their iniquity, and had then been cut off without warning (Judith viii. 26, 27; Ecclus. xvii. 18, 21; 2 Macc. vi. 14, 17). Dr. Farrar says, 'It is impossible not to see the narrowness of Jewish pride and particularism in the assumption that all the trials which befell the Israelites were only the outcome of fatherly tenderness, whereas the misfortunes of the Egyptians were the result of their guilt and God's severity,' taking exception especially to the words 'These Thou didst admonish and try as a Father; but the other, as a severe King, Thou didst condemn and punish.' The leading idea is, however, not a vindictive feeling towards Israel's enemies, but rather to insist upon the mercy in judgment which Israel experienced, which the author of Wisdom brings out by a series of elaborate antitheses. His moral is also a pure and elevating one: 'that the just man should be merciful (an imitator of the Divine philanthropy), and that God's children should be of good hope that He gives repentance for sins' (Wisd. xii. 19). Such a moral contrasts favourably with the vindictive fanaticism which the study of the Apocalypse has tended to foster in the minds of many Christians; with no guidance but that of the law which was a ministration of condemnation the author had a juster view of the Divine mercy than those whose faith in the Gospel was overshadowed by theories of arbitrary decrees and reprobation.

There are many other questions of importance and interest which arise out of the study of the Apocrypha, into which our space forbids us to enter: such are the doctrine of Creation, in which the Apocrypha offers points of contact with Philo, especially with respect to the Divine Wisdom, the Mother and Nurse of all things, by Whom the universe was perfected; on the nature of angels and demons; on the personality of Satan; on the future life and the state of the dead; on the torments of the wicked; on the origin of idolatry and the developed polytheism of Alexandria; on Platonism and the *anima mundi*; on the points of contact between Judaism and Stoicism; on the moral precepts of prayer, fasting, and almsgiving; and the care of the bodies of the dead.

The doctrine of sin, or human corruption, the יצר הרע of Gen. vi. 5, appears in Ecclus. xxxvii. 3, 'O wicked imagination, whence comest thou in to cover the earth with deceit?'

and xvii. 16, 'Every man from his youth is given to evil; neither could they make to themselves fleshy hearts for stony.' The latter verse is supposed to be a Christian interpolation, though it expresses Old Testament teaching, and connects the 'heart of stone' in Ezekiel with the יֵצֶר הָרָע of Gen. vi. In a note on Ecclus. xxv. 24 Dr. Edersheim says, 'This verse is remarkable, as ascribing to Eve not only the introduction of death, but also the commencement, although not the introduction, of sin. . . . But we must be careful not to identify the statement that "of woman came the beginning of sin" with the N.T. doctrine of original sin.' The evil propensity from childhood was noted by the Rabbins (see Bartoloccius, *Bibliotheca*, vol. ii.), but not (according to Dr. Edersheim) the inherited taint.

It is difficult to embrace within the limits of a single article a fair estimate of the labours of the learned contributors to these volumes, each of whom furnishes material for so much thought and discussion. The Rev. J. H. Lupton has annotated very thoroughly the least attractive portion, the Third Book of Esdras, with its corrupt version of long extracts from the Canonical Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and its long catalogues of proper names. The legend of the three youths he regards as a curious episode, resembling the account of the Seventy Interpreters in the history of Aristeas. The far more interesting Fourth Book of Esdras is less fully annotated, though its character and its relations to the Book of Enoch and other Apocalypses might have entitled it to a more exhaustive treatment. Mr. Fuller has done full justice to the Book of Tobit, including the additional matter in the Vulgate, Syriac, and Hebrew editions of the story. The excursuses and appendices are rich in illustrative matter. The commentary of Bede and the use of the book by the canonists also obtain a due share of notice. Mr. Ball, who comments on Judith and the additions to Daniel, is even more diffuse, especially in his Rabbinical illustrations. His commentary has done for these portions of the Apocrypha what Professor Neubauer did for Tobit. In common with the majority of the contributors he pleads for a Semitic or Oriental origin for the chief part of the Apocrypha, though it has descended to us in a Greek or Alexandrian form. The elders in Susanna are traced to the false prophets, Ahab and Zedekiah, in Babylon, and the story is compared with the strange Rabbinical legend concerning them. Even the paronomasia of the trees (σχίνος, πρίνος, σχίσαι, πρίσαι) is supposed to be based upon a similar one in Chaldee or Syriac;

and the writer's object is taken to be the reform of judicial proceedings, and not the one indicated in the Septuagint, the recognition of the virtues of the young as contrasted with the inveterate vices of their elders. In the notes on Bel and the Dragon we observe with regret that the author concludes a commentary of wide research and great value by insinuating a doubt of the historical accuracy of the decree of Darius in Dan. vi. 26, 27, upon which Dr. Pusey observes (*Lectures on Daniel*, p. 446) that 'there seems no reason why Daniel himself should not have been commissioned to write it, as first minister of the empire, or should not have suggested its language.' Dr. Gifford's notes on Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremias are interesting and exhaustive. The first part is considered to be of Hebrew origin, being mostly a cento from early writings, with large extracts from Daniel. The second part, ch. iii. 9-v. 9, bears marks of an Alexandrian Greek origin. The resemblance between Bar. v. and the 11th Psalm of the 'Psalter of Solomon' has been taken as an index of later date; but Dr. Gifford inclines to the view of Dr. Pusey that it was written not so long after the close of the Canon, and before the distresses of the Maccabean period. Canon Rawlinson's historical and topographical illustrations of the Books of Maccabees need no commendations from us, though we might have preferred an assortment of authorities which would have given less prominence to the long extracts from Dean Stanley's *Lectures on the Jewish Church*. The influence of the history of the Maccabean martyrs upon the Christian Church, and the honour paid to them in the martyrologies, hymns, poems, and liturgies of the East and West, might have claimed a fuller recognition.

The Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus hold a position of their own distinct from the rest of the Apocrypha, especially in their relation to the worship and doctrine of the Christian Church. The Commentary of Cornelius à Lapide devotes more space to Ecclesiasticus than to any of the Canonical Books. Lorinus is even more voluminous. Dionysius Carthusianus is comparatively brief, but condenses a wonderful amount of scriptural illustration. Dr. Edersheim has supplemented the older commentators by adding a quantity of Rabbinical matter. His notes are all valuable and suggestive, though sometimes diffuse and obscure in style. The parallels between Ecclesiasticus and the Epistle of St. James, some fifteen in number, are carefully noted. A Christian influence is traced in some of the interpolations, especially in the Syriac. He observes that the recommendation of

foreign travel in search of wisdom (Ecclus. xxxiv. 10) indicates an early date, being in direct opposition to the later exclusive views of the Pharisaic sages (vol. ii. p. 4).

Of Dr. Farrar's notes on Wisdom we may say generally that the reader will find them interesting, and the illustrations pleasing and varied; it can scarcely, however, be denied that they are tinged by the author's favourite views and speculations to an extent which hinders him from entering fully into the mind of the writer. There are several minor inaccuracies which a more careful revision would have prevented. In the note on page 430 the text on the 'covenant with death' should be Isaiah xxviii. 15, not Psalm xxviii. On page 436 the reference on 'life and incorruption' should be 2 Tim. i. 10, not 1 Tim. ii. 10. In the same note it is wrongly asserted that the word *ἀφθαρσία* occurs in the LXX. version of the title of Psalm lxxiv. (Heb. lxxv.) It is not found in the Septuagint, but in the version of Symmachus (Origen's *Hexapla*). There is a curious mistake on page 441: Solomon was 'a king who had 300 wives and 700 concubines.' There is no support that we know of for this reading. One Greek copy in Holmes and Parsons gives '500 wives and princesses.' Philastrius, Heresy 122, mentioned a 'heresy' denying the spiritual meaning of Cant. vi. 8, 'three score queens and four score concubines, and virgins without number.' Attempts were made to reconcile these numbers with those of 1 Kings xi. 1, 2, by explaining the latter as 'seventy princesses with their attendants' (*Glossa Ordinaria*).

In the notes on Wisdom iv. 10 Enoch is taken as the example of a righteous man prevented by an early death, and it is added that the view that he was exempted from death, the common lot of mankind, was somewhat timidly and tentatively introduced. 'The case of Enoch supplied the Jewish dogmatists with a scriptural proof that length of days was not an exceptionless blessing, and therefore that early death was no proof of guilt or of God's displeasure.' Dr. Farrar passes over the omission of the name of Enoch somewhat slightly, and his reasons for such omission are far from convincing. The author of Wisdom has been speaking of the conspiracy of the ungodly against the just. In this his thoughts would naturally revert to Abel rather than to Enoch. The prolongation of the life of Cain as compared with the premature end of Abel corresponds exactly with the case contemplated by the author. 'The righteous live for evermore,' even though they are 'prevented by death.' The blessedness of the death of the righteous is based upon Isaiah lvii. 1, 2.

The care of God for His elect, even when the wicked conspire against them, is derived from Psalm xxxvii. The author of Wisdom enlarges upon the words in v. 28: 'The Lord loveth judgment, and forsaketh not His saints: they are preserved for ever; but the seed of the wicked shall be cut off.' There is no sufficient reason alleged for assuming that Enoch was taken as an example of early death. The testimony of the son of Sirach (Ecclus. xlv. 16) points to the antiquity of the belief in his exemption from death, as directly asserted in Heb. xi. 5, *μετετέθη τοῦ μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον*. The subject is treated in a more satisfactory manner by Dr. Edersheim, vol. ii. p. 210, who observes that the son of Sirach curtails the LXX. of Gen. v. by omitting the words 'was not found,' and substituting 'was translated' for 'God translated him.' Throughout the greater part of Ecclesiasticus the writer seems 'studiously to ignore another life.' Dr. Edersheim adds that the Rabbis, chiefly in connexion with the Christian controversy, denied the ascension of Elijah into Heaven, a notion which has crept into the margin of the Authorized Version (not the edition of 1611) in 2 Chron. xxi. 12. There would, however, be nothing abrupt or unaccountable in the transition from the premature death of Abel to the translation of Enoch, if the latter event is treated as the remedy for the doubts occasioned by the former.

The teaching of the author of Wisdom is not to be elucidated by such modern phrases as 'a cruel traditional orthodoxy,' 'æonian fire' (p. 437), 'a systematized eschatology,' 'the final triumph of Universal Mercy' (p. 514). On chapter xii. 10 Dr. Farrar says of 'the malice bred in them,' 'To talk here of the doctrine of original sin is an anachronism.' But above, on verse 2, he says, 'The writer is not here entering into theological considerations, and it is hardly fair to say that he considers punishment as the cause of repentance and faith.' But if so, why should he introduce the 'theological consideration' at all? In both instances the writer's doctrine is fully in keeping with Old Testament teaching; the objection is derived not from traditional Christian doctrine, but from certain modern developments of it. The use of affliction for calling sin to remembrance and the recognition of God's government of the world is fully expressed in Bar. iii. 30-33, Lev. xxvi. 40-42. The notes on Wisd. xii. are generally obscure and unsatisfactory, and show a want of appreciation of the author's train of thought. There is no more contradiction here than in the books of the Hebrew Canon. Both assert the Divine benevolence and long-suffering, adding that God will by no

means spare the guilty. The author of Wisdom is only tracing one of the proofs of the patience of the Almighty in His sending lighter chastisements to precede the heavier judgments. There is no apology for an 'arbitrary tyranny' in the Deity (p. 494). There is a basis of a belief in a general philanthropy and love of souls, and a humble recognition of this truth even beneath the apparent inequalities. Dr. Farrar regards Wisd. xii. as the least satisfactory part of the book; his readers may perhaps apply this remark to his notes, which seem to be continually reverting to some rule or standard which is inapplicable to the author, or to the general scope of his observations. His moral is not the duty of exterminating the heathen enemies of Jehovah, but the imitation of God's philanthropy (xii. 19). In the expression, 'a justification of the relentless severity practised by the Hebrews,' which occurs in the note on this verse, the Godward attitude of the author in his pious reflections on the Divine omnipotence, patience, and severity seems to be ignored. Dr. Farrar is also unjust to the author of Wisdom in his remarks on chaps. xvi.-xix. The thought that prevails is that of the complete subjection of the creature to the Creator, as in ch. v. 20, 'the world shall fight with him against the ungodly.' Hence the same creatures are for the benefit of His children and for the punishment of His enemies (compare Ecclus. xxxix. 28). The Almighty, instead of making new creations, restrained or increased the powers of nature according to his purpose. Thus many of the plagues of Egypt were natural phenomena, as distinct from miracles or portents. We should plead for the illustration of Wisdom from Philo and Josephus in preference to the importation of Rabbinical fancies and exaggerations. Dr. Farrar's censure of the author of Wisdom for his remarks on the quails is also excessive. Psalm cv. 40 couples it with the gift of manna as a proof of the Divine bounty. In Psalm cxi. 5, it is referred to as the meat (or choicer food) which He gave to them that fear Him. Josephus also confirms this view. The wrath came upon them for their abuse of the Divine gift and their unthankful and rebellious temper. The guilty ones were not as 'beasts fattened for the slaughter.'

As a compensation for these detractions from the merit of the Commentary, we are glad to call attention to some admirable notes on chap. vii. We will conclude with a specimen :—

'Wisdom in its highest sense is regarded as the personification of the spiritual power of God which pervades the universe, and expresses itself in all things artistically beautiful, mentally pure, and

spiritually noble. The writer nearly approaches the attribution to Wisdom of a distinct personality, a separate essence. Wisdom has to him that ideal reality which he, as a partial Platonist, would have regarded as more real than any physical existence. If the Logos of Philo, though never distinctly hypostatized, constantly reminds us of the Eternal Son, so the Wisdom of this book is often spoken of in terms which might be directly applied to the Holy Spirit' (vol. i. 466).

ART. IX.—THE MAKERS OF VENICE.

The Makers of Venice: Doges, Conquerors, Painters, and Men of Letters. By Mrs. OLIPHANT. (London, 1887.)

THE volume before us is a fresh proof of the sway which Venice holds over the imagination. In spite of all that has been said and written in the past, in spite, too, of the devastating inroads of modern civilization, of the steamboats which ply her canals, and of the havoc wrought by the hand of the destroyer and restorer alike, Venice is still the wondrous city in the sea. The spell which she exercises on the soul still endures and will endure as long as the world itself, the charm which belongs to her is unlike any other. It is not easy to describe in words the sense of marvel and mystery which floats about her, that indefinable attraction which prompts us to read everything about Venice and look at everything Venetian with unfailing interest. Most of all we were conscious of this mysterious charm in that never-to-be-forgotten hour when for the first time we arrived in Venice, and, leaving the heat and dust of the railway station behind us, we glided in our gondola through the water-streets, and heard the splash of the oars and the ripple of the waters on the steps of the palaces which rose on either side of us. And then the days which followed on that first arrival! To live there in the midst of that enchanted wonderland, day after day to drink in more of the sunlight and the beauty, the endless variety of sky and lagoon in all its changeful aspects, to become familiar with intricate *calli* and winding water-ways, to discover sculptured doorways and trefoil windows in the most unexpected corners, and find blue-robed Madonnas and smiling cherubs shining down upon you in the darkest chapels—was it not to feel the spell grow stronger every day, to realize in a hundred

different ways the strange glamour which the blending of sea and earth throws over the dullest and most commonplace details of daily life? In other cities of Italy we find the present set in the frame of a great and heroic past; in other places, for all the ugliness of modern inventions, life is still picturesque and attractive; but Venice is a romance, a poem in herself. No wonder that as we linger within her walls the love of all things Venetian sinks deeper and deeper into our breast, until, like her sons of old, we are well content to forget the outer world, and to allow our individual lives to be absorbed and swallowed up in the greatness of her being.

‘In the light of summer mornings, in the glow of winter sunsets, Venice stands out upon the blue background, the sea that brims upwards to her very doors, the sky that sweeps in widening circles all around, radiant with an answering tone of light. She is all wonder, enchantment, the brightness and the glory of a dream. Her own children cannot enough paint her, praise her, celebrate her splendours; and to outdo if possible that patriotic enthusiasm has been the effort of many a stranger from afar’ (p. 2).

At no time have artists and writers been more busy with Venice than they are at present. During the last ten years a whole school of English and American artists have drawn their inspiration from Venice, and formed their style on lessons learnt in her canals. There is scarcely an exhibition which does not contain some Venetian subject, while several of our best painters devote their lives to the reproduction of the ever-changing aspects and the ever-shifting moods of her landscape. Miss Clara Montalba paints the sadder tones and greyer hues under which the lagoons appear at times; she shows us churches and palaces, broad rivers and fishing-boats in the white light of early morning or the growing dusk of eventide. Mr. Roussoff catches in a marvellous manner the rosy flushes and golden glows of sunset on the lagoon, the shimmering light which sparkles from her domes and spires and gleams in her tremulous waves, and weaves all these scattered hues into one magical harmony. Or Mr. Pennell sees some courtyard where cypresses grow tall and black against an ancient well, some terraced roof gay with its *pergola* of vines and flowers, some palace where the water-gates stand open and the black shadows within contrast sharply with the luminous air and the polished marbles without, and renders all this with a vividness and a brilliancy that would seem beyond the reach of mere pen and pencil.

But it is not only the pictorial capabilities of Venice which form her attraction. The romance of her story is as unique

in its way and affords as inexhaustible a subject of interest to the scholar as the beauty of her lagoons offers to the artist who makes Venice his home. 'A wonderful piece of the world!' we exclaim with the greatest of those modern writers who have made Venice the theme of their praise, 'rather itself a world.' The archives of Venice are the most interesting, the most minute in detail, of any in the world. And of late years many scholars of European note have been actively engaged in exploring the wide field now open to the student. The fifty-six volumes of Marino Sanudo's diaries have quite recently been given to the world, owing in a great measure to the energy of our fellow-countryman, Mr. Rawdon Brown; and the researches of such distinguished writers as Signor Romanin and Signor Molmenti have disclosed a vast amount of valuable material relating to the public and private history of Venice. The flood of light thus thrown on the past has certainly not deprived the sea-girt city of its charm. A few illusions may have been dispelled here and there. We all know now that Marin Faliero's head never rolled down the Giants' Staircase, and that no prisoner worthy of remembrance ever crossed the Bridge of Sighs. The captives who languished in the *pozzi* under the ducal palace were no victims of State inquisition, but common criminals of the baser sort. The cells where the princes of Carrara and the great soldier, Carmagnola, were said to have met their cruel doom were never occupied by nobler prisoners than thieves and cut-throats. But the true story of old Venice is full of tragic and pathetic incidents, her stones have tales to tell which move us far more than any melodramas of modern invention. The history of the 'iron hands and patient hearts' who built her walls, 'contending against the adversity of nature and fury of man,' is well worthy to be gleaned and gathered out of the dusty pages in which the chroniclers of bygone days have inscribed their names as worthy to rank among the children of St. Mark.

This is what Mrs. Oliphant has done for us in the pleasant book which she has lately written as a companion to her well-known *Makers of Florence*. The present volume has, she tells us, been far the more difficult book of the two to write. The story of Florence is in great part the story of three or four remarkable individuals. Dante, Giotto, Lorenzo de' Medici, Michael Angelo, Savonarola—these are the shadows which haunt the banks of Arno, the figures whose footprints we find everywhere. But with Venice the case is different:—

'Instead of the men who made her what she is, who ruled her with so high a hand, who filled her archives with the most detailed narratives and gleaned throughout the world every particular of universal history which could enlighten and guide her, we find everywhere the great image—an idealization more wonderful than any in poetry—of Venice herself, the crowned and reigning city, the centre of all their aspirations, the mistress of their affections, for whom these haughty patricians of an older day, with a proud self-abnegation which has no humility or sacrifice in it, effaced themselves, thinking of nothing but her glory. . . . In her records the city is everything—the Republic, the worshipped ideal of a community in which every man for the common glory seems to have been willing to sink his own. Her sons toiled for her, each in his vocation, not without personal glory, far from indifferent to personal gain, yet determined above all that Venice should be great, that she should be beautiful above all the thoughts of other races, that her power and splendour should outdo every rival. The impression grows upon the student, whether he penetrates no further than the doorways of those endless collections of historic documents which make the archives of Venice important to all the world, and in which lie the records of immeasurable toil, the investigations of a succession of the keenest observers, the most subtle politicians and statesmen ; or whether he endeavours to trace more closely the growth and development of the Republic, the extension of her rule, the perfection of her economy. In all of these men of the noblest talents, the most intense vigour and energy, have laboured. The records give forth the very hum of a crowd ; they glow with life, with ambition, with strength, with every virile and potent quality ; but all directed to one aim. Venice is the outcome—not great names of individual men' (pp. 3, 4).

Here, then, in a succession of graphic pictures we follow the gradual rise of the Republic of St. Mark's from the days when Venice was a mere cluster of villages in the marshy lagoon to the hour of her meridian greatness. Doges and conquerors, travellers and painters, historians and scholars pass before us in turn ; we follow the course of their splendid achievements in war or peace, and see how they lived and died, and toiled and fought in order that Venice might be great. The narrative so clearly and easily told is further enriched by numerous illustrations by the hand of Mr. R. R. Holmes, who has shown great taste in the choice of his subjects and considerable skill in their representation. Giovanni Bellini's famous portrait of the grand old Doge, Leonardo Loredano, with the firm thin lips and resolute brow, as he met a league of princes and stood up for Venice against the world, is fitly chosen to face the title-page. In the same way the bronze horses who paw the air in their matchless strength above the portals of St. Mark's adorn the chapter which records the exploits of the crusading

Doges, and the Moorish archway on Casa Polo in the Corte della Sabbionera figures in the history of the immortal traveller, Marco Polo. We recognize many of those picturesque nooks and corners which catch the eye as we float along the narrow water-ways or thread the maze of *campi* and *calli* in the heart of the city; the sculptured gable bearing the image of the Madonna and called the Bridge of Paradise, the Moorish camel on the house where Tintoretto lived, the lovely gateway of San Gregorio, and the graceful cloisters of the Abbazia. But it is only fair to warn the reader that he will look in vain for more than one of these in the actual Venice of to-day. The group of virgins and saints which once adorned the gateway of the Abbazia, for instance, was removed some years ago, and the tenth-century convent itself, one of the oldest and most interesting in Venice, has been desecrated and stripped of its best sculpture, while many of the ancient well-heads, *bocche*, or *cinte di pozzi* which, carved with heads and quaint devices, form so characteristic a feature of Venetian *campi*, have found their way to the museums of our own land.

Mrs. Oliphant has drawn largely on the stores of native chronicles in which Venice is rich, from Sagornino, generally known as John the Deacon, who in the tenth century recorded the deeds of the Orseoli Doges, down to the most learned and most illustrious of all Venetian historians, Marino Sanudo, whose *Vita Ducum* she quotes freely. At the same time she has profited by the recent researches of nineteenth-century writers, and in disputed points corrects the statements of the chroniclers by frequent references to the more critical works of Romanin and Molmenti. In studying the pages of the old chroniclers she has caught something of their spirit, and learnt to write of their Venice with the same freshness and charm. To many the most interesting part of the book will be the first chapters on the early Doges, those brave rulers who guided the helm of state in the most troublous times, and whose half-forgotten names mark successive epochs of the utmost importance in the history of the young republic. The Venice of those days was very different from the one which later chroniclers describe as the richest and most glorious city in the world :—

‘Venice, though already great, was in comparison with its after appearance a mere village, or rather a cluster of villages, straggling along the sides of each muddy, marshy island, keeping the line of the broad and navigable water-way, in dots of buildings and groups of houses and churches, from the olive-covered isle where San Pietro, the first great church of the city, shone white among its trees, along

the curve of the Canaluccio to the Rialto—Rivo Alto, what Mr. Ruskin calls the deep stream, where the church of San Giacomo, another central spot, stood, with its group of dwellings round—no bridge then dreamed of, but a ferry connecting the two sides of the Grand Canal. Already the stir of commerce was in the air, and the big sea-going galleys, with their high bulwarks, lay at the rude wharf to take in outward bound cargoes of salt, salt-fish, wooden furniture, bowls and boxes of home manufacture, as well as the goods brought from northern nations, of which they were the merchants and carriers—and come back laden with the riches of the East—with wonderful tissues and carpets and marbles and relics of the saints. The palace and its chapel, the shrine of San Marco, stood where they still stand, but there were no columns on the Piazzetta, and the Great Piazza was a piece of waste land belonging to the nuns at San Zaccaria, which was, as one might say, the parish church. Most probably this vacant space in the days of the first Orseolo was little more than a waste of salt-water grasses, and sharp and acrid plants like those that now flourish in such rough luxuriance on the Lido, or perhaps boasted a tree or two, a patch of cultivated ground. Such was the scene—very different from the Venice of the earliest pictures, still more different from that we know. But already the lagoon was full of boats, and the streets of commotion, and Venice grew like a young plant, like the quick-spreading vegetation of her own warm, wet marshes, day by day' (p. 14).

Such was the aspect of the lagoons when, at the close of the tenth century, Pietro, the first Doge of the Orseolo family, devoted his patrimony to rebuild the palace and church of San Marco, which had been destroyed by fire in a popular tumult, and then renounced the cares and honours of his office to end his days in a convent of the Camaldoli. The second Orseolo, who succeeded his father after a lapse of sixteen years, became still more renowned as the conqueror of Dalmatia, who cleared the Adriatic of pirates, and first made the infant city mistress of the seas. It was on the return of this Doge from his triumphant expedition that the great national festival of *La Sensa*, Ascension Day, was first instituted.

'The original ceremony was simpler but little less imposing than its later development. The clergy in a barge all covered with cloth of gold and in all possible glory of vestments and sacred ornaments set out from among the olive woods of San Pietro in Castello, and met the Doge in his still more splendid barge at the Lido, where, after litanies and psalms, the bishop rose and prayed aloud in the hearing of all the people, gathered in boat and barge and every skiff that would hold water, in a far-extending crowd along the sandy line of the flat shore. "Grant, O Lord, that this sea may be to us and to all who sail upon it tranquil and quiet. To this end we pray.

Hear us, good Lord." Then the boat of the ecclesiastics approached closely the boat of the Doge, and while the singers intoned, *Aspergi me, O Signor*, the bishop sprinkled the Doge and his court with holy water, pouring what remained into the sea. A very touching ceremonial, more primitive and simple, perhaps more real and likely to go to the hearts of the seafaring population all gathered round, than the more elaborate and triumphant histrionic spectacle of the Sposalizio. It had been on Ascension Day that Orseolo's expedition had set forth, and no day could be more suitable than this victorious day of early summer, when Nature is at her sweetest, for the great festival of the lagoons' (p. 24).

Yet a third Orseolo, Otto, the son of the second Pietro, reigned with honour and advantage to the Republic, proving himself a worthy son of his father, while his brother Orso, first Bishop of Torcello, then Patriarch of Grado, earned the gratitude of future generations by rebuilding the Cathedral of Torcello in its present form. But the Venetians, always jealous of any approach to dynastic succession, became suspicious of the high offices of state held by these two brothers, and, after several attacks upon them both, the Doge was dethroned and driven into exile. An interregnum of anarchy and disorder followed, at the end of which the repentant people implored Orso, the priestly brother, to still the tempest and take up the reins of government, while an embassy was sent to Constantinople to bring back the exiled Doge from his banishment. The Patriarch took his brother's place, and reigned so well and wisely that Sanudo tells us: 'Although only vice-Doge, for the justice of his government he was placed by the Venetians in the catalogue of the Doges.' But when the messengers who had been sent to fetch home the rightful Doge returned with the sad news that Otto had died in exile, Orso resigned the trust which he had held so loyally for his brother, and retired to end his days in the discharge of his episcopal duties. Of all his noble race only priests and nuns remained to bear the name, and from that time the Orseoli disappear altogether from history. As Mrs. Oliphant observes:—

'Their story has the completeness of an epic—they lived and ruled and conquered and made Venice great. Under their sway she became the mistress of the sea. And then it was evident that they had completed their mission, and the race came to an end' (p. 36).

But one relic of the forgotten race yet remains—the lonely basilica of Torcello. We can never look at that great church, standing alone as it does in the waste of waters, and its praying Madonna, with the big tear-drops on her cheek, weeping

as it were for the glory that has departed from her shrine, without thinking of the noble Patriarch who reared these ancient walls, and whose race died out here, 'in the silence of the cloister, amid murmurs of solemn psalms and whispering Amens from the winds and from the sea' (p. 37).

In all the annals of Venice there is no more pathetic tale and none more significant of the fortunes of the great Republic than this of Orso and his house.

The next two chapters of Mrs. Oliphant's book are devoted to the Crusader Doges. Chief among them we have Domenico Michieli, who took the city of Tyre, and brought back among his trophies the twin columns of the Piazzetta and the great stone in the baptistery of San Marco, on which tradition says our Lord sat down to rest outside the gates of Tyre, and the still more famous Enrico Dandolo, the blind old Doge who led the fourth Crusade, and was the first to plant the banner of St. Mark on the ramparts of Constantinople. The heroic old man himself never came back to Venice, for he died at Constantinople in 1205, three years after he had sailed for the East, and was buried with royal honours in St. Sophia; but the four bronze horses which he rescued from the sack of Constantinople and sent home to adorn the façade of the great basilica, remain the noblest memorial of his conquests.

Without attempting to give any consecutive history of the Doges, Mrs. Oliphant contrives to show us the different steps by which the Republic extended her sway and attained her splendour, while at the same time she gives a clear and lucid account of the successive changes in the constitution which destroyed all possibilities of political freedom, and led to the confirmation of the oligarchical form of government. Under the head of Doge Pietro Gradenigo, we have a description of the two rebellions which led to the closing of the Great Council and the institution of the famous Council of Ten. This formidable tribunal henceforth held the supreme place in the State. It had power of life and death over every citizen of Venice, and from its decisions there was no appeal. The Doges themselves, as the tragic fate of Marino Faliero and the deposition of Francesco Foscari proved, were subject to its jurisdiction. The impenetrable mystery in which the proceedings of the court were wrapped, the vow of secrecy exacted from each member and all who appeared before them, the system of secret denunciations and of secret deliberations by which the most exalted officers of state might be accused and condemned before they knew the crimes of which they were

held guilty, all served to heighten the awe which this dread tribunal inspired, and to make the name of the Ten a name of terror. Recent historians of Venice have taken this famous council under their protection, and Romanin's investigations have dispelled some of the romance which had gathered round these terrible trials. But it is impossible for the most patriotic Venetian to justify such actions as the murder of the Carrara princes, or the treachery which brought Carmagnola to his end.

Mrs. Oliphant repeats several of these dark stories in the simple words of the chroniclers who have recorded them, but is careful to supplement her narrative with all that modern apologists can find to add by way of explanation or correction. Few incidents in that record are more touching than the story of the poor old Doge, Francesco Foscari, who, when his son Jacopo was sent into exile by the Ten, bade his son farewell in the simple words, 'Jacopo, go, obey the will of the country,' and who, when he was himself deposed a few months later, died of grief the day after his successor's election. But for dramatic completeness nothing in Venetian history equals the tragedy of Carmagnola. The great captain who, from the son of a Piedmontese peasant, rose to be the leader of the Republic's armies, is so remarkable a type of the soldier of fortune as he appears at that period in Italian warfare, his career was so brilliant and his fate so cruel, that his story deserves to be told at length. His services to the State had been undoubted, his triumphs over her foes almost unparalleled, and the worst that can be said to justify the action of the Signoria was that his usual success had not crowned his arms in his latest campaign. If he was a traitor, no proof of his treachery has been discovered by the most jealous eyes. But, as Mrs. Oliphant justly observes, he was too great and therefore dangerous, and for once he had failed. So his doom was sealed; and so inviolably was the secret kept that, during eight months which elapsed between the decision of the Council and the execution of their sentence, not a word reached their victim, who, at the head of his army in Lombardy, thought himself as great and as safe as ever. It is said that when first suspicions were entertained against him, the Council sat all night long at their deliberations, and that when morning came the Doge leaving the council-chamber met Carmagnola, who was in Venice at the time, crossing the court on his way to pay his respects to him. With serene and cheerful face—*con fronte molto allegra*—the valiant captain asked the Doge gaily whether he should wish him good

morning or good evening, seeing he had not slept all night. The Doge replied with a smile, 'There has been much talk of you in the Council.' Little dreaming the sinister meaning hidden under these courteous words, Carmagnola went on his way, and returned to the camp without a thought of the grim fate that already overshadowed him. And when the summons reached him to come to Venice to give the Signoria his advice as to the state of affairs, he turned his steps homeward unsuspecting as ever, welcomed by the people who loved him, and escorted by a troop of distinguished gentlemen who met him at Mestre. Straight to the palace he went into the presence of the Ten, to be by them cast into prison, tortured, and thirty days later led out to die between the columns of the 'Piazzetta,' gagged so that he might not speak, 'lest the sound of the great soldier's well-known voice should rouse the people to fury at their hero's fate.' As it was, the historian says, they vented their grief and horror in low cries of *Sventura! sventura!* Mrs. Oliphant may well say:—

'The situation is one which requires no aid of dramatic art. Here in a moment, betrayed out of the air and light, and the freedom which he had used so proudly, this man, who had never feared the face of men, must have realised his fate. At the head of a great army one day, a friendless prisoner the next, well aware that the light of day would never clear up the proceedings against him, or common justice, such as awaits a poor picker and stealer, stand between him and the judges whose sentence was a foregone conclusion' (p. 234).

From this dark blot on Venetian annals we turn with relief to a brighter page—the story of Marco Polo. No more romantic tale of travel was ever told than this of him whom the Venetian youth, not without a touch of irony, called Marco of the Millions, because of the fabulous wealth of the kings and countries in those Oriental regions of which he spoke. The whole thing reads more like a story out of the *Arabian Nights* than a sober statement of facts; but, making due allowance for certain legendary episodes which are introduced in the course of his narrative, there seems no reason to distrust Marco's own descriptions of the strange places and people he had seen on his journey through Asia. At least, this Venetian merchant was the first mediæval traveller to describe the natural features and the manners and customs of the different kingdoms of the Asiatic continent, the first to tell of the Mongolian steppes and the islands of the Indian Archipelago, of the wealth of India, and the temples and

palaces of Burmah, and of the vast extent and advanced civilization of the empires of China and Japan.

Everyone has heard of Marco Polo, but it is perhaps not so generally known that his father and uncle, Niccolò and Matteo, were travellers before he was born. It was in the middle of the thirteenth century that these two merchants of the Casa Polo, a family settled in the parish of San Giovanni Crisostomo, first started to explore Central Asia, and found their way to the court of the Great Khan, the lord of all the Tartars in the world. This 'courteous and gentle human being' was so much interested by the travellers' account of Western lands, and struck by the truth of their religion, that he sent them back to Europe with an earnest request that the Pope would send a hundred Christian missionaries to teach his subjects the true faith. The journey home took the travellers three years, and on reaching Rome they found that the old Pope was dead, and after long delays all the new Pope, Gregory X., could do for them was to send two Dominican brothers to accompany them when they set out on their second journey to the court of the Great Khan. Even the courage of these apostles failed them when they reached the port of Lagos, and the two brave merchants, accompanied only by Niccolò's son, young Marco, at that time a boy of fifteen, were left to go on their way alone. It was almost twenty years before the travellers were heard of again, and by that time the other members of Casa Polo seem to have forgotten their very existence.

'When there suddenly appeared at the gate of the great family house full of cousins and kinsmen, one evening in the year 1295, about twenty-four years after their departure, three wild and travel-worn figures, in coats of coarse homespun like those worn by the Tartars, the sheepskin collars mingling with the long locks and beards of the wearers, their complexions dark with exposure, their half-forgotten mother-tongue a little uncertain on their lips—who could believe that these were Venetian gentlemen, members of an important family in the city which had forgotten them? . . . Seeing them so transfigured in countenance and disordered in dress, men could not believe that these were those of the Ca' Polo who had been believed dead for so many and many years' (p. 141-4).

But at length, continues the chronicler, the travellers formed a plan by which they succeeded in convincing their incredulous friends of their identity. They invited all their relatives to a magnificent banquet in Casa Polo, and at the close of the feast Messer Marco, the youngest, rising from the table, went into his chamber and brought out the three sheepskin coats in which they had arrived from the East.

'And immediately the three began with sharp knives to cut open the seams and tear off the lining, upon which there poured forth a great quantity of precious stones, rubies, sapphires, carbuncles, diamonds, and emeralds, which had been sewed into each coat with great care, so that nobody could have suspected that anything was there. For on parting with the Great Khan they had changed all the wealth he bestowed upon them into precious stones, knowing certainly that if they had done otherwise they could never by so long and difficult a road have brought their property home in safety. The exhibition of such an extraordinary and infinite treasure of jewels and precious stones which covered the table filled all present with such astonishment that they were dumb and almost beside themselves with surprise, and they at once recognized these honoured and venerated gentlemen of the Ca' Polo, whom at first they had doubted, and received them with the greatest honour and reverence. And when the story was spread abroad in Venice, the entire city, both nobles and people, rushed to the house to embrace them, and to make every demonstration of lovingkindness and respect that could be imagined. And Messer Matteo, who was the eldest, was created one of the most honoured magistrates of the city, and all the youth of Venice resorted to the house to visit Marco, who was most humane and gracious, and to put questions to him about Cathay and the Great Khan, to which he made answer with so much benignity and courtesy that they all remained his debtors. And because in the continued repetition of his story of the grandeur of the Great Khan he stated the revenues of that prince to be from ten to fifteen millions in gold, and counted all the other wealth of the country always in millions, the surname was given him of Marco Millione, which may be seen noted in the public books of the Republic' (p. 145).

Such is the curious scene recorded by the Venetian chroniclers of the fifteenth century. Marco Polo's own narrative was taken down from his lips by a Pisan writer, Rusticiano, in the dungeons of Genoa, after the two had been taken prisoners in the naval defeat of Curzola, where Marco served as a volunteer. At the end of a year this captive, whose marvellous tales of far Cathay had charmed the ears of his fellow-prisoners, was released. In 1290 Marco returned to Venice, married, and spent the remainder of his life in uneventful obscurity. The following note, appended to two of the oldest copies of his manuscript preserved in the libraries of Paris and Berne, is valuable as showing the great respect in which Messer Marco was held in his old days, and the high value already attached at that period to the record of his travels:—

'This is the book of which my Lord Thiebault, Knight and Lord of Cepoy (whom may God assoil!), requested a copy from Sire Marco Polo, citizen and resident in the City of Venice. And the said Sire

Marco Polo, being a very honourable person of high character and report in many countries, because of his desire that what he had seen should be heard throughout the world, and also for the honour and reverence he bore to the most excellent and puissant prince, my Lord Charles, son of the King of France and Count of Valois, gave and presented to the aforesaid Lord of Cepoy the first copy of his book that was made after he had written it. And very pleasing it was to him that his book should be carried to the noble country of France by so worthy a gentleman. And from the copy which the said Messire Thiebault carried into France, Messire John, who was his eldest son and is the present Sire de Cepoy, had a copy made after his father's death, and the first copy that was made after it was brought to France he presented to his very dear and dread Lord, Monseigneur de Valois, and afterwards to his friends who wished to have it. . . . This happened in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, one thousand three hundred and seven, and in the month of August' (p. 152).

After the story of Marco Polo, Mrs. Oliphant gives us the life of Carlo Zeno, the brave seaman who saved Venice at the most desperate moment of the war with Genoa, and whose services his ungrateful city rewarded at the close of his career with prison and disgrace. And, next to 'the great and noble captain, Carmagnola,' whose tragic story, as already mentioned, is given at length, we have an account of another soldier of fortune, Bartolommeo Colleoni, whom we all know as he rides in bronze on the square of San Zanipolo, a living embodiment of all that was fierce and martial in that age of ceaseless warfare.

The conquests which Carmagnola first made for Venice, and the fatal ambition which led the mistress of the seas to seek for empire on the mainland, involved her in continual wars throughout the fifteenth century. Early in the sixteenth, her neighbours, jealous of the supremacy which she sought, combined against her, and the League of Cambray, although it failed to destroy the Republic, inflicted heavy losses upon her, while at the same time her dominion in the East was seriously impaired by the advance of the Turk. But, in spite of these public reverses, the private history of Venice at this time reveals an unexampled degree of wealth and prosperity. This was the very moment of her greatest splendour, the moment when the sumptuousness of living for which Venice had always been famed had reached its highest pitch, when St. Mark's was the centre of the most brilliant and richly coloured life the world has ever known. Strangers from the far North, kings and princesses who were royally feasted and amused at the expense of the Republic, went

home with their eyes dazzled by all the splendours they saw, as they sat in their gondolas draped with crimson satin, or listened to the strains of fairy music and watched the torch-light processions along the Grand Canal. They wondered at these majestic churches rising from the water's edge, these palaces of marble and porphyry, at the lavish display of sculpture and frescoes with which they were decorated, at the costly furniture and treasures they saw within, and exclaimed with Philippe de Commynes, 'Surely this is the most triumphant and the best-governed city of the whole earth.'

Then Venice was the haven where scholars from the East and West alike sought shelter, and where men of letters, we are told, rejoiced to find greater freedom of speech than in any other city. Her intercourse with Constantinople had long attracted the student who hungered after Greek manuscripts, and sought to discover the pure text of classical authors, now she boasted her academies and Platonists, and could point proudly to the printing-press of Aldus and the library of Sanudo. And then too a quickened sense of joy in all things beautiful revived the love of art and gave Venice a school of painters which compares worthily with the most illustrious in any land or age.

The development of painting was somewhat late in the lagoons, and it was not till the latter half of the fifteenth century that the flower of art burst into its full glory in the persons of the two Bellini. The destruction of their splendid series of paintings in the Hall of the Great Council by fire in the next century has deprived us of many of their masterpieces, and in the same way the frescoes with which Giorgione and Titian adorned the palaces of the Canal Grande have vanished under the baneful influences of time and sea-air; but the churches of Venice, the Ducal Palace, and, above all, the admirable collection of the Accademia delle Belle Arti—a collection which is, we regret to say, daily enriched with the spoils of stripped altars—give us ample opportunities of studying Venetian art in Venice. There we can still see the Madonnas of Giovanni Bellini—those Virgins holier and tenderer than all others in their majestic motherhood, and his sweet childlike cherubs piping their flutes on the steps of the thrones; there we can gaze on Carpaccio's St. George riding full tilt at the dragon in the glorious might of his God-given manhood, and watch by the bedside where Ursula sleeps her maiden slumber and dreams, with head sunk on her pillows, of the angel visitant who brings her the palm of martyrdom in his hand. And if too many of Titian's master-

pieces are gone to other lands, and of Giorgione's exquisite art but one first-rate example—the lovely landscape of Palazzo Giovanelli—remains to-day in Venice, Tintoretto is nobly represented in his wonderful series at San Rocco, in his great 'Paradise,' and his incomparable 'Bacchus and Ariadne' of the Ducal Palace.

Mrs. Oliphant devotes one chapter to the early masters, a second to Giorgione and Titian, the painters of the second generation, and a third to Tintoretto and Paul Veronese, whose sumptuous decorative art belongs to the declining days of Venice, and reflects the decadence of the Republic. Her sympathies, it is easy to see, are altogether with the early masters, the men whom Mr. Ruskin has taught us to love for the sake of their pure and tender feeling, their simple directness of speech and sincerity of devotion. Of Carpaccio, of Gian Bellini and his scarcely less illustrious brother, she speaks with the liveliest appreciation; but warmly as we agree with every word she writes of these delightful painters, it seems to us she renders but scant justice to Titian's greatness. It is true she acknowledges the indisputable magnificence of those portraits with which he has helped to make the history of his age. But she does not appear to appreciate the charm of his early Madonnas, and dismisses the 'Presentation of the Virgin'—that picture we remember so fondly with the little blue-robed maid mounting the temple steps among the Venetian senators, and the crag of Marmarolo in the distance—as a decorative tableau with an odious old woman. For our part we can never think of this man and his long roll of immortal works without recalling Mr. Ruskin's words: 'There is a strange undercurrent of everlasting murmur about his name, which means the deep consent of all great men that he is greater than they.'¹

On the other hand, Mrs. Oliphant has a skilful way of taking us into the midst of Venetian scenes, and by a few graphic touches helping us to realize the life which her artists and scholars led. Very pleasant is the picture which she gives of that house at Biri Grande, on the edge of the lagoon, where Titian came to end his days within sight of the lofty peak of Antelao and the blue hills of his home in Cadore.

'There is no trace to be found now of that home of delights. The water has receded, the banks have crept outward, and the houses of the poor now cover the garden where the finest company in Venice once looked out upon one of the most marvellous scenes in the world. The traveller may skirt the bank and linger along the

¹ *The Two Paths*, Lecture 2.

lagoon many a day without seeing the sea-fog lift and the glorious line of the Dolomite Alps come out against the sky. But when that revelation occurs to him he will understand the splendour of the scene, and why it was that the painter chose that house looking out across the garden and its bosquets upon the marvellous line of mountains coming sheer down, as it appears, to the water's edge, soaring clear upward in wild yet harmonious variety of sharp needles and rugged peaks, here white with snow, there rising in the sombre grandeur of the living rock, glistening afar with reflections, the lines of torrents and every tint that atmosphere and distance give. . . . Here the painter gathered his friends about him and supped gaily in the lovely evenings, while the sun from behind them shot his low rays along the lagoon and caught a few campaniles here and there gleaming white in the dim line of scarcely visible country at the foot of the hills. If the sun were still too high when the visitors arrived, there was plenty to see in the house, looking over the pictures with which it was crowded, the wonderful glowing heads of dukes and emperors, great Charles in all his splendour, or, more splendid still, the nymphs and goddesses without any aid of ornament which were destined for all the galleries in Europe. A famous grammarian from Rome, Priscian by name, in the month of August 1540, describes such a party, the *convives* being Aretino—"a new miracle of nature"—Sansovino the architect of San Marco, Nardi the Florentine historian, and himself. "The house," he says, "is situated in the extreme part of Venice on the sea, and from it one sees the pretty little island of Murano and other beautiful places. This part of the sea, as soon as the sun went down, swarmed with gondolas adorned with beautiful women, and resounding with the varied harmony and music of voices and instruments which till midnight accompanied our delightful supper, which was no less beautiful and well-arranged than copious and well-provided. Besides the most delicate viands and precious wines, there were all those pleasures and amusements that were suited to the season, the guests, and the feast." . . . No doubt the Venetian promenaders, taking their evening row along the edge of the lagoon, kept as close to the shore as courtesy permitted, heard the murmur of the talk with admiration, and pointed out where Messer Titian the great painter feasted and entertained his noble guests in the shade' (p. 298-300).

The fourth and last division of Mrs. Oliphant's book treats of Venetian men of letters. Of Venetian poets there are none. Strange to say, this most poetic of cities, which has stirred so many souls in other lands to song, and has fired the muse of Shelley, of Byron, of Samuel Rogers, of Alfred de Musset and of Théophile Gautier in turn, has had no poets of her own. And so, for lack of native singers, Mrs. Oliphant here describes the visit paid to Venice in 1362 by Petrarch, when, driven from one place to another by fear of the plague, and by the horror of those frequent wars which at that time

distracted the rest of Italy, the wandering poet sought refuge in this city, which, 'by the far-sightedness of her citizens and by the advantage of her natural position, appears more powerful and tranquil than any part of the world.' There he lived for four years, in a palace lent him by the Signoria, looking out on the Riva, enjoying the prospect over the port from his windows and moralizing over the prosperity of the city and the extent of her commerce. Here Boccaccio, the famous story-teller, paid him a visit and joined the poet in delightful nocturnal rambles on the sea, and in enlightened conversation with the wits and scholars of the place. Here, as he sat at his window looking over the wide sea one summer day, he saw a ship crowned with green boughs, and bearing the flag of the conquered foe at its helm, sail into port with the news of the conquest of Candia. Catching the enthusiasm of the hour, the poet writes to his friend in these ecstatic terms:—

'What finer, what more magnificent spectacle could be than the just joy which fills a city, not for damage done to the enemy's possessions or for the gains of civic rivalry such as are prized elsewhere, but solely for the triumph of justice? Venice exults, the august city, the sole shelter, in our days, of liberty, of justice, and peace, the sole refuge of the good, the only port in which, beaten down everywhere else by tyranny and war, the ships of those men who seek to lead a tranquil life may find safety and restoration: a city rich in gold, but more rich in fame, potent in strength, but more in virtue, founded upon solid marble, but upon yet more solid foundations of concord and harmony—and, even more than by the sea which girds her, by the prudent wisdom of her sons defended and made secure. Venice exults, not only over the regained sovereignty of Crete, which, howsoever great in antique splendour, is but a small matter to great spirits accustomed to esteem lightly all that is not virtue; but she exults in the event with good reason, and takes pleasure in the thought that the right is victorious, that is to say, not her proper cause alone, but that of justice' (p. 335).

The poet proceeds to describe the splendid thanksgiving services with which this conquest was celebrated in the basilica of St. Mark's, 'than which I know nothing in the world more beautiful,' the magnificent procession of people and clergy around the Piazza, and the grand tournament which he witnessed, seated at the Doge's right hand on a richly draped balcony erected for the occasion in front of San Marco, behind the bronze horses. Unfortunately Petrarch's sentiments for the Republic soon underwent a marked change. A fancied slight which he received from some young Venetians who pronounced him '*dabben uomo, ma ignorante*'—'a good man but ignorant'—offended his dignity so deeply that he refused

to remain in a city 'inhabited by so great and varied a crowd,' and where men without knowledge are believed to be philosophers. So he left his palace on the Riva, and from that day Venice saw him no more. He retired to Arqua on the slopes of the Euganean hills, whose dim blue outline we see to-day from the waters of the lagoon, and in this peaceful retreat a few years afterwards he died.

But if Venice has no poets of her own to boast, she may point with pride to the long line of illustrious chroniclers who, from the days when the young Republic first rose from the waves, devoted their pen to celebrate her glory. Truly, as Mrs. Oliphant observes, 'their name is Legion,' and it would be impossible to enumerate the number of busy workers who, writing in turn of the laws and trade of Venice, her wars and political revolutions, her ways and customs, have at one time or other helped to swell the chorus and magnify what every Venetian held the supreme object of his desire—the fame and greatness of Venice. Chief among them we may name Petrarch's friend, the learned Doge Andrea Dandolo, who in his history first attempted a compilation of the older chronicles and fragments; Marco Antonio Sabellico, whose Latin work remains the fullest and most attractive to the general reader; and Marino Sanudo, who, besides his *Vita Ducum* and other published works, left behind him that wonderful record—in fifty-six volumes—of all the events that happened in the lagoons and all the news that reached Venice between the years 1482 and 1533. It is difficult to overrate the importance of this work or to explain the immense interest of these minute details which reproduce with such careful exactness what was happening day by day in Venice four hundred years ago. The festas, the embassies, the orations, the debates in the council, the news from the battlefield, the reports that arrived from all quarters of the globe, are faithfully recorded here, brightened with a hundred little personal details and touches which add to its human interest. The following incident, for instance, is delightfully characteristic both of Sanudo himself and of the age. It was Ascensiontide in the sad year 1509, just after the rout of Agnadello. The armies of the Republic were in full retreat, the fathers of the college were broken down with trouble, and the Doge, brave old Loredano, looked like a dead man. Never had so mournful a festival been held in Venice as that *La Sensa*. No visitors were heard of, no one was to be seen on the Piazza. All around there was nothing but weeping. All this Sanudo describes with a groan over his country's ruin, and a sigh that his own advice had not been followed. And

presently he adds the following little note: 'On the way to my house I met a man having a beautiful Hebrew Bible in good paper, value twenty ducats, who sold it to me as a favour for one marzello, which I took to place in my library' (p. 362). Even the disasters of his country could not destroy Marino's pride in his collection, or prevent him from taking advantage of these troublous times to drive so excellent a bargain as this. With all his merits as a chronicler and his genuinely patriotic spirit, Sanudo was not a successful public man. A thorough Conservative by nature, he opposed every reform, every innovation, with the most inflexible obstinacy, and in the Senate was almost always—he owns it himself—'contradicting,' so that we need not wonder to hear that he had many enemies, and that at one period of his life he was excluded from public office. But nothing would induce him to give up the work he had begun, and which he repeats again and again will, he is confident, prove of the greatest value to posterity, the highest honour to his country, and to himself an everlasting memorial. And the present generation has seen the proud words fulfilled. For, after being lost sight of during three hundred years, these fifty-six volumes which the great diarist bequeathed to Venice in their oak press, were in 1805 discovered in the Royal library at Vienna, and have recently been published for the first time. 'All at once, after three centuries and more, old Venice sprang to light under the hand of her old chronicler, and Marino Sanudo with all his pictures, his knick-knacks, his brown rolls of manuscript and dusty volumes round him, regained, as was his right, the first place among Venetian historians—one of the most notable figures of the mediæval world' (p. 372). And within the last few years, by the loving care of his editor and biographer, Mr. Rawdon Brown, a tablet has been placed on Sanudo's house in the parish of San Giacomo dell' Orio, so that all the world may know the place where the great historian lived and died in the Venice which he loved so well.

Last in this long procession of great old Venetians, we have the famous printer Aldus Manutius, the founder of the renowned Stamperia which was the meeting-place of scholars from all parts of the world and the centre of literary life in Venice during the early part of the sixteenth century. A Roman by birth and an intimate friend of the brilliant Pico della Mirandola, Messer Aldo settled in Venice about 1490, and soon afterwards began to publish the first of those classical works which issued in rapid succession from his printing-press in the Campo di San Agostino. A true lover of learning and

a scholar of the most refined taste, Aldo was inspired by the noble wish to give the world correct editions of the best classical authors, printed from the most trustworthy manuscripts and revised by the first scholars of the day. For this end he spared no labour and no expense, gathering poor scholars under his roof to aid him in the arduous task of revision, and often undertaking long and toilsome journeys in search of some manuscript which might throw light on the subject in hand. On one occasion when he was journeying through Lombardy in search of manuscripts of Virgil, it was his ill-fortune, owing to some mistake, to be taken prisoner and detained a week by the guards of Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, and in his letters to that prince he complains that it is rather hard he should receive this unjust treatment on Mantuan territory when he is illustrating the works of Virgil who was a Mantuan. His fate was the harder because Gonzaga's wife, the illustrious lady Isabella d'Este, was one of Aldo's most esteemed friends and patrons, and was in constant correspondence with the printer, whose choice editions she prized so highly. But from the first Aldo's enterprise attracted the attention of all lovers of learning, not only in Italy but in other parts of the civilised world, and Erasmus of Rotterdam spent some time in his house, giving him the benefit of his advice in collating and revising manuscripts for editions of the comedies of Terence and Plautus and the tragedies of Seneca, although Scaliger in his philippic against the Dutchman declares that while he was under Aldo's roof he ate for three and drank for many without doing the work of one. So fashionable a resort in the early years of the century had the printing-press in the quiet Venetian Campo become, that in one of his dedicatory epistles Aldo complains humorously of the constant interruptions to which he is exposed. Not only do letters from scholars in all parts of the world reach him in such numbers that it would take him night and day to answer them all, but his doors are beset with a crowd of idlers, attracted by mere curiosity to see what is going on within—

'Some from friendship, some from interest, the greater part because they have nothing to do ; for then, " Let us go," they say, " to Aldo's." They come in crowds and sit gaping—

" Non missura cutem, nisi plena cruoris hirudo."

I do not speak of those who come to read to me either poems or prose, generally rough and unpolished, for publication, for I defend myself from these by giving no answer, or else a very brief one, which

I hope nobody will take in ill part, since it is done, not from pride or scorn, but because all my leisure is taken up in printing books of established fame. As for those who come for no reason, we make bold to admonish them in classical words in a sort of edict placed over our door—"Whoever you are, Aldo requests you, if you want anything, ask it in few words and depart, unless, like Hercules, you come to lend the aid of your shoulders to the weary Atlas. Here will always be found in that case something for you to do, however many you may be" (p. 378).

Not only Greek and Latin classics, but the masterpieces of Italian literature, issued in course of time from the Aldine press, all printed in the finest type on the choicest paper, and stamped with the anchor and dolphin that were the mark of the Stamperia. The first of these to appear *in volgare* was the poems of Petrarch, edited with the utmost care by the distinguished Cardinal Bembo, and described on the title-page as 'taken from the very handwriting of the poet.' This was in July 1501, and on August 3 Isabella d'Este's confidential agent in Venice, Lorenzo da Pavia, was able to send her the long-desired volume printed on paper of the finest quality, 'a rare thing,' and worthy of the peerless lady herself, adding that it is the wish both of Messer Aldo and of Bembo that she should be the first to receive a copy of the precious book whose advent had been so eagerly expected. In the same letter hopes are given her that the Dante which she was anxiously expecting will shortly appear in the same form, together with the works of Virgil and Ovid.

'Everything is good in these books,' says Aldo's French biographer Renouard. 'Not only for their literary merit, most of them being the greatest of human works, but also in the point of view of typographical excellence, they are unsurpassed. . . .' Unfortunately the war of the League of Cambray and the reverses of the Republic compelled Aldo to suspend his labours, and in 1510 the printing-press was closed for more than two years. At the end of that time he set to work with renewed vigour, and the letters of Cicero, the commentaries of Cæsar, and the works of Plato were among the volumes published in the course of 1513 and 1514. But already the great printer's health was failing fast. In the preface to a new edition of Lucretius which appeared in January 1515, he regrets that he can no longer superintend the work of revision himself, and his death soon afterwards stopped the publication of Boccaccio's 'Decameron,' upon which he had been engaged for some time back. He died at the age of sixty-seven, leaving his children poor, having freely spent

both fortune and health in the service of mankind. But of all the glorious memories of Venice none is more worthy of honour than that of this ideal printer whose life was devoted to the production of the best works in the best possible way, who laboured with such ardent enthusiasm in the cause of literature and died poor.

We are grateful to Mrs. Oliphant for numbering Aldo among the great names of Venice. Certainly her account of him and his work is not the least instructive and delightful chapter in a book which is instructive and delightful from the first page to the last.

ART. X.—MEMORIALS OF ARCHBISHOP TRENCH.

Richard Chenevix Trench, Archbishop: Letters and Memorials.

Edited by the author of *Charles Lowder*. (London, 1888.)

THERE are not many names in the roll of the Anglican episcopate which carry such gracious memories as that of Archbishop Trench. No doubt there have been scholars as great or greater. But his scholarship was conversant in fields that are attractive to us all: the literature that we love best, the words which are in our common use, the Bible in its nearest relations to our minds and souls. His poetry was true and sweet, and filled with its spirit everything that he wrote, whether in prose or verse; while everyone who knew him, either in his books or in his life, felt that, deep as was his culture, his piety was deeper.

The editor of these Memorials has brought to the task a literary skill well trained in previous works which the Church has greatly prized, and the volumes on which so much loving care has been expended cannot fail to possess a charm. But we agree with the words of the preface, which say that a complete biography would in some respects not have been so difficult as what has here been essayed. The wishes of the Archbishop himself, as well as the lack of sufficient materials, were thought to forbid the attempt to write a life, and in default of a biography it was decided to publish the letters to or from him which remained after large losses in both departments, and to add so much of a connecting narrative as might

be absolutely necessary to introduce the letters. In executing this design the editor has had the satisfaction of reflecting that a project which the Archbishop himself had entertained of publishing a volume of old letters was thus being carried out. But surely, if he had himself executed his idea, the letters, instead of being strung upon the thread of his own life, would have been connected by recollections of the friends who wrote them, and the character of the work would have been very different from the present. Here there is a continuous thread of narrative of a biographical nature, which we cannot but regard as intended to furnish us in some sort with a life. And yet it is of necessity a very imperfect life. It brings into disproportionate prominence the parts of the history connected with the letters which chance to have been preserved, and we are obliged to doubt whether what we read about is really the most important part of the life story, and whether even the part of the story which we have is fully told. We heartily wish, therefore, that the editor had not been restrained from the design which she is so capable of executing—the preparation of a life of the Archbishop aiming at proportion and completeness. It need not have been planned upon the large scale to which recent biographies have accustomed us, but between letters and personal recollections we are sure that materials for a delightful memoir could have been found.

But we must not be discontented. The objections which we have ventured to express to the plan of the work scarcely apply to the first volume, in which the succession of letters is pretty continuous. Many of them, especially those of the future Archbishop himself, are of great interest. The early maturity of his powers is most remarkable. His exquisite literary taste seems to have perfected itself almost from his college days, and while still in his teens he had composed a tragedy which won high approval from Macready and had very nearly gained the distinction of representation on the boards. But it is of the second volume that we desire especially to speak. It covers the period of his Irish episcopate, and we shall view it from the standpoint of Irish Churchmen, a body not so large but that their suffrages can be easily gathered, and whose general opinions we can give with some confidence. They are perhaps worth listening to, since he lived his life under their eyes for twenty-one years.

Neither the Irish strain in the Archbishop's origin nor yet the Irish interests which operated in his mind are made much of in these volumes. Yet he was certainly an Irishman. His mother ought to know, and she writes to his father how she

pleaded to Berthier 'that you were Irish;' while her son himself says that a Spanish *cura* 'seemed pleased to hear I was Irish.' It is true that his ancestors immigrated to Ireland two hundred and fifty years ago. But it is pretty well known that the air of the country has had the gift of turning settlers into Irishmen in a much shorter period than that. The Trenches have been a notable element in Irish society, proverbially successful in holding their own, and returning, we are bound to say, the value of their acquisitions with interest in good examples and charities to this very day. Who are Irish if not the Trenches? The Archbishop was as much of an Irishman by origin as John Mitchell or as Mr. Parnell, and probably much more so than the larger part of the Revisionists whom he encountered in the Synod. Of course his life had been chiefly lived in England, and he had formed English habits and ties, as his letters more than once declare. But he nearly sacrificed his life for Ireland when he brought back the fever from the country in the famine time. And when he was identified with her as a bishop he ever showed the fullest acceptance of the national bond. He was not one of those bishops, of whom there have been too many in Ireland, who conceived themselves to represent English interests. And we feel certain that if any should understand from this work that he was an exotic in his own diocese they would be taking a view extremely displeasing to him.

No one could gather from the Memorials that the Irish Church returned his zeal for her welfare by the most affectionate reverence and regard. But such was the fact. His appointment was received in Ireland with universal contentment, not only for his own sake, but because the name of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley had been widely mentioned for the post, to the great apprehension of the majority of Irish clergy. It is curious and somewhat appalling to speculate by the way upon the consequences which might have followed if Stanley had been appointed. It is within our knowledge that he said that in all the questions of Revision in which the clergy and laity differed the laity seemed to him right. It would not be just to infer from this *obiter dictum* what his course would have been if he had practically had to deal with the Revision question. A closer view of the Revisionist laity might have convinced him that their object was rather to narrow the Church than to broaden it, and the well-known chivalry of his character might have hindered him from being the instrument of a very uninstructed majority in oppressing the weaker party. But under no circumstances could Stanley have

¹ *Remains of Mrs. Richard Trench*, p. 178.

secured the amount of deep-seated confidence which was given to Archbishop Trench. It is a defect in this memorial that so much more should be said of the torments and annoyances which he met among his people than of the signs of affection which they gave him, and which we are well persuaded filled the larger place in his own thoughts of them. One testimony there is which obviously came within the plan of the work to mention, yet is wholly omitted. We mean the reception which the announcement of his resignation met with from the Synod of his diocese. It had two stages—the first when he wrote to excuse himself from taking the chair at the stated annual meeting of the Synod, and the second when a special meeting was called to hear his letter of resignation and elect his successor. They were scenes not to be forgotten, a triumphant close to a troubled episcopate; and the friends of the Archbishop might remember the proceedings with pride. The late Provost of Trinity College said that ‘he had in the course of their connexion often differed, whether rightly or wrongly, from his Grace, but no one could doubt that through his whole career his Grace had been actuated by one single and strong motive—zeal for the welfare of the Church of Ireland, and a desire to preserve it as far as in him lay.’ Lord-Justice Fitzgibbon said that ‘throughout the entire of that difficult journey the Archbishop had no doubt met with many things with which he could not agree, and some things of which he could scarcely approve, but he had ever kept before him the one object—the good of the Church over which he had been called to preside.’ The Dean of St. Patrick’s, speaking as representative of the clergy, asked, ‘Who ever heard him say a discouraging word?’ and Mr. Gibson, Member for the University and now Lord Chancellor of Ireland, said:—

‘We represent the whole Church of Ireland; we represent more still; I believe we represent all Ireland. It is given to him to know by this meeting, and by the tribute conveyed to him throughout the Empire, that he has not lived in vain. He has outlived, lived down, misconception. He is understood and honoured by all. He has conquered, without qualification or exception, the veneration and love of all; and now in the evening of his life, in the enforced retirement, postponed as long as bodily health would permit, with one accord we all of us, from the bottom of our hearts, sadly, solemnly, and sincerely bid him Godspeed and farewell.’

And the formal reply of the Synod to the letter of resignation states ‘that the Synod recognizes with thankfulness to Almighty God the conscientious wisdom, the pious diligence,

the great learning, and munificent liberality wherewith the Archbishop ruled his diocese during a difficult and trying period of twenty-one years, and which leave it in its present flourishing and peaceful condition.' Of all this not a word in the Memorials! The letter of resignation is given, but, so far as the reader of this work is made aware, it might have been received without response or acknowledgment by those to whom it was addressed. Surely these voices of the Church over which he had ruled were more worthy of insertion than the letter of Lord Spencer, the only record of external opinion upon the Archbishop's resignation of his duties which is mentioned in the book. And again, while the family memorial erected in Westminster Abbey is duly recorded, and its inscription given, not one word is said of the beautiful monument which his clergy placed in Christ Church, Dublin, to his memory, nor of the larger memorial, in the shape of endowments at Alexandra College, which is still in progress. Hardly appropriate omissions, these, in the life of one so courteous and grateful.

The unanimity of respect and affection entertained for him in Ireland is the more remarkable because it is an instance of the victory of genuine worth over many defects in the qualities of popularity, in securing the general goodwill. The greatest admirer of Archbishop Trench will confess, though not so heartily and readily as the Archbishop would have declared it himself, that there were many helps to popular favour in which he was deficient. He was a scholar who enjoyed the company of his books better than that of any living human beings except a limited circle. And it was possible to see that this was the case. An eminent man said that the Archbishop always seemed to him to be making a couplet while they were talking. Although there was not in him the slightest tinge of *hauteur*, either literary or episcopal, yet those who would know him had to advance to him. They must not expect him to advance to them. In public speaking his articulation was not distinct, and his manner and tone were very sad. He carried a soldier's heart under his cassock, but not a soldier's gaiety. During his literal soldiering in the Torrijos expedition he can hardly, to judge by his letters, have done much to keep up his comrades' spirits, though he was ready to face death beside them; and it was so with his sermons and confirmation addresses. The Irish are not singular in liking the solemnity of their public speakers to be relieved with an admixture of pleasure and of hope. And we do not think that if their Archbishop lost some ground

through his defects as a popular orator in a time which so eminently required popular oratory, the blame should be laid altogether upon them. They found him out and loved him, in spite of himself.

And this brings us to the matter of Revision. We fear that these Memorials are over-weighted with the subject. Many who have bought the work for the sake of the Archbishop will feel themselves in for something very different from what they had counted on when they find that they are in the midst of a battle of kites and crows in which there is extremely little of him to be discerned, and that little quite out of the way of his characteristic pursuits and preferences. We doubt also whether the place which the question, and the proceedings connected with it, filled even in his own life are not involuntarily exaggerated. Hasty readers will not remember what a long period of years they are being hurried over, and how small a portion of the Archbishop's time can have been filled by these Revision letters and the events which led to them. Certainly we have been used to believe that between synod and synod there were long periods during which he could shut the door of his study, or take his place in the midst of his family, and leave the Revisionists and all their works securely outside. Some of the books which show him busied upon subjects as far as possible from those of Revision, belong to the years of the agitation : for instance, the lectures upon Gustavus Adolphus and upon Plutarch.

However, if the story of Revision was to be alluded to at all, it should have been related correctly. And it could only be related correctly by those who took part in it. As a matter of fact, it is told in this book wholly from an English point of view, and with most imperfect information. And the result is a representation of the Archbishop's connexion with Revision which is extremely different from the remembrances of those who were concerned in it. It is not merely that (as the editor has pointed out in a letter to the *Guardian*) the story is, from the plan of the work, imperfect ; it is absolutely misleading. To read the Memorials, one would suppose that the Archbishop stood alone, a sturdy, unyielding defender of the Prayer Book as it was, against all comers, and was the leader of the opponents of Revision. Very far otherwise. He took no such position. It was well known, indeed, that his feeling was strongly against Revision, and his moral support was given to those who were engaged in resisting it. And a most valuable help this was. For here was a man whose piety and learning were recognized upon all sides, whom

the party that were for rending the Prayer Book in the name of gospel truth could not claim. But from the first the Archbishop took up that position which is familiar to English churchmen as the approved episcopal attitude: he had his preferences, yet felt it his duty to be the bishop not of one party but of all, and to recognize his obligations to every side. He consented to take his place in an assembly in which the laity should in number double the clergy, he consented to allow the laity a vote in questions of doctrine, he consented to sit with the rest of the bishops upon the Revision Committee. For these concessions many blame him: it has become quite a familiar opinion among those who look on the history entirely from the outside, that the bishops had the ball at their feet, and could have made what terms they pleased. We feel entirely incompetent to pronounce any such decision. The bishops may have been timid—we remember Archbishop Trench himself laughing with us over a description of bishops in the *Times*, 'like elephants, large and timid creatures.' But the cry of 'thorough' has before now upset the coach, and the policy of the Irish bishops at least kept their Church together when there seemed no small danger of a disruption.

Anyhow, Archbishop Trench took his place in the General Synod, in which bishops, clergy, and laity sit and debate together; the bishops upon a dais, the rest upon the plain beneath them, the laity doubling the clergy in numbers, but voting separately whenever such a vote is demanded by six of either order. The bishops vote by themselves whenever any of their number demands their judgment on a question. All matters connected with the Church, whether doctrinal or practical, are liable to discussion and decision in this mixed assembly. But no change can be made in the formularies or law of the Church except by majorities of two-thirds of the two inferior orders voting separately; with a power in the bishops to negative the decision of the other orders if eight out of eleven bishops disapprove. And these majorities are required, first in favour of a resolution on which to found a bill for the proposed change, and secondly, a year afterwards, in favour of the bill itself. In consenting to recognize this constitution Archbishop Trench was forced to go counter, not only to the opinion of many English churchmen who could not approve such a departure from the primitive composition of Church assemblies, but to that of the two men in his own diocese who stood highest in his esteem—Archdeacon Lee and Dr. Maturin. Having deliberately taken such a step, it is needless to say that he loyally recognized the authority

which he thus accepted. He was no Talleyrand to make mental reserves in subscribing to a constitution, and we therefore do not quite see why his biographer always places the words General Synod between inverted commas, though it is General Synod in all his own writings, without any sarcastic appendages. We pronounce no opinion whatever upon the propriety of Archbishop Trench's decision in this matter ; but we may mention, in restraint of a disposition to censure him, that the two sturdy churchmen above named, who found it impossible to follow him themselves, yet continued on terms of the closest friendship and communion both with him and with clergy who imitated his example, and that they made no protest beyond the refusal to sit and the use of their right under the Act of Parliament to retain the unaltered Prayer Book.

Archbishop Trench's conduct in the Synod is a different matter from his consent to recognize its authority. His personal demeanour there was perfect. Dr. Maturin, in the letter which concludes the Memorials, speaks only truth in this respect when he says that the Archbishop 'never was betrayed into saying a word or doing an act which the most scrupulous would recall.' But Dr. Maturin did not himself sit in the Synod, and there is some exaggeration in the 'prolonged martyrdom' which he supposed the Archbishop to have endured there. The power of his reputation and character, his simple dignity and unconsciousness of self had so general an effect upon an assembly certainly not callous to such influences, that there was perhaps but one man in the whole body who ever treated him with real disrespect. And there were an amply sufficient number of friends in the assembly to repel any attacks from that quarter with fitting indignation. Of attacks from outside, the most violent which had to be borne by the opponents of Revision was the outbreak about Mr. Portal's *Manual*, which will be found described in the Memorials. But it would be ascribing weakness to the Archbishop to suppose that he could have greatly suffered under a ridiculous outcry which was not even directly against him. The letter which he wrote without foreseeing the tumult was yet obviously necessary and right in the judgment of every sensible person. He cannot have much regarded an effervescence which was felt even at the time by all sober people to be a perfect absurdity. When a gentleman moved in the Synod that the petition upon this affair should be preserved among the Church's records, old Judge Longfield, who was acting as assessor, said, 'If Mr. —

wishes the petition to be kept, he has nothing to do but to keep it.'

Although the Archbishop had not personally anything very formidable to endure, it was a moral martyrdom to him to sit by while the most difficult questions in theology were handled by what Canon Liddon aptly calls a 'singular collection of clergymen, colonels, and lawyers.' And yet there might be men, not inferior to the Archbishop in knowledge and in reverence, for whom the interest and excitement of these curious scenes would have overborne the sense of their incongruities. To Bishop Wilberforce, for instance, we believe it would have been a constant delight to exercise in so admirable a field his powers as a master of debate. The assembly had every quality which a born guide of men could desire. It was both intelligent and responsive, well-meaning and good-hearted, and sorely in want of light and leading. After what we have said the reader will not suspect us of forgetting how much reason the Church of Ireland has to thank God for Archbishop Trench and for his work, even in the very matter of Revision. But he was not a master of debate. He was something greater perhaps and better, but not this. He never led, either in the general campaign against Revision or in any episode of it. To speak of 'the fight led by the Archbishop' is quite a mistake. To begin with, he had no inclination for casting his thoughts upon religious matters into a dogmatic shape. There is scarcely, we believe, among all his published sermons or charges one which can properly be called doctrinal. Doctrinal statement was not the form in which his mind took hold. Perhaps Dean Church expresses the reason of this when he says that 'what others deal with only as divines he also saw as a poet.' At all events so it was. And it is no wonder that he shrank from the work of discussing doctrinal formulæ in the heat and passion of a popular assembly, when he displayed no taste for such work in the quiet of his study. Even where doctrine was not in question there were influences which checked the Archbishop from interfering. The speaking was so vehement and ready, and things passed so quickly, that a man used to make his decisions in quiet converse with books was not likely to be at home. It was hard to decide how much had to be sacrificed, and how much it was worth sacrificing, to avoid a disruption. But the most important point of all was that the Archbishop had deliberately taken his position, not as a fighter for his own hand, but as one of the bench of bishops. Nor was he the leader of the bench. That place belonged to the Primate

who, with very little indeed of the Archbishop's theological knowledge, possessed far more alertness, presence of mind, and enjoyment of a fray. But it was impossible that any bishop should be the leader of a general opposition to all revision, both because the questions were all decided by the other orders and because the bishops were all themselves members of the Revision Committee.

It was not by any bishop that the fight was really fought, but by a small band of clergy, acting without any leader and making unfailing use of the vote by orders, without regarding the indignation which was expressed when they baulked by this means the desires of nearly all the laity as well as of a clear majority of their own order. However, even they had nothing formidable to bear in the Synod. The majority was not ill-humoured, and no private resentments were engendered. The only persons who had to make real sacrifices were country clergy who had to go back to parishes where all but themselves were Revisionists, and where they were destitute of that support and sympathy in the course they were taking which their city brethren had in abundance. At all events, this is how the resistance to Revision was conducted, and to this cause it is due that where so much was lost there was not more loss still. The Archbishop seldom spoke, and only on two occasions throughout all those years called for a vote of the bishops upon any question; he could not, indeed, have hoped to defeat measures by this means, but it is perhaps surprising that he did not oftener wish to record his own protest. In both these cases he was unsuccessful, though in one, as the Memorials relate, his protest may have had considerable effect by procuring the reversal of the decision to leave out the warning clauses in the recitation of the Athanasian Creed and substituting what to many seemed no less injurious to faith, the silencing of the Creed altogether. It must be remembered, however, that the course which he threatened to take if the arrangement first made had been persisted in, was not of the very serious and almost awful character which readers of the Memorials would perhaps imagine. It was merely that of using the privilege which the Disestablishment Act gave him of retaining his place in the Church without accepting the changed Prayer Book—a course which many clergy took, as a matter of course, without anybody in their congregations being at all the wiser.

It can be no harm to say that the bishops, or even Archbishop Trench alone, could have prevented some of the objec-

tionable things that were done ; for, in reference to the canons, he said so himself.

‘There has been, in my judgment, too much of the “tight which will tear” in some of our recent legislation ; and, for myself, I regret that I did not oftener and more distinctly express my sense of this while matters were still in debate ; even though I might not have judged that the matter was of such extreme gravity as to call for further resistance.’¹

Whether he might not have done more in the way of resistance to more important changes than those which the canons are concerned with, we cannot tell. But certainly he might have tried, and, we suppose, would have tried, if he had thought that these changes vitally affected the faith. We find for instance, in the Memorials, a large treatment of the Preface to the new Irish Prayer Book. We know that the Archbishop objected to it. But if he had objected to it as strongly as Dr. Pusey he could not possibly have omitted the means of resistance which he possessed. We ourselves detest the Preface, and, on the whole, agree with nearly all that Dr. Pusey says of it. But the Preface was not the work of the Revision party. It was a sop manufactured (most unnecessarily in our judgment) by the middle party, who had only helped Revision under compulsion, for the consolation of their more extreme friends under the disappointment of nearly all their demands. The committee which prepared the Preface was proposed by Dr. Salmon, and he, as the Memorials state, moved its successive clauses. But the Preface, in its original form, was drawn up by the Bishop of Killaloe, a man of the utmost ability, and of what one might call extravagant moderation ; and when a speaker in the Synod lamented that so able a man should be known to posterity by so miserable a composition, the Bishop replied that he would be content if posterity remembered him as one who had striven for peace. It is impossible to suppose that a document brought forward by such men for such a purpose would have been pressed if an authority like Archbishop Trench had declared it dangerous to the faith, and such as his conscience would not permit him to accept. He divided the bishops against it at last when its enactment was a foregone conclusion, but never made any such declaration as to its tendency while it was in debate, and accepted it when it was passed.

It is one of the unavoidable disadvantages of the plan of this book that one finds it difficult not to give a biographical

¹ *Charge of 1871, p. 51.*

value to the documents it contains, in spite of the writer's assurance that we are not reading a biography. And so the letters of Dr. Pusey to Archbishop Trench will be read as if they gave Archbishop Trench's mind. They certainly do give his mind so far as to indicate that he was in communication with Dr. Pusey, and had the same sense of that great man's learning, goodness, and representative character, which is entertained far beyond the limits of the great movement which he led. But how far he was from accepting Dr. Pusey's views of the questions about which they corresponded will appear from a simple statement. There are in the Memorials five letters from Dr. Pusey. In the first (ii. 123) Dr. Pusey concedes that he does not see what harm it could do to gather representatives of the laity in a separate chamber, but says that in granting this the bishops have granted the utmost—but the Archbishop consented to sit in one chamber with the laity. The second refers merely to a design of resignation of his see which the Archbishop never really entertained. The third refers to two proposed rubrics on the Holy Eucharist. Dr. Pusey declares that if either of them were carried, he, were he an Irish clergyman, would betake himself to England—now, of one of these rubrics notice had been given by the Archbishop himself. The fourth refers to the statements of the Preface, and declares that if they were passed the writer cannot imagine any person who has belief in the Sacraments or in Absolution remaining, much less being ordained, in Ireland, and that to divide against them only and then to accept them is to sin against truth with eyes open—now, the Preface was passed with certain alterations, of which none were at all vital, and the Archbishop divided against it, but accepted it. The fifth is a general review of the Revision proposals, including the Preface, and declares again that if the writer were an Irish clergyman he would, if the bishops acceded to those changes, resign his office and come to England; but there was still one way left; it could still be said, 'We will have no changes by majorities,' else the Irish would have put out their candlestick with their own hands, and the Archbishop would have been only called to his office in the Irish Church to connive at, and so to assist in, its destruction—the Archbishop accepted all the changes which the majorities made.

Dr. Pusey, when the Revision was over, is reported, we believe on good authority, to have said that the Irish Church had escaped heresy, though by the skin of its teeth. If he said so, the declaration must perhaps be taken to imply a certain softening of the censures expressed in these letters,

such as is quite natural and common in the passage from argument against matters still in debate to judgment upon matters completed. But, whether this be so or not, it is certain that the letters must be read as giving the opinions of Dr. Pusey, not of Archbishop Trench. How Archbishop Trench thought of the matter may still be read in his Charges. Revision had proceeded very far indeed, and even the Preface had been proposed, and every one of Dr. Pusey's five letters had been received, when he said :—

‘There are some—I number myself among these—bound by every tie of duty and honour to this Irish Church, whom nothing but an extreme act of unfaithfulness to the truth which it has in keeping, such an act as it is difficult to conceive, should ever separate from it and from yielding to it, so long as life and strength are theirs, the very best service which they can render.’¹

When Revision was all over he said :—

‘For myself, I may say now as I have said always, namely, that to my mind the undertaking of Revision at the time when we did undertake it was a serious mistake and full of danger. I did not recognize the opportuneness of the time. With my convictions, indeed, no time would have been opportune for such an experiment. But those convictions must not lead me to deny that the discussions which ensued, if they offered much to be regretted, had also an educating power on us all which it would be unworthy not to acknowledge. Men know the best and worst of one another's teaching—the amount which there is of divergence—and have found that it is less than they once supposed—that it does not constitute a chasm so wide that they can scarcely make their voices intelligible to one another across it—but rather one which, however it may still exist, is not incapable of further diminution.’²

And in his last Charge he says :—

‘I will not shrink from repeating what more than one Englishman high in Church or in State, more than one who must have meditated long and anxiously on subjects near akin to those which for these years have agitated and sometimes divided us, has expressed to me or in my hearing. They have not refrained from the utterance, not of their gratification only, but of their honest surprise at the difficulties which this Church of ours has looked in the face and by God's grace has surmounted, the precipices to the right hand or to the left over which it has *not* fallen, the quicksands which have *not* engulfed it, while yet all these were lying so perilously near. . . . To my mind, at least, all the differences which at present exist among us are tolerable, such as may be very well borne among brethren.’³

¹ *Charge* of 1875, p. 19.

² *Charge* of 1879, p. 28.

³ *Charge* of 1881, pp. 20–21.

We, for our part, could well have wished that Archbishop Trench had left behind him in a charge, a book, or even a series of letters, which the present work might have given to the light, a solemn estimate of the Irish Revision, measured and just like all his literary work, but condemnatory, as we know it must have been. Such a judgment from such a man would have been an invaluable instrument for Irish Churchmen against the time when it becomes possible to attempt the reversal of the work of Revision and the simple adoption of the same Prayer Book with the Church of England. That time may come when a generation or so from the completion of the Revision shall have passed. And when the proposal is made nobody will be able to mention any good that the Revision has ever done, or any friendships which it has conciliated, which can compensate for the reproach which it has brought, and the disadvantage at which it has placed the Church in her attempts to retain her ordination candidates in spite of the attractions of England. The Irish bishops must have felt rather guilty when the late Lambeth Conference declared 'that no particular portion of the Church should undertake Revision without seriously considering the possible effect of such action on other branches of the Church,' for the Irish Church carried on its Revision without seriously considering anything of the kind.

But anyone acquainted with Ireland, or even with the general conditions of religious movement anywhere, will know that a long time must elapse before such a revision of Revision could be attempted. Opinion is slow to change in Ireland on account of the small proportion of reading people; and though Church principles have made no slight progress, it is impossible that twelve years or twice twelve could have converted the body of less than a third of the clergy and a mere handful of laity, which was defeated upon the existing Revision, into the two-thirds majority both of clergy and laity which would be needed for its reversal. An attempt to reopen Revision would not now in Ireland obtain five responsible adherents—*among Churchmen.*

If such a state of parties is ever to grow into one which will make possible the peaceful setting aside of what has been done, obviously the necessary thing is to strengthen and encourage the growth of Church feeling within the bounds of the Irish Church itself. In no other way could a new Revision, not to mention objects even more important still, be brought about. And plainly the way to assist the growth of a Church party is not to make so much of the evils

of the Revision as to render it doubtful whether every Churchman is not bound to flee the country. The best thing that can be done for Irish Churchmanship is to prove by precept and practice that Church life is still possible in the land. And from this point of view the opinions of Archbishop Trench, as we have quoted them, and still more his example, are of immeasurable value.

The judgments, indeed, of such a man as Dr. Pusey cannot fail, though given from outside, to meet respectful attention from a certain number even in Ireland. But we should be suppressing what we know to be the fact if we did not say that unfortunate misunderstandings, as well as sheer distance and want of acquaintance, deprive Dr. Pusey's name even for Churchmen in Ireland of a good deal of the power which it possesses for all such persons in England. And we do not believe that his letters here published will enlist any enemies to the Preface who were not its enemies before. But Archbishop Trench belonged to Irish Church-people himself. He was their own. He had lived among them, suffered with them, studied and debated with them, and given of his means to them with a noble generosity, in the confidence that they would prove themselves not a Protestant sect but a Church. His judgments will have permanent weight with them. But we fear that those who are for minimizing, perhaps in too great a degree, the results of Irish Revision, will feel that they have Archbishop Trench on their side as against his biographer, who, having first absorbed the whole band of Irish opponents of Revision into the Archbishop, absorbs the Archbishop into Dr. Pusey.

We should be truly sorry to seem unconscious of the merit and interest of the work before us. We have written in a spirit of the deepest reverence for Archbishop Trench, but also of justice towards the Irish Church, which, if it be little thought of, and in many ways deservedly so, ought for that reason to receive the most scrupulous fair play. It is not fair play to represent it as so poor in catholicity that the defence of primitive principles in it depended on one man, and that practically an Englishman. It is not fair play that a biography of Archbishop Trench should leave an impression of the position of Irish Churchmen so far less favourable than that which was held by the Archbishop himself, and weight them beyond what is just in their efforts to maintain their testimony and fight their battle, which is not an easy one. And it is not fair play to let it be understood that they were

insensible to the merits of one whom they loved and honoured very deeply.

We earnestly hope that in a new edition, doubtless soon to be called for, the work may present a fuller record of the loyal affection which he felt for his children in God, and of the success which in times of great difficulty attended his labour of love among them.

ART. XI.—REPORT OF EDUCATION COMMISSION.

1. *Final Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Elementary Education Acts, England and Wales.* (London, 1888.)
2. *Summary of the Final Report containing the Conclusions and Recommendations of the Commissioners.* (London, National Society's Depository, 1888.)

IN one respect this Report—or rather Reports—is disappointing. It might have been hoped that, after seventeen years' experience of the irritation and ill-feeling created by the rival systems of elementary education, there would have been sufficient good feeling and genuine love for religious liberty to have allowed men of the most opposite views to have united upon proposals which would have been fair to both sides, and which would have enabled parties hitherto discordant to have acquiesced in what was just to their opponents as well as to themselves. For this purpose it was necessary that the friends of religious education, on the one hand, should recognise that there is an influential party which is bent on securing, if possible, a secular, and, if not that, an undenominational religious system; and, on the other, that the friends of such a system should be equally prepared to allow the just claims of those who advocate definite religious teaching. The State insists that every child in the country shall be instructed in what is required for this world's business, but whether it be religiously or irreligiously, whether in the belief or unbelief of Christian doctrine, it professes to be indifferent. On the other hand, those to whom is entrusted the task of communicating this instruction attach the highest value to that point about which the State insists upon its neutrality, if not indifference.

The friends of religious education look upon instruction in secular learning without adding to it teaching in the truths of Christianity as a boon of more than doubtful benefit, and as more likely to raise up sceptics and evil livers than moral and high-principled citizens ; whilst, on the other hand, those who differ from them contend that it is no part of the duty of the State to secure religious instruction for children attending public elementary schools, and it would be profitless if attempted ; for religious instruction in a day school, given by teachers who may or may not make a profession of religion, can do little or nothing towards the formation of religious character, whilst by attendance at a Sunday school, where the teachers are unpaid, but actuated by religious motives, much more will be effected, though the teaching itself may be technically very inferior. At the same time, it seems to outsiders that these advocates of secular or undenominational religious teaching are so afraid of strengthening the political influence of the Church that they are prepared to run any risk rather than promote in the smallest degree what is the special object of their aversion, for they appear instinctively to feel that in the long run the Church will gain most by religious education being given in elementary schools. But diametrically opposed as are these systems, it might be possible for each party to afford to its opponents that liberty which it claims for itself ; and it ought to have been anticipated that the party which inscribes upon its banner 'religious liberty for all' as one of its distinguishing characteristics, would be ready to welcome proposals which would secure for all that benefit which it professes to advocate. Unfortunately, and not for the first time, experience shows that profession and practice are very different things : whilst the friends of religious education are ready to accord to their opponents all, and even more than all, that they can fairly ask, the so-called friends of religious liberty will consent to little or nothing which does not tend to the injury and eventual destruction of the teaching which they dislike. An examination of the two reports now before us will abundantly illustrate what we have just said.

The Education Commission consisted of twenty-three members, who had been carefully selected for their knowledge or intimate connection with some branch of the subject, and necessarily included men of the most discordant views. In their final conclusions the Commission was divided into two, or, perhaps we should say, three parties. The majority who signed the Report consisted of fifteen, whose names it may be well to mention : Viscount Cross (chairman), Cardinal Manning,

the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Harrowby and Beauchamp, Lord Norton, Sir Francis Sandford, Archdeacon Smith, Rev. Dr. Rigg, Canon Gregory, Rev. Dr. Morse, Mr. C. H. Alderson, Mr. J. G. Talbot, M.P., and Mr. Samuel Rathbone. Of these Cardinal Manning qualifies his signature by regrets that the Commission has not proposed to place voluntary schools more nearly on an equal footing with board schools ; Lord Norton his by objecting to payment by results in any form ; Sir Francis Sandford his, on several points ; Mr. Alderson his, on matters relating to the examinations ; and Archdeacon Smith his, on any assistance being given to voluntary schools out of the rates. Our readers will see at once that the names constituting the majority represent widely different religious interests, and very differing relations to the question of elementary education. The Roman Catholics are represented by Cardinal Manning and the Duke of Norfolk ; the Wesleyan Methodists by the Rev. Dr. Rigg, the principal of the Wesleyan Training College, Westminster, and a late member of the London School Board ; really Liberal politicians by Mr. S. Rathbone, chairman of the Liverpool School Board ; official representatives of the Education Department by Sir Francis Sandford, for many years its permanent secretary, and by Mr. C. H. Alderson, for many years one of H.M.'s inspectors of schools ; to whom should be added Lord Norton and the Earl of Harrowby, who at different periods filled the responsible office of Vice-President of the Committee of Council, and so were the heads of the Education Department, Lord Harrowby having also been a member of the London School Board. The other seven were in different ways connected with the work of education, two of them, Canon Gregory and Dr. Morse, having been members of the London School Board, and the former being treasurer of the National Society ; and Archdeacon Smith having been for many years diocesan inspector of schools in the Diocese of Canterbury ; all the seven in different degrees representing the Church and conservative view of education. The remaining eight members are divided into two parties ; one consisting of the extreme section, who object to a large portion of the Report signed by the majority, and present a report of their own, including Mr. H. Richard, M.P., chairman of the Liberation Society (since deceased) ; the Hon. E. Lyulph Stanley and Dr. Dale, active members of the same Society, and the former for some years a member of the London School Board ; Mr. T. E. Heller, secretary to the National Union of Elementary Teachers, and still a member of the London School Board ; and Mr. George Shipton, whose name is well known in

connexion with trades unions. The other and more moderate section of the party consists of three Liberal Members of Parliament, Sir John Lubbock, Bart., Sir Bernhard Samuelson, Bart., and Mr. Sydney Buxton, the last named of whom was for a time a member of the School Board for London, and appends a reservation to his signature to the effect that the arguments and evidence seem to him in favour of free schools—the system to be not compulsory but permissive.

Having said so much of the persons constituting the Commission, we turn to the reports which they have respectively signed, and to a consideration of the principles on which they are framed. The Report of the Commission, for it is evident both from internal evidence and the names of the members taking part in the divisions published with the reports that the whole of the members assisted in framing it, consists of a volume of 236 pages, which is divided into an introduction, and nine parts, respectively headed: the Existing Law; the Existing State of Facts; Machinery for carrying on Public Elementary Education; Education and Instruction given in Public Elementary Schools; Government Examination, Parliamentary Grant, Income and Expenditure of Elementary Schools; Local Educational Authorities; Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations; Appendix. Then there is a minority report of the eight members who declined to sign the Report, giving the 'Reasons for Dissenting from the Report of the Majority, and a Summary of their own Recommendations.' This is a document of only thirteen pages; and there is also a third of the extreme minority headed as follows: 'We, the undersigned Commissioners, in addition to the Report dissenting from the majority, and summarizing our own conclusions, which we have already signed, beg to submit to your Majesty this further report, discussing more in detail the evidence taken by us, and the general position of Elementary Education at the present day.' This is a lengthy document of 142 pages, and has the appearance of a carefully prepared manifesto of some one holding extreme opinions, for which he desired to gain the publicity attaching to the report of a Royal Commission, and which in some places he seems to have modified to catch the signature of a colleague who was not prepared to go all lengths with him. We presume that neither this document, nor the one signed by the eight members, and giving their reasons for not signing the Report of the Commission, was ever seen by the majority until it appeared in print, and was published to the world. Briefly stated, it seems to us that the governing motive of the three reports is as follows.

The majority desire to remove difficulties which weigh heavily upon the voluntary schools, and which threaten to diminish their usefulness, to lessen their number, and possibly at some distant period to extinguish them. They desire to make elementary education as efficient as possible upon the lines of the existing system, removing hindrances to its development, and promoting harmony between the voluntary and the board school elements by giving equitable assistance to the voluntary schools, and removing evils which have come to light during the seventeen years that the Act of 1870 has been in operation. They do not propose to undo any of its essential provisions, but by certain adjustments to bring the law into harmony with what were throughout the professed aims of the authors of that Act. The three moderate members of the minority seem to accept the Act of 1870 as a substantially final settlement of the education question; they are willing to develop the education given under the conditions it lays down, where it can be shown to be possible, but they will not consider whether improvements may not be made in the conduct and arrangements with respect to voluntary schools, so as to remove the irritation which unquestionably exists in the minds of numberless friends of such schools; they seem to regard the principles on which the Act was framed as perfect, and in no case would they have Parliament and the country troubled with a re-discussion of them; if improvements in the educational machinery add to the difficulties of voluntary schools, they are sorry for it, but that cannot be helped, they must take their chance. The extreme section of the minority represent the Birmingham League. It is a trouble to them that voluntary schools with their distinctive religious teaching are allowed to exist: they would destroy them if they could: but as under existing circumstances that does not seem feasible, they would add to their burdens so far as they can do so under the guise of making education more efficient, and if the adoption of their proposals should hasten the end of voluntary schools, they would apparently feel that they had cleverly secured a most desirable object. In his last illness Mr. Forster said that he did not doubt that another effort would be made to secularize the elementary education of the country. Is it possible that the minority of this Commission are seeking to fulfil his prediction? Certainly, if they had their way, a considerable step would be taken in that direction.

Our readers will see that it is impossible, within the narrow compass of an article in a review, to examine all the proposals contained in the lengthy documents of which we have just

spoken ; the most we can venture to attempt is to give a brief sketch of the proposals by which each of the three sections of the Commission desires to attain its object, and to summarize as succinctly as we can some of the principal recommendations. This we shall endeavour to do by describing a few of the principal topics discussed from the several points of view, and not attempting to follow the reports through the more minute and technical headings under which the various aspects of the question are grouped.

The first point treated of is naturally the supply of schools. The Education Department roughly estimates that schools should be provided for one-sixth of the population, and as there is now school accommodation for upwards of one-fifth of the population, or for more than a million beyond the required sixth, and as upon an average one-third of this accommodation, or more than a million and three-quarters of school places are unused, it would be difficult for either the majority or minority to ask for more schools to be built so long as the basis of calculation laid down by the Department is accepted. Whilst, then, there is on this hypothesis a sufficiency of school accommodation generally, there must arise frequently cases where, owing to the increase or shifting of the population, new schools are needed ; and the question is by whom shall the deficiency be supplied ? and who shall arbitrate when there is a dispute about it ? At present the Act of 1870 places the determination largely in the hands of School Boards where they exist, and enables them absolutely to hinder volunteers from building schools, or, rather, from obtaining Government grants towards their support, if they should be built by private benevolence. The only check upon school board action is, that if they build themselves they cannot borrow for discharging the cost without the consent of the Education Department ; but there is nothing to hinder their building if they can pay the whole of the expense out of the current rate. Under this regulation considerable hardships have arisen : to mention only one of the more flagrant as illustrative of the nature of the grievance. In the hamlet of Dan-y-Craig, within the area under the jurisdiction of the Swansea School Board, a considerable Roman Catholic population had settled for whom school accommodation was needed. The Roman Catholic priest proposed to build a school for these children, had plans prepared, and submitted to the Department. The School Board, mainly consisting of the ' friends of religious liberty,' objected to a Roman Catholic school ; in spite of the opposition of the children's parents the School Board thought

the children ought to be compelled to attend board schools, which the parents conscientiously thought would be injurious to their highest interests, and in spite of entreaties and protests the Board built its school, and did its utmost to compel the children to attend it, the Department so far supporting them as to enable them to borrow what was needed. The Report considers that such power ought not to be left in the hands of School Boards, but that the supreme control should rest with the Education Department, which should be allowed to exercise its discretion to prevent, on the one hand, unnecessary schools being built ; and, on the other, to secure that no hindrance should be placed in the way of their erection when public-spirited religious people desire to provide them for their co-religionists. As our readers will see, even this leaves the advantage with School Boards, as a Minister of Education favourable to them could seriously cripple voluntary schools when he had such power in his hands.

In opposition to this the extreme party of the minority, who desire the destruction of voluntary schools, contend that whilst 'the Department should have all the powers given by the Act to compel School Boards to build efficient schools, it is of no advantage to education to prevent a School Board from establishing a school when they think one necessary.' As board schools can only be erected by taxing the community, and as experience has shown that a partisan majority delights in compelling those who conscientiously object to the religious teaching given in board schools to pay for what they dislike, it is necessary that some protection should be provided for minorities, and that some responsible officer of State should have more control than at present over the action of men inclined to act under the influence of party spirit. For this the majority contends ; to this the minority objects.

Obviously the weak place of any voluntary system is its inability to find large sums of money whenever they may be needed ; and as school building demands larger amounts at once than school maintenance, the extreme party is unwilling to let go this engine of destruction. As, therefore, it cannot say that more accommodation is needed so long as the present system of measuring wants and supply is accepted, it has hit upon the expedient of attacking the mode of measuring the supply. It says 'the time has come when even in well-arranged schools ten feet should be treated as the minimum floor space for each child in average attendance, and this should apply to infant schools as well as to senior departments.' This would diminish the estimate of the present accommodation

by nearly one-fifth, as the Department reckons eight feet sufficient for each child attending a voluntary school, and as upon an average one child in three of those whose names appear on the school rolls is always absent, this practically gives twelve square feet for each child that is present. To anticipate this reply to their demand, the same party recommends that provision should be required by the Department for all the children whose names appear on the school roll, and not for those in average attendance. Such a demand would necessitate the fining of all schools that did not comply with it, as schools are now fined if the average attendance exceeds the number of children for whom the school is provided. To meet such a demand for space, school accommodation (which would never be used) would have to be provided for about a million children, at a cost of not less than five million pounds, and those who make the demand no doubt anticipate (and that truly) that this would mean the destruction of a considerable number of voluntary schools. And for such destruction they proceed to make provision in their own interests, and for a further attack upon religious liberty, in their next recommendation, to which we proceed to call attention.

The point to which we refer, and about which there has been controversy, relates to the transfer of voluntary schools to School Boards. In some cases, owing to the poverty of a neighbourhood, but still more frequently owing to the incompetence or apathy of the managers, voluntary schools find themselves in pecuniary difficulties, and without funds wherewith to continue their operations. The Act of 1870 provides that by a vote of two-thirds of the managers and two-thirds of the subscribers schools may be handed over to a Board ; but it gives no negative on such transfer to the trustees, in whom the property of the school is vested, or to public bodies which have contributed largely to their erection, or to diocesan or other authorities. It only permits those directly interested to state their objections to the Department. This has not infrequently operated unjustly, and the Church, or religious body which has found most of the money for building the school, has been permanently stripped of its property through the action of some incompetent or unpopular clergyman, who has arrayed his parish in opposition to him. Or it may be some wealthy person, who has erected a school at his own cost, or some active clergyman, who has collected the money needed for its erection, and has then removed to another part of the country, finds that his liberality or activity has not merely

been made useless by the supineness of those left in charge of the school, but turned to a purpose most repugnant to him, and the evil of a School Board, which he made sacrifices to avert, is inflicted upon the parish without his being able to do more than offer a remonstrance. Such action has produced a large amount of irritation, and an abiding sense of wrong, and the Commission proposes to remedy this by enacting

‘that no transfer of a school held under trust should take place without the consent of a majority of the trustees, and that the Department should not sanction such terms of transfer as interfere with the original trust, beyond what is required for the purposes of the Education Act; and that provision should be made that no structural expenses, involving a loan, should be incurred without the consent of the trustees who lease the building’ (p. 208).

We believe that this last proviso was inserted to meet cases which have arisen. The trustees of a school who have leased their building to a Board for a term of years, hoping at the conclusion of that period to be in a position to regain possession of it, and to reopen it for all the purposes for which it was erected, have found themselves checkmated by demands on which they had not reckoned. For the School Board to which the school was leased, desirous to retain possession, has at once proceeded to enlarge it or to build class-rooms (possibly unnecessary), or to make other so-called improvements, for which they have had to borrow a large sum, payable by instalments in sixty years, and thus have effectually put it out of the power of the proper owners, at whose cost it was built, to regain possession of their school.

The minority, and we regret to say in this case the whole of the minority, so far from wishing to lessen this grievance, desire to increase it, and to make it press more heavily upon the founders and supporters of voluntary schools. They recommend that

‘buildings dedicated to the purpose of elementary education, and aided by a Parliamentary building grant, should, if the existing managers are unable or unwilling to conduct schools in them, be transferred to the local authority (*i.e.* the School Board) charged with the duty of making sufficient school provision for the district; . . . and also that where any building which has been aided by a Parliamentary building grant exists for the elementary education of the poor, and is not used on weekdays for such purpose, the School Board should be entitled to have the use and occupation of the building for the purpose of supplying school accommodation for their district’ (p. 246).

Probably the building grant did not amount to more than one-tenth, or at the most to more than one-sixth, of the cost of the building. Why those who provided nine-tenths or five-sixths of the cost should be compulsorily deprived of their property, because they are unable to sustain the cost of continuing the day school, we cannot see. If the demand had been that they should repay the Government grant before they were allowed to use the building for other than educational purposes, we could have seen justice in the demand. But as the conditions on which the building grants were given by the State simply amounted to this, that the school should be managed by a committee constituted in a particular manner, and be open to the visits of her Majesty's inspector, any such action as that proposed by the minority would be simply an act of confiscation, perpetrated by the action of the State, and would be destructive, so far as it went, of the whole theory of property.

In the face of such outrageous demands as those we have just described we feel it incumbent upon us to state that discontent, and along with it agitation, must continue to be intensified, if principles approaching to those advocated by the Birmingham League and championed by Mr. Lyulph Stanley and his friends on the Education Commission are in any way accepted. Justice to both sides is a very first condition for the settlement of this question. Sooner or later the people of the country will be made to understand what is done, and we have sufficient faith in our fellow-countrymen to believe that in the long run they will insist upon all parties being equitably dealt with. They have accepted the principle of religious liberty for all, and they will not permanently be deceived by such a one-sided application of it as is advocated by the minority of the Commission. Already there are symptoms of the growing unpopularity of School Boards, and the more they push their unjust claims, whilst their opponents are content with temperately resisting them, and demanding no more than simple equity requires, the more certainly will their unpopularity increase.

We turn next to the amount of help to be rendered by the State towards the maintenance of schools. And here it must be remembered that provision for elementary education differs from all other matters of which the State takes cognisance. School Boards were established by the Act of 1870 to supplement and not to supplant the system of education previously existing. That system was recognized as good, and, measured by the standard of efficiency demanded by the

Department, it cannot be said to be inferior to its rival. Such a system, therefore, cannot be looked upon as being in the same position as private charity in relation to relief under the Poor Laws, or as equipping of a soldier or a regiment would be in relation to contributions for the support of the army; for such contributions are not recognized by law as part of the State provision for the relief of distress or the defence of the country; whereas voluntary schools are recognized by the State as part of its provision for the education of the people. The voluntary schools are as much part of the national provision for the education of the children of the country as are the board schools. They are dealt with on equal terms by the Department, and they differ only in this: that in the voluntary schools a definite religious character is impressed upon them, which is lacking in board schools, and that they are managed by those who make themselves responsible for the cost of their maintenance, and not by the ratepayers. This fact must be borne in mind, as it is only by ignoring it that some of the just demands of voluntary schools are evaded.

When Mr. Forster introduced his Education Bill in 1870 he proposed that School Boards should be empowered to contribute out of the rates to the support of voluntary schools. This proposal was obviously equitable, and set forth the true position, but it was so vigorously opposed by the Birmingham League and Nonconformists generally that the Government withdrew it, and promised that in lieu of it an addition of 50 per cent. should be made to the Government grant. This promise has been kept in the letter, but has not been fulfilled in the spirit; for the cost of carrying on schools has so increased that it has more than swallowed up the addition to the grant. In 1870 the cost of each child in average attendance was 1*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.*, of which the children's fees found 8*s.* 4½*d.*, the Government grant 9*s.* 9½*d.*, voluntary subscriptions 6*s.* 11¾*d.*, and endowments 3¾*d.*. Last year the cost for each child in a voluntary school averaged 1*l.* 16*s.* 4½*d.*, of which the children's fees paid 11*s.* 1¾*d.*, the Government grant 17*s.* 0½*d.*, subscriptions 6*s.* 7¾*d.*, and endowments (many of them given since 1870, and sundry earnings of the school 1*s.* 6¾*d.*. Therefore, whilst the Government grant had increased by 7*s.* 3*d.*, the amount which the managers had to provide by subscriptions, endowments, letting their schools for concerts, &c., instead of diminishing, had increased by 11*d.* per child; and when it is remembered that the average attendance in voluntary schools was more than a million in 1887 beyond what it was in 1870,

it will be seen that the demands upon voluntary benevolence are enormously greater than they were, instead of being diminished, as the friends of such schools were promised that they should be. In 1870 voluntary subscriptions furnished 418,839*l.* towards school maintenance for the year ; in 1887, 743,737*l.* In addition to this the subscribers to voluntary schools have had to pay their full quota of the 5,270,717*l.* raised in School Board rates during last year in England and Wales. And beside this they have now to bear the whole cost of building and enlarging their schools, whereas previous to 1870 they had some help from Government.

Under these circumstances the Commission have recommended that the equitable claims of voluntary schools should be recognized, and propose that

‘the fixed grant should be increased to 10*s.* per child in average attendance, and that the conditions on which the variable portions of the grant are now made should be so far modified as to secure that the amount shall depend on the good character of the school, and on the quality of the acquirements of the great majority of the scholars. That schools should be assisted according to their deserts, so as to promote efficiency ; whilst no undue pressure should be placed on dull children, and no unnecessary anxiety and worry caused to managers and teachers. That the average amount of the variable grant should in present circumstances be not less than 10*s.* per scholar’ (p. 220).

This would make the maximum grant from the Department 1*l.* If it were the average grant, it would not be in excess of what it speedily will be if the present rate of growth is continued. The estimated average for next year is rather more than 18*s.*, and for some years it has annually increased by 3*d.* or 4*d.* But then, as matters are now managed, rich schools, where the fees are high and the expenses heavy, earn a guinea per child or more ; whilst poor schools, which most need help, earn very much less. The proposal of the Commission would do much to equalise the grant by giving more where more is needed and ought to be given, and less when the opposite to this is the case. Moreover, it must be remembered that the maximum which could be earned would not represent the average sum that would be earned : so that the proposal of the Commission would be more likely to diminish than to increase the demands upon the Exchequer. They would abolish the present 17*s.* 6*d.* limit—for so long as it remains injustice must be done to poor schools, which are now heavily fined by its operation when they are very efficient, and in proportion to their efficiency : as matters now stand, the better they are

the more heavily are they punished for being good and at the same time poor. The Commissioners recommend that 'some limit should be placed on the cost of the maintenance of aided schools, due regard being paid to their efficiency without undue strain on local resources.' They also recommend that special assistance should be given to small rural schools on a plan of which the minority approve. They further recommend—

'That the local educational authority be empowered to supplement from local rates the voluntary subscriptions given to the support of every public State-aided elementary school in their district to an amount equal to these subscriptions, but not exceeding the amount of 10s. for each child in average attendance. Where a school attendance committee is the authority, the rate should be chargeable to the separate school district affected. The School Boards might in time, if not at once, be merged in the local authorities charged with the general civil administration. Every voluntary school might in that case receive some return from the rates to which its supporters contributed; while every ratepayer would be interested in the welfare of schools of this class, because he would know that the rates would be increased by the burden of supplying the place, out of the rates, of such of these schools as might cease to form part of the efficient supply of the district' (p. 195).

This extract from the Report shows to some extent the ground on which a claim to a portion of the rates rests; and the recognition of the claim would go far to put an end to the hostility between the supporters of the two sets of schools which now exists, and to that sense of irritation, injustice, and wrong with which the breasts of many of the supporters of voluntary schools burn. Moreover, viewed on its economical side, it is a proposal to which the ratepayers would have no reason to object. To take London as an example by which to illustrate its effect. The rate levied for the board schools there is 9*d.* in the pound; if the voluntary schools received 10s. for each child in average attendance it would not add a penny to the rate, whilst they provide education for more than a third of the children who attend school, and it is certain that if liberty were given to make such a grant it would only be claimed for a part of the children, who were eligible to receive it, on account of the condition annexed to it.

But it is objected that to allow such a grant to be made would be permitting a portion of the money raised by rates to be expended on schools over which the ratepayers had no authority. Those who raise this objection have not treated the proposal of the Commission fairly. That proposal is that School Boards *may* make such grants, not that they *must*: it

is therefore only to give the ratepayers a freedom to which they are entitled. If they choose to entrust the spending of a portion of the funds which they are compelled to raise for educational purposes to voluntary managers, who not only manage more economically than School Boards, but are willing to contribute out of their own pockets a sum equal to what they receive from the local exchequer, why should an Act of Parliament forbid them? The fact is, the freedom of the ratepayers is stoutly insisted upon by the party of the Birmingham League when it is likely to act adversely to the Church, but it is to be rigorously restrained by Parliament when it might possibly work in a contrary direction.

Such a proposal is far too equitable and too completely in accordance with the principles of religious liberty to be approved by its professed friends, who seem far more eagerly set upon inflicting an injury on the Established Church than in supporting the principles which they inscribe upon their banners. This will be further seen by an examination of the proposals of the minority, and especially of the extreme portion of it, for the distribution of the Government grant.

They preface their recommendations with a warning that they are not quite satisfactory, and cannot be so until all voluntary management is destroyed, and universal School Boards established. They desire that a large portion of the grant should be fixed, but they do not say how much; that 'more money should be paid to provide grants for teaching such subjects as cookery, science, and drawing, and for providing organizing masters and means of instructing the pupil teachers; that the remainder of the capitation grant, which is variable, should be apportioned among the various subjects of instruction, and that the inspector should look rather to the quality of the work than to the percentage of scholars who show some knowledge; that where the curriculum is fuller (*i.e.* where richer scholars attend, and secondary or semi-secondary schools are set on foot) more money should be given; that special aid should be given to small village schools; and that the capitation grant should increase with the lowness of the school fee charged. They would preserve the 17s. 6d. limit, so that larger grants could only be earned by the wealthier schools, where expense was no object, which would include board schools and a very few voluntary schools in richer neighbourhoods. But all voluntary schools in poor neighbourhoods charging a low fee on account of the poverty of the children attending them would be as effectually cut off from increased help as they are at present.

As a condition of obtaining Government assistance they would 'pile up the agony' to a greater extent than it is at present, so as to make it still more difficult for voluntary schools to continue to exist, and to hasten the halcyon days when School Boards should become universal. For they would make all grants 'subject to the condition that better guarantees of efficiency be secured, both as regards buildings, teachers, and curriculum.' And they suggest, in order to secure uniformity of standard—

'That the quality of education to be secured to the children should be, as far as possible, uniform, and that we ought not to be satisfied with a lower standard in the country than in the town, in small schools than in large schools. . . . The inability of country children, as such, to learn as easily as town children has often been exaggerated. . . . The chief disadvantage of the country child is not his own want of power of learning, but the necessary smallness of the schools and the low salaries of the teachers, which result in most of the ablest teachers seeking town appointments' (p. 325).

The majority not less than the minority contend for thorough efficiency in all schools, but much more than this is covertly aimed at by this paragraph. It insinuates, if it does not assert, that a lower standard is required in country or small schools than in those in towns or that are large, whereas the inspectors and others assert in the clearest manner in their evidence that there is no such difference, but that in the subjects examined there is the same standard for all. The indefinite demand for better but undefined guarantees of efficiency proposed in the paragraph would enable a hostile Minister of Education to crush out of existence schools which he disliked.

Both the majority and minority recommend the putting an end to the present system of payment by results ; but both would require that every child should be annually examined, in order to secure that it has a full amount of attention from its teachers, and as will have been seen from what has been said both recommend that a larger portion of the grant should be fixed ; but all the majority except Lord Norton, and all the minority except Dr. Dale and Mr. Heller, would have a portion of the fluctuating grant depend in some way upon the results of the examination.

There are one or two other points affecting the finances of schools which it may be well to notice before turning to another branch of the subject. The annual income derived from the school fees paid by the children amounted last year to 1,833,985 $\frac{1}{2}$; each child in a voluntary school paying on an

average 11s. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. in the year, and each child in a board school 9s. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. The large sum raised in the aggregate from this source will show how important an item these school pence are in making up the income of all schools, and that for voluntary schools their continuance is essential. With regard to the payment of these fees the Report says:—

‘If, as we think, provision of the due necessities of education, as well as of the necessities of life, is part of the responsibility incumbent on parents, it may well be believed that public contributions and private benevolence are already doing all that can be safely required of them in augmentation of the payments properly exacted from parents. On the whole, we are of opinion that the balance of advantage is greatly in favour of maintaining the present system established by the Act of 1870, whereby the parents who can afford it contribute a substantial proportion of the cost of the education of their children in the form of school fees’ (p. 200).

Neither does the Commission recommend that the regulation of fees in voluntary schools should be entrusted to the Education Department, an effectual remedy, they point out, already existing against excessive fees, since the inspector can report a school to the Department where the fees are too high for the population, as unsuitable to form part of the school accommodation of the district.

We turn to what is said by the minority:—

‘Many persons demand that fees should be abolished, though no definite scheme has been put before us showing how and at whose cost this is to be done. We are not agreed in principle on the question whether school fees should form a part of the sources of income for a national compulsory system of elementary education’ (p. 340).

As to the question, Should the loss which would result from the abolition of school fees be made good from local or national sources? the answer given by the minority is, that they are compelled in the interest of education to conclude that no practical scheme of free education compatible with the continuance of the voluntary system has presented itself to them. They recommend that the Department shall secure that the fee shall not be beyond the means of the parents, but that School Boards should have the absolute power of fixing very low fees in their schools; that in no case shall the fee be raised as the child rises to a higher standard, and that one fee shall cover all charges against the child. The minority desire that the accounts of voluntary schools shall be audited by a public auditor, as they are not content with the audit by a local authority and H.M. inspector as at present. Both the Report

and the minority desire that better provision should be made for the payment of the fees for poor children by the Poor Law guardians when parents are not in receipt of relief from the union.

The next point relates to the requirements concerning the number of teachers to be employed in a school. Here all are agreed so far as this, that the present demand of the Department is lower than it should be, and considerably lower than is actually found in most schools. The Report of the Committee of Council on Education for 1886-7 shows that the total staff of teachers then employed exceeded the Code minimum by 49 per cent., and as the percentage last year grew by nearly 4 per cent., whilst that of scholars in average attendance increased by about 3 per cent., the difference must now be somewhat greater than it was then. The Report therefore recommends that the minimum should be considerably raised, and suggests that the average maximum should be 40 for an ordinary class and 25 for the highest. The recommendations of the minority are not materially different. They propose that 'in future a head teacher should count for 40 scholars instead of 60, a certificated assistant for 60 instead of 80, and an ex-pupil teacher for 50, a pupil teacher in the third or fourth year for 30, and in the second year for 20, and that no others should be reckoned on the staff.'

The amount of school supply, the strength of the staff of teachers, and the means for supporting the schools, have now been examined; the next point to be considered is the instruction to be given. At present all learning is included in what the Code permits to be taught, and for which it is prepared to give grants. No school of the highest grade attempts to teach all the subjects for which the Education Department is prepared to make grants if taught in an elementary school; and, as the secretary of the Department informed the Commission, elementary instruction means whatever the Department decrees in the Code that it shall mean. This may possibly be one cause why these schools fail to accomplish much of the good that was hoped from them; little or nothing is taught thoroughly, and the great bulk of the children forget most of what they have learned soon after they have left school, because they have been taught superficially. The whole Commission, therefore, agreed in a definition of what is meant by elementary education, in the hope of securing an education which will really benefit those for whom it is provided. The Report thus sums up the recommendations:—

‘We believe that the quality of the education given in elementary schools would be greatly improved, if the Code contained several schemes of instruction, so as to provide for various classes of schools a curriculum varying in breadth and completeness with the number of scholars in attendance, and with the character and requirements of the population. Each scheme, however, should encourage the extension of the teaching of the necessary subjects beyond the prescribed limits. We recognize that in sparsely peopled rural districts the number of subjects taught must often be fewer than in schools situated in towns ; but we are of opinion that even in small rural schools a larger measure of instruction might well be secured than that which includes only the three elementary subjects now required by the law, and we are of opinion that facilities should be given to managers to introduce other than the necessary subjects, in accordance with the varying circumstances of the localities. In making these recommendations we are well aware that it is possible to purchase an extension of the subjects of instruction at the cost of sacrificing that thorough grounding of the scholars in the rudiments of knowledge without which all teaching is superficial in character and transitory in result. And we desire to emphasize in the strongest manner our sense of the necessity of looking to the quality of elementary instruction at least as much as to its extent. The following are the subjects of elementary instruction which we regard as essential, subject to the various qualifications which we have already made : Reading, writing, arithmetic, needlework for girls, linear drawing for boys, singing ; English, so as to give the children an adequate knowledge of their mother tongue ; English history, taught by means of reading books ; geography, especially of the British empire ; lessons on common objects in the lower standards, leading up to a knowledge of elementary science in the higher standards’ (p. 146).

The Report also proposes that ‘the instruction to be paid for out of the rates and taxes should be limited by the legislature,’ and it suggests that children of the wealthier classes should not be at liberty to attend schools so supported. To all these proposals the minority object. The aim of the Report is to hinder elementary schools from sliding into secondary schools supported by the ratepayers ; to this the minority would have no objection.

With regard to the training colleges there is considerable diversity of opinion amongst the two sections of Commissioners. For some years efforts have been made by the secular and undenominational party to get rid of the denominational character of the colleges which belong to various religious bodies, and were chiefly erected, and are partially maintained, at their expense. To such a course the Report strongly objects, and the minority are content to waive their objections, though ‘they cannot assent to the statement in the Report, that the

existing system of residential training colleges is best, both for the teachers and the scholars of the public elementary schools of the country ;' but they 'only acquiesce in the hope that the system of training now in force may be largely imitated here, in the association of training with higher education, in the great extension of facilities for day students, and in the liberal recognition of the rights of conscience.' They look to the adoption of these reforms to enable the country hereafter to dispense almost entirely with the employment of untrained teachers.

The Report recommends that the establishment of day training colleges should be encouraged by public grants, but that no portion of the sum needed for bringing them into existence or maintaining them should be furnished out of the rates. To this last proposal the minority object, as they are eager for their creation, and would welcome any number of them. But eager as they are for such colleges, they object to the statement in the Report, 'that the Commissioners cannot doubt that the liberality of those who are anxious to see day training colleges provided will furnish whatever sums are needed,' and they think that experience does not justify such an assumption. The men who are most eager to compel the friends of voluntary schools to pay heavily towards their erection and maintenance, and who clamour for the complete or partial confiscation of the schools and colleges which they have erected, shrink from any demands upon their own purses for the furtherance of the principles and plans which they advocate. For our part we cannot see why those who are seeking to supply the educational wants of the religious portion of the community should be called upon to make greater sacrifices than are those who undertake the care of the education of that portion of the nation which is indifferent or hostile to the claims of religion.

The question of day or other training colleges was apparently much pressed upon the consideration of the Commission on account of the very large number of certificated teachers who have not been trained. The Act of 1870 caused a sudden and most rapid increase in the number of schools ; for these, teachers were required in far greater numbers than the training colleges could supply. The gap was filled by ex-pupil teachers and others obtaining certificates upon passing an examination, and year by year the number of these untrained teachers is being added to, so that now they are more numerous than the teachers who have had the advantage of being educated in a training college. The Report recommends that

the stringency of this qualifying examination should be greatly increased, so as to diminish the number of persons admitted into the profession by this means; the minority also recommend much more stringent provisions; but they also desire what would seriously disturb existing arrangements, for they would prohibit all teachers who have not obtained their parchment from being placed in charge of a school, and would thus deprive the small country schools of the young acting and ex-pupil teachers upon whom they have hitherto relied, and so would greatly increase the cost of their maintenance; whilst the quality of the teachers in these schools would probably be deteriorated, as all the abler teachers would remain in the larger schools, and only those in weak health or of slender ability would be transferred to the small country schools.

The Report, whilst recognizing considerable defects in the manner in which many pupil teachers are now trained, and recommending improvements which would remedy these defects, regards with favour the system of pupil teachers as the most promising method of securing a good supply of efficient teachers, whilst it is at the same time the most economical. On the other hand, the minority 'strongly dissent from the proposition that, having regard to moral qualifications, there is no other equally trustworthy source from which an adequate supply of teachers is likely to be forthcoming,' but they fail to indicate any other source from which a sufficient supply could be drawn; they consider the pupil-teacher system the weakest part of our educational system, and would evidently rejoice to see its destruction. But as they are not prepared with an alternative plan they content themselves with proposing restrictions on those by whom pupil teachers are to be trained, and more costly ways of training them.

There is a wide diversity of view in the Report and the deliverance of the minority respecting compulsion. The former rejoices over the vast increase in the number of children attending school, and the absence of any serious opposition on the part of the wage-earning classes to compulsion, notwithstanding its grave interference with their homes. This they attribute largely to the gradual steps by which it has been introduced, and they consequently cannot endorse any general condemnation of the manner in which the compulsory laws have been administered. The minority take a different view, and condemn the manner in which compulsion has been administered. In their opinion the magistrates generally have failed adequately to support the local school authorities in enforcing the law. The facts given in the returns of the Edu-

cation Department cannot be said to bear out this view of the case. In thirty-one English counties and in Wales more than one-sixth of the population have their names on the rolls of public elementary schools, and in some of these counties, notably agricultural counties, the proportion is nearly one-fifth, in Leicestershire it exceeds that number. Of the children whose names are on the rolls the highest average attendance is found in Norfolk, where it reaches 79·29 per cent.; in Warwickshire and Westmoreland it exceeds 79 per cent., and in Bedfordshire, Berks, Dorset, Durham, Northumberland, Oxford, Rutland, and Worcestershire, it exceeds 78 per cent.; whilst in the area of the London School Board it only reaches 76·82, in Wales 73·79, and in Cornwall 70·88. So that in the parts of the country where School Boards most abound, and where the compulsory laws are probably most vigorously enforced, the attendance is lowest; in the agricultural counties, where the schools have to trust to moral influence, and not to the terrors of a compulsory law, the children attend school most regularly. The natural conclusion, therefore, from the facts before us is, not that compulsion should be more rigorously enforced, but that more dependence should be placed upon kindly persuasion by managers and teachers. This is an accomplishment in which the professed friends of religious liberty do not excel, and upon which apparently they place little reliance.

Both the Report and the minority recommend that the office of H.M.'s inspector be thrown open to the teachers in elementary schools; the extreme party of the minority are disposed to make practical experience as a teacher in some kind of school a necessary qualification for the inspectorate, apparently with the intention of eventually excluding such men as are now appointed, and drawing the inspectors exclusively from the ranks of the teachers.

With respect to technical education the chief difference is in the authority to which the two parties in the Commission would entrust the management of it. The majority think that such education should include much more than mere rudimentary instruction, and would therefore commit the control of it to the municipal authority, with power to co-opt some leading persons engaged in the chief trades of the neighbourhood to direct what has to be done. The minority would commit the control of such education to School Boards, and would leave them such a margin of choice in the subjects to be taught as would practically enable them, if they so wished, to open secondary schools at the cost of the ratepayers.

The question of secondary education has been somewhat complicated by the establishment of higher elementary schools, which differ materially in the different places where they have been established. The Report of the Commission makes the following recommendations respecting them :—

‘Higher elementary schools are said to be meeting the actual wants of more people than are secondary schools, more especially because the former schools are cheaper. However desirable these higher elementary schools may be, the principle involved in their addition to our elementary schools should, if approved, be avowedly adopted. Their indirect inclusion is injurious to both primary and secondary instruction. If, therefore, the curriculum of higher elementary schools is restricted within due limits, avoiding all attempts to invade the ground properly belonging to secondary education, and if due precautions are taken to secure that promising children of poor parents should not be excluded from the privileges to be enjoyed in them, then we are of opinion that such schools may prove to be a useful addition to our school machinery for primary education’ (p. 169).

It further adds :—

‘A full consideration of the means now available for enabling promising scholars to proceed from the lower to the higher grades of schools convinces us that there are two wants not yet fully met. These are, first, that the supply of satisfactory secondary schools should be organized, and should be made adequate for the wants of all parts of the country ; and secondly, that increased funds should be provided out of which to create sufficient exhibitions for deserving elementary scholars needing further instruction at those schools’ (p. 171).

With these proposals the minority agree, only ‘regretting the reserves which accompany some of the recommendations.’ To us the proposals seem to go to the very extreme of what ought to be allowed by any system which is dependent to a considerable extent upon funds compulsorily raised from the tax and ratepayers of the country. It may be well to add that all the Commissioners agree in recommending a better provision for evening and continuation classes, in which those who desire to improve the education they have received in their childhood may have the opportunity of doing so. In our opinion more advanced classes of this kind ought not to impose any considerable charge on the finances of the country, as those for whom they are intended may be expected to be in a position to pay a moderate fee for the education they desire.

The Report calls attention to the great inconvenience caused by frequent changes in the Code, whilst it must be patent

to every one how much evil could be effected by a Minister of Education who was an enthusiast for board schools, and desired to overthrow their rivals. By demanding higher requirements for the children before obtaining grants, by varying the grants themselves, by insisting upon extravagant expenditure on the schools or their appliances or staff, he might ruin numberless schools. The Report therefore asks that Parliament shall settle such requirements so far as is possible. It thus states its conclusion :—

‘Whatever be the form which the Parliamentary grant may assume, we are of opinion that managers may reasonably ask not to be placed, in respect of it, at the mercy of the Ministry of the day. Managers, whether of voluntary or board schools, undertake onerous and laborious duties, in addition to which managers of voluntary schools incur not infrequently serious personal pecuniary responsibility. It therefore appears to us to be proper that the share of the cost of education, which is provided out of Imperial taxation, should cease to be dependent upon a Minute of the Privy Council—a survival of the earlier and more tentative phases of the education question—and should be protected, at least to a substantial extent, by the terms upon which the grant is awarded being embodied in an Act of Parliament. We would further recommend that when any changes have to be made in the Code it should henceforth lie before Parliament for at least two months, in print, before it comes into force’ (p. 191).

To this the minority strongly object. It would limit their power of silently and unobtrusively destroying voluntary schools by making demands upon their finances with which they cannot comply. Their objections are thus stated :—

‘We dissent from the recommendations, in the chapter on the Parliamentary grant, that the terms upon which that grant is awarded should be embodied in an Act of Parliament. That would mean in practice that the Code, instead of being issued by the Department, as at present, should be part of an Act of Parliament. Such a course would tend to stereotype education, to discourage and delay improvement, and would limit the future control of the House of Commons over their expenditure, as the money would have to be voted and spent in accordance with the terms of the Act, which could not be altered without the consent of both Houses of Parliament’ (p. 246).

By a comparison of these words with the quotation from the Report given above, it will be seen that the results which appear to be dreaded are in no way such as would follow from the adoption of the proposal in the Report.

We have reserved to the last the consideration of that portion of the Report which is the most important, and which is at the root of all the differences of opinion amongst the

Commissioners—we refer to the religious instruction to be given in elementary schools. The minority allege this difference, and the recommendation of assistance to voluntary schools out of the rates, as the special reasons for their not signing the Report. They 'object as much to the general tone and arguments of the Report as to its summary of conclusions,' and this remark must apply specially to what is said on the religious question, as the recommendation about rates is included in one or two paragraphs, and in no way colours the 'general tone and arguments of the Report.' The minority further say:—

'While we recognize that the formation of the character of the children attending our elementary schools is of paramount importance alike to the children, the parents, and the nation, we fear that the recommendations regarding religious instruction contained in the report of the majority would lead to a renewal of bitter disputes and rivalries which were and are happily subsiding' (p. 237).

Let us then turn to the proposals contained in the Report which are thus strongly objected to, that we may see how far they justify the accusation. The Report thus states what it considers ought to be the object and principles of education:—

'The object should be the elevation of those classes of the community for whom public elementary education is designed. The character of Englishmen has stood high for integrity, honour, perseverance, and industry, and has not lagged behind that of other nations in respect of patriotism and the social virtues. Our object is to preserve what has been good in the past from being tarnished in the future, and to improve and elevate our fellow-countrymen so far as possible. Whilst differing widely in our views concerning religious truth, we are persuaded that the only safe foundation on which to construct a theory of morals, or to secure high moral conduct, is the religion which our Lord Jesus Christ has taught the world. As we look to the Bible for instruction concerning morals, and take its words for the declaration of what is morality, so we look to the same inspired source for the sanctions by which men may be led to practise what is there taught, and for instruction concerning the help by which they may be enabled to do what they have learned to be right' (p. 113).

In this spirit the evidence given by a number of witnesses, and the proposals made by them, are examined, and the following conclusions are arrived at:—

'(1) That it is of the highest importance that all children should receive religious and moral training. (2) That the evidence does not warrant the conclusion that such religious and moral training can be amply provided otherwise than through the medium of elementary

schools. (3) That in schools of a denominational character to which parents are compelled to send their children, the parents have a right to require an operative conscience clause, so that care be taken that the children shall not suffer in any way in consequence of their taking advantage of the conscience clause. (4) That inasmuch as parents are compelled to send their children to school, it is just and desirable that, as far as possible, they should be enabled to send them to a school suitable to their religious convictions or preferences' (p. 127).

It is added :—

'We are also of opinion that it is of the highest importance that the teachers who are charged with the moral training of the scholars should continue to take part in the religious instruction. We should regard any separation of the teachers from the religious teaching of the school as injurious to the moral and secular training of the scholars' (*ibid.*)

Besides this, the Report recommends that in board schools there should be an annual examination in religious knowledge corresponding to that made by the diocesan inspectors in Church schools, and they say :—

'We have found with regret that in recent years this branch of the inspector's duty (examination into the moral tone and condition of a school) has not received the attention it deserved ; we therefore think it necessary to recommend that it should be the first duty of Her Majesty's inspectors to inquire into and report upon the Moral Training and condition of the schools under the various heads set forth above, and to impress upon managers, teachers, and children the primary importance of this essential element of all education' (p. 127).

These recommendations and the remarks in the Report are thus criticized by the minority :—

'In reference to the recommendations of our colleagues as to the religious and moral training, we repeat our strong opinion that in the education of the young the formation of the character is of the highest importance. But, having regard to the great diversities of opinion among our countrymen on religious subjects, and having serious doubts whether moral training can be satisfactorily tested by inspection or examination, we do not believe that the recommendations contained in this portion of the report of our colleagues would promote the object which we desire' (p. 244).

And again :—

'While we insist upon moral teaching and believe that more systematic moral teaching if given with earnestness would have a very valuable influence on the characters of the scholars, we think that any systematic inspection of morals by Her Majesty's inspector, such as is

suggested in the chapter on the Parliamentary grant, would not only be of no value, but would, where the local managers and teachers did not themselves feel the importance of moral influences, be of positive injury as leading to hypocritical and mechanical teaching of that which must come from a free expression of conscientious conviction' (p. 246).

The frequent reference in the Report to religious training as the basis of all real and abiding moral instruction that is to have an influence upon the lives and characters of the children, and the omission of all reference to it in the report of the minority, are points to be noted. In the chapter on religious instruction by the extreme section of the minority, they labour to prove that 'the schools of the Church of England and of the Roman Catholic Church are rendering to those great ecclesiastical organizations a larger service than they ever rendered before ;' and much evidence by Nonconformist witnesses is cited to show the strong objections felt by influential bodies of persons to the teaching of religion in elementary schools subsidized by the State ; there are also elaborate statements about Sunday schools, the importance attached to them, and the great number of children attending them, and there are tables of statistics arranged by Dr. Dale to show the number of children who have their names on the books of Sunday schools. In one of these tables, the numbers being arranged under four heads—Church of England, Wesleyan, Sunday School Union, and other Protestant denominations—no reference is made to the fact that many Church Sunday schools are in union with the Sunday School Union ; so that the children attending them should be counted amongst those being taught by the Church and not by Nonconformists. With such an addition the result would be that more than one-half of the whole are in Church schools. But it must be borne in mind that these arguments, if by courtesy they may be called such, do not touch the grievance of Churchmen and the friends of definite religious teaching. They contend that out of deference to their scruples no part of the school rates paid by Nonconformists can be applied to the schools where definite religious teaching is given ; whilst the whole of the school rates which they are compelled to pay are applied to the maintenance of schools to whose religious teaching, or want of it, they altogether object, and that no part of their money can be given for the maintenance of schools which they approve, although those schools are as much recognized by the State as are the others, and give as good an education as do the others, and

are as much a part of the national provision for the education of the rising generation as are any other schools. They contend that they have the same right to have their consciences respected as the Nonconformists have ; and that if religious liberty is to be more than a name and a party cry, those who hold a definite faith and desire to have it taught to those who believe with themselves, have in equity an equal claim upon the public funds with those who have no such faith or desire. The answer that one set of schools is managed by persons elected by public suffrage, whilst the other set is not, is no answer, inasmuch as the difference is made, not by the discretion of the ratepayers or their representatives, but by an arbitrary rule enacted by Parliament, which deprives the ratepayers of all control on this all-important point.

As so much is said in the report of the extreme section of the minority in favour of Sunday schools being regarded as sufficient instructors in religious knowledge, and of their providing all that is needed, it may be well to note that the witnesses before the Commission who spoke most strongly in this sense gave no detailed information to show that they were doing more than giving the general impression of their own minds. They made no claim to having gathered statistics of the subject, and without this, assertion is valueless. On the other hand, the Rev. R. B. Burges told the Commission that a few years since there was a thorough sifting of the subject at Birmingham, when statistics were gathered from all the schools, and it was found that there were 26,000 children whose names were borne on the rolls of elementary day schools which did not appear on those of any Sunday school. A return from the schools of the School Board of London, which we have been permitted to see, certainly supports the view that many attend day school who are not found in Sunday school. That return shows that whilst 54,993 children had their names on the rolls of Church Sunday schools, 34,905 on those of Nonconformist schools, and 996 on those of Roman Catholic schools, there were 75,137 who were unclassified and doubtful, most of whom, it is to be presumed, did not attend Sunday school. And it must be remembered that those who would attend no Sunday school would be the most neglected children, and the children of the worst parents. It is a serious question for secular as for religious authorities to consider, whether it is safe for the State to allow a large population to grow up ignorant of Christianity, and without those restraints against lawlessness and violence which religion provides.

The friends of religious education are not to be frightened

by the threats which the extreme section think it right to throw out. They say :—

‘ In our opinion it would be a grave mistake, from the point of view of those who attach the greatest importance to the religious instruction given in day schools, if any attempt were made to disturb the settlement of 1870 by compelling all schools receiving aid from the Parliamentary grant to provide religious instruction. Any such attempt would be certain to provoke angry controversy and resolute resistance, and might end in diminishing rather than increasing the amount of the religious teaching now given in public elementary schools ’ (p. 293).

Those who penned and subscribed this sentence ought to know that no such proposal is made in the Report by the friends of religious education ; and for them to introduce such a topic looks like an attempt to draw a herring across the path. We are quite content that secularists, unbelievers, and misbelievers should have their schools, although we scarcely need say we regret that there are people who desire such schools, and we have no wish to interfere with them. What we demand is that the same liberty should be accorded to us and other believers as is accorded to them ; and that our money should not be applied compulsorily to schools from which by law is excluded what we believe ought to be taught, when a majority of those who pay the rates desire that it should be taught, and that in any case where there is a school rate some portion of it may be applied where definite religious instruction forms part of the curriculum.

It is impossible for the friends of definite religious teaching to be altogether satisfied with the Report of the Education Commission, since it has not recommended the repeal of the Cowper-Temple clause by which this gross infringement of the principle of religious liberty is inflicted. The Report seeks to diminish the injustice by proposing that the denominational schools should receive some help from the funds which their friends are compelled to pay to the educational provision for the country ; and we dislike agitation and controversy so much that we might not be unwilling to accept the proposed compromise ; but that even then a wrong would be inflicted we do not hesitate to say, and we cannot understand how the persons who objected to Church rates can oppose the proposal for all to be aided out of the fund to which all contribute, except on the principle that they do not object to religious inequality, or even to religious intolerance or persecution, but that what they object to is that they should

be the sufferers, not the inflictors, of what is disliked or felt to be unjust and irritating.

It is scarcely necessary for us to express our disagreement with the remainder of the long, one-sided, partisan report of the extreme section of the minority. It will be enough for any fair-minded person to read it to see that it savours more of a publication of the old Birmingham League than of a carefully written, well-balanced statement of the present state of the education question. We will illustrate this by one or two examples.

They claim 'that even apart from the questions of large schools and the power of levying money by rate, School Boards are more likely to prove efficient than voluntary managers.' Those who know anything about School Boards are aware that very few of their members ever took the slightest interest in the subject of education until they were elected by a party vote on to the Board, and that the great majority of the members never enter a school belonging to the Board. The whole business is generally managed by one or two active members just as voluntary schools are ; but then there is this difference in favour of the managers of voluntary schools, they have to evince their interest in the cause by dipping into their own pockets and not into those of their neighbours for the support of their schools ; whilst their presence on the committee of a voluntary school cannot be made a stepping-stone into public life, or afford an opportunity for publicly assailing religious institutions which they dislike, such as may be found by their becoming members of a School Board whose proceedings are chronicled in the newspapers. But it is stated that the Government grant earned by board schools is somewhat higher than that obtained by voluntary schools. This is easily accounted for. By the present system cram does much to secure success, and 'cram' to be successful requires a large number of teachers. Board schools, having an unlimited command of money, multiply the number of teachers, and consequently the cost of maintenance. A fair comparison between the two demands that both cost of maintenance and grant should be taken into account. Then it will be seen that by expending 8s. 3d. more on the education of each child, board schools are enabled to earn 12½d. more upon an average ; and, as the board schools are much larger generally than voluntary schools, this ought greatly to diminish the cost of supporting them.

There is an assertion in the report, signed, we regret to

say, by the whole of the minority, for which we cannot find any justification in the evidence. They state :—

‘We are of opinion that the evidence rather points to the fact that, owing to the poverty of the voluntary schools, some of the inspectors have lowered their standard to a minimum, lower even than the Code, for fear of shutting up schools which depend on the grant for existence, and which yet fall below the standard of teaching which would deserve recognition and payment, and that this is the danger against which it is most important to guard, and not a tendency to make the examination too difficult’ (p. 242).

We have looked carefully through the evidence, and we can find no trace of any support for such an opinion from any witness whose testimony on such a point carries any weight. H.M.’s inspectors indignantly repudiate the idea, though pressed upon the point by at least one member of the Commission ; teachers are quite unaware of it ; but some virulent opponents of voluntary schools assert it, and their knowledge must have been derived from their own inner consciousness, and not from personal acquaintance with schools with which they are wholly unconnected, and therefore can in no way justify the minority in stating that the evidence points to the fact that some of the inspectors have lowered their standard in favour of voluntary schools.

The best repudiation of such a charge is found in the Report :—

‘One and all of the inspectors examined disclaimed any conscious variation in the test which they applied to the various classes of schools which they visited, and we do not see reason to believe that there is any ground whatever for the imputation on the part of the inspectors of partiality in the discharge of their onerous duties’ (p. 76).

Then there is a long chapter in the report of the extreme section on the grievances of Nonconformists, from which even Mr. Lyulph Stanley and Mr. Heller find it necessary to partially disagree. Its object is to prove the inadequacy of the conscience clause to protect the children of Nonconformists from teaching which they disapprove, and to urge the importance of the universal establishment of School Boards.

In this, as in all other parts of this report, the rights of those who desire a religious education for their children are not recognized as being in any sense upon an equality with those who desire no such education. The teaching of religion is looked upon as a luxury in which people are not to be indulged unless they are content to pay for it out

of their own pockets. What the effect of this would be upon the spiritual, moral, and social well-being of the nation is a matter which the advocates of such a principle seem to think may take care of itself. England has become a great and prosperous nation under the system which they would destroy ; to what the adoption of the principle for which they contend is likely to lead may be seen in France. Religion is one of those things about which there cannot long be neutrality. When its principles cease to be inculcated, and children are allowed to grow up in ignorance of those truths which the Son of God came down from Heaven to teach, and of that salvation which He purchased for mankind, a bitter feeling of hostility to it is speedily kindled, and a nation rushes blindly to overthrow all that can remind them of it, as is now being done in France.

We trust that those who agree with us as to the importance of preserving definite religious teaching in elementary schools, whatever may be their religious belief, will unite with us in contending earnestly for that liberty of religious teaching which we believe to be essential for the welfare of this and for every other empire. We recognize in the proposals of the Commission improvements upon the system now in force ; and, though they are far from containing all we could wish, we can heartily desire that their recommendations may speedily have the effect of law. To secure this we trust that men will be content to sink minor differences and act earnestly together to secure the ameliorations of the present state of things which are proposed, and that they will neither be terrified by the shouts of opposition and threats of vengeance which the secularist party are certain to raise, nor shrink from the toil and efforts which are certain to be needed to secure success.

SHORT NOTICES.

St. Peter, Bishop of Rome ; or, the Roman Episcopate of the Prince of the Apostles, proved from the Fathers, History, and Archæology, and illustrated by Arguments from other Sources. By the Rev. T. LIVIUS, C.S.S.R., M.A., Oriel College, Oxford. (London : Burns & Oates, 1888.)

IF Mr. Livius has succeeded in little else, he has at any rate given a magnificent example of the noble art of book-making, and has shown

how it is possible to construct a volume of 560 pages with an unlimited use of scissors and paste and an infinitesimal amount of original research. We do not for a moment accuse him of plagiarism, for he confesses his obligations like a man, but for all that he is guilty of book-making of a most unblushing character, and his work is not redeemed by any clearness of method or lucidity of exposition. A short account of the contents will, we think, justify our remarks, especially as we shall for the most part quote his own words.

He divides his treatise into three sections: the first contains the historical evidence, the second the archæological, the third more general arguments and discussions bearing on St. Peter's Roman episcopate. 'The first part is almost entirely a translation,' writes Mr. Livius, 'from the Latin of Professor Jungmann's *Dissertatio prima, De Sede Romana S. Petri, Principis Apostolorum*.' Of the second part he says: 'I have availed myself with utmost freedom of the generous permission granted me by the Very Rev. Provost Northcote and the Very Rev. Canon Brownlow to make whatever use I pleased of their well-known *Roma Sotterranea*. This is almost the exclusive source of the first four chapters of the second part.' The fifth chapter contains seven pages of extracts from other authors. The sixth chapter is, as far as we can judge from its style, purely original, but is followed by a note of three pages taken almost entirely from the *Roma Sotterranea*. The third part—we again quote Mr. Livius—'I may call in some sense my own work. But from such claim I must, as is plain, make large deductions, and must except the lengthened extracts I have made from the Blessed John Cardinal Fisher, Baronius, Murray, Döllinger, Cajetan, Franzelin, from the admirable volumes of Mr. Allies and other authors, references to whose writings are given in foot-notes.' We may add that the quotations are very large indeed. Mr. Livius is so very honest in making his confession that he disarms some of our criticism, and reminds us that it is possible to commit almost any fault in this country without losing much in public estimation, if we only own up to it sufficiently boldly.

Nor is this all. These extracts, which form the staple of the book, are often put together without any regard to their relevancy or appropriateness. Chapter II. of Part II. has nothing to do with St. Peter, being an account of catacombs in which there is no memorial of him. Chapter V. is mainly devoted to extracts from other writers giving an account of St. Peter's residence in Rome, and has nothing to do with archæology at all. We might assume that the first part, which contains the translation of Professor Jungmann's dissertation, would be sufficient for the historical part of the subject; but in the third part Mr. Livius finds it necessary to go over a great part of the ground again, or rather to quote other writers who do so. When we find the argument of a chapter on the doctrinal consequences of St. Peter's Roman episcopate interrupted to introduce a passage from Dr. Döllinger to prove that the martyrdom at Rome was a reality (which question is discussed in various other places of the book), or when we notice at the end of another chapter the words, 'We think it will

not be without interest to our readers if we supplement this chapter by the following extract from Dr. Döllinger,' we are irresistibly reminded of the boy who in an examination wrote, quite irrelevantly, 'Here it may be not out of place to give a list of the kings of Israel and Judah.'

Nor is Mr. Livius's style any better than his arrangement. In such chapters as are the writer's own, it consists for the most part of either reckless assertion or somewhat violent abuse. On p. 439 he writes :—

'No one who knows history at all can safely deny—what, indeed, all the world is persuaded of—that from primitive days the several ages of Christendom have borne continuous witness that the Roman episcopate of Peter has been held to be the historical embodiment or crystallization of the Divine word : *Tu es Petrus.*'

This statement absolutely begs the whole question. As a specimen of his controversial style take the following :—

'They teem with wild and arbitrary eclecticism, negation of all fixed principle and definite standard of truth, heedless assumptions, lawlessness, irreverent disregard—nay, contempt—of authority, gross yet most artful misrepresentation, wholesale vituperation, joined to a pose of supercilious peremptoriness and overweening self-assertion that would be only ridiculous, were it not for the saddening thought of the many good simple souls that are made its dupes' (p. 440).

Our chief reason for quoting this passage is that, as far as we can make out, it refers to ourselves. A few years ago a very remarkable series of articles appeared in our pages on the Petrine claims. Mr. Livius never refers to them directly, but from time to time makes very pointed references to them, and, from the way in which he loses his temper, we can only infer that he finds some difficulty in grappling with them; at any rate, he never attempts to try conclusions with us. For our part, we are quite willing to let any competent person judge whether we deserve the charges brought against us in the extract quoted.

The work being so lengthy it is impossible to touch upon all the points which invite criticism. We shall confine ourselves to one or two, and will, we think, find the manner in which quotations from Cyprian are treated not uninteresting. On p. 19 (when he is translating Professor Jungmann's treatise), Mr. Livius quotes Cyprian, carefully avoiding the interpolated words. On p. 259 we have another discussion of the historical fact of St. Peter's episcopacy at Rome. Towards the end of the chapter a quotation from St. Alphonso Liguori is inserted, which quotes as genuine the interpolated passage in Cyprian, *De Unitate Ecclesie*, 'The primacy is given to Peter that the Church may be set forth as one.' Nor is there any hint given that there are doubts on the genuineness of the quotation. On p. 524, where the author, as far as we know, is not directly indebted to anyone, he adopts a third method. In the text he quotes a long interpolated passage (again from the *De Unitate Ecclesie*), then in a note he adds, 'If anyone objects to

the Benedictine text as represented above, we here give that adopted in the Oxford Translation.' This text is, as a matter of fact, totally different, occurring in the Benedictine edition after the interpolated passage, and in no way proving what the author wishes to prove. Now, if Mr. Livius is as simple-minded as this implies, we ask him before he writes any further on ecclesiastical history to study some of the principles of textual criticism (he can find some good guides in his own Church), and then he will learn that it is not a matter of indifference whether a late gloss is accepted as part of the text or not. We only hope that it is simple-mindedness, and not a device of the writer for getting the benefit of the passage without committing himself. At any rate, no one can be considered competent to discuss an historical question who in any way admits the historical value of a passage so utterly without support as that interpolated into the text of Cyprian. We may add that there are various places throughout the book in which the author quotes in support of his views writers of the seventeenth century who base their statements on documents such as the pseudo-decretals now admitted to be forged, and that Professor Jungmann seems to quote the life of Cletus in the *Felician Catalogue* as authentic history (p. 91).

We do not intend to rediscuss the historical question ; those who wish can refer to our previous articles on the Petrine claims,¹ but there are certain arguments in this book which claim to be more or less novel. One is that of Professor Jungmann (p. 12). He argues that St. Peter must have been Bishop of Rome because the belief in his episcopacy was the cause of the historical papacy—the papacy is a fact, therefore the cause must be so. Moreover, it is impossible to believe that so great an historic fact can be based on a lie. To this it is sufficient to reply that the pseudo-decretals are admittedly not genuine, that they form the basis on which the Canon Law is built, and that the reality of the Canon Law does not prove the genuineness of the Decretals ; so that the Canon Law is an historical fact, and is undoubtedly based on a lie. In the case of the Petrine claims, what is proved is the reality of the belief in St. Peter's Roman episcopate, not its truth ; there were many other causes which helped to produce the historical papacy, and the combination of good and evil for which it was distinguished are the natural results of its origin—partly based on what is true, partly on what is false.

Mr. Livius claims that in two points he has brought out the strength of some evidence more clearly than has been done before. These are the evidence from archæology and that from tradition. With regard to the first he says :—

'For we must bear in mind that the testimonies found in the catacombs on behalf of St. Peter are of the very same nature and force as those producible from others who have passed under our notice ; with this difference, however, that the evidences in favour of St. Peter are manifold more numerous than those for the former' (p. 130).

¹ See *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. vii. p. 1 ; vol. viii. p. 1 ; vol. ix. p. 482, 1878–82.

This is one of the many statements which Mr. Livius absolutely fails to substantiate. The chapter in which the words occur contains an account of the cemetery of St. Domitilla, perhaps of the first century, in which there is absolutely no reference to St. Peter, and of the cemetery of St. Sebastian, where a tradition, of which there is no archaeological evidence earlier than the fourth century, asserts that St. Peter and St. Paul rested. Mr. Livius himself dwells upon the fact that the catacombs contain considerable remains of the Church in the first two centuries, but about St. Peter they have nothing before the third; about St. Peter as Bishop of Rome nothing before the fourth century. The force of this he seems himself to feel, for he adds a note (which is extracted from the *Roma Sotterranea*) to explain why so much has perished which ought to have survived.

He dwells also at great length on the evidence of tradition, by which he means the quantity, not the quality of tradition, or, in other words, that after a certain period it was always asserted that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome. But if a mistaken view of history once becomes current, it does not become more true by the number of times it is repeated. If the tradition of St. Peter's Roman episcopate can be shown to date from the third or fourth century, it may be repeated ten thousand times and be none the more true. The value of a tradition depends on the character of its source, not on the width of the area over which it spreads. The belief in the immoralities of the English monasteries does not become any the more true because hundreds of historians have continued to repeat the statement, if the original evidence was tainted.

Professor Jungmann and Mr. Livius have one or two canons of historical criticism which it is perhaps worth our while to notice. One is to look upon the whole story of St. Peter's episcopate as a 'complex' fact, and consider that whatever proves any part of it proves the whole. Professor Jungmann in a passage, to the style of which Mr. Livius gives the sincerest form of flattery, says (p. 12) :—

'All these several testimonies taken singly point implicitly to the whole complex fact. . . . We say this because some heretics with presumptuous sophistry and cunning fraud have endeavoured so to divide and classify the various testimonies as to set aside entirely as of no importance those in which the episcopate of Peter until his death is not expressly mentioned.'

The discreditable story of Alexander Borgia and his daughter is a 'complex' fact, but no one would consider that the whole 'complex' fact is proved by the evidence that he had a daughter. In the same way it is hardly a case of 'presumptuous sophistry and cunning fraud' to point out that almost all (if not quite all) the evidence up to the year 250 in favour of St. Peter's visit to Rome never calls him, apart from St. Paul, Bishop of Rome.

Mr. Livius again has a particular objection to any historical criticism which dwells on the fact that witnesses disagree. In the articles above alluded to we had pointed out (as also do Bishop Lightfoot, Professor Lipsius, and the Abbé Duchesne) that the early lists of Roman bishops are untrustworthy because they disagree

so much among themselves. This it is which calls down upon our heads the words of denunciation already quoted. For to Mr. Livius all evidence is equally good, whatever its date and however doubtful in character. The historical proof of the Petrine claims consists of stringing together extracts without criticism and without regard to their authority.

There is one point more to which we wish to advert, and that is the assertion which is definitely made that 'St. Peter's Roman episcopacy is certain with the certitude of infallibility' (p. 3). This we think explains the whole difference between a Roman controversialist and ourselves. He starts with the assumption that what he wishes to prove is true; any evidence therefore in support is welcome, and anything that contradicts it must be untrue. But this is really reversing the proper order of logical proof. It is a very circular mode of arguing to make the dogmatic statement corroborate the historical fact and the historical fact bear witness to the dogmatic statement. What anyone who examines the Roman claim demands is some clear and certain evidence that St. Peter was not only Bishop of Rome but also Head of the Church, and handed his power on to his successors; and if he examines the historical evidence he not only does not find enough to support the enormous structure that is reared on it, but finds that there is no really early evidence at all in favour of the separate episcopate of Peter at Rome.¹

The Teaching of the Apostles, newly edited with facsimile text and a commentary for the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, from the MS. of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem. By J. RENDEL HARRIS, formerly Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge, Professor of Biblical Languages and Literature in Haverford College, Pennsylvania. (London: C. J. Clay and Sons, Cambridge University Press Warehouse. Baltimore: Publication Agency of the Johns Hopkins University. 1887.)

THIS sumptuous volume, if one of the last, is by no means one of the least important or least interesting of the many contributions which theological scholarship in England and America has made towards the illustration of Archbishop Bryennios' great discovery. Nor is the gratitude we feel for it the less because we have to express it in more than one quarter. To a dignitary of our own communion, Dr. Charles R. Hale, dean of Davenport Cathedral, Iowa (who has been among us in England during the present summer), for originating the idea of a photographic reproduction of the manuscript, and to his Blessedness the Patriarch of Jerusalem, under whose immediate care the now celebrated codex is preserved, for his consent; to Mr. Gillman, United States Consul at Jerusalem, who immediately supervised the undertaking, and to Professor Rendel Harris, who has edited the facsimile with introduction and critical studies; to the Johns Hopkins University, which accepted the responsibility

¹ One of the most able and temperate discussions of the whole question is that in Langen's *Geschichte der Römischen Kirche*.

for the scheme, and to our own University of Cambridge, if we are right in supposing that the printing has been done by them ; to each and all of these our thanks are equally due.

'Photography,' Professor Harris truly says, 'is a literary fire insurance of the first importance ;' and it is probably only the expensiveness of the process which has hindered a much wider use of it than has hitherto prevailed. But the risks which a library and its manuscripts run were illustrated only too forcibly in the siege of Strasburg by the Germans, and even those libraries where the danger of accident is reduced to a minimum have often to confront the danger attendant upon lending. The reproduction of the unique Laurentian MS. of Sophocles was undertaken, we believe, by our English Palæographical Society, and the Jerusalem Codex is as unique as the Laurentian, with all the added disadvantage of Jerusalem for its home instead of Florence.

But though the ten plates of facsimiles are beyond question the most valuable, the introduction will be to the general reader the most immediately useful portion of the book under review. Professor Harris gives us about a hundred pages of matter, most of which is new, while all is worth reading. In his longest section, that on the secondary authorities for the text, he has with immense diligence added to the already known parallels from Barnabas and Hermas, from the Church Ordinances and the Apostolical Constitutions, a large number from all sorts of writers down to the fifth and sixth centuries. Unfortunately, if not unnaturally, Mr. Harris has a single eye for the new discovery. His mental vision, preoccupied with it, can embrace nothing else, and any passage containing common matter with the Teaching is at once set down as a copy from it. To be consistent he should have added the Evangelists to the imitators of the Teaching ; at least it comes to much the same thing if Clement of Alexandria's quotation of the Evangelical precepts, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' and 'To him that smiteth thee on the one cheek, offer the other also,' is given as an 'almost certain' reference to the Teaching. In any case Mr. Harris would really seem to think that the latter was more widely used in the second century than the canonical Gospels. Such exaggeration is the more to be regretted as likely to compromise what we may call the serious side of his position. For while we are sure that he has brought forward nothing at all conclusive to show that Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexandria (among others) used the Teaching, on the other hand the parallels with, *e.g.*, some Dionysius, probably the Bishop of Alexandria, and what is more interesting still, with the Epistle of Jude, are not a little striking. Later Latin use of it is conclusively proved by Mr. Harris ; but we still think that the early use is mainly Syrian and Alexandrian, and we believe with Dr. Warfield that an Egyptian and a Syrian recension are to be distinguished.

We are touching here on the most complicated of all questions yet remaining to be solved in regard to the Teaching. What is the mutual relation of the Teaching, of the Epistle of Barnabas, of the Church Ordinances ? Where direct amplification explains the facts,

as with the Seventh Book of the Apostolical Constitutions compared with Bryennios' MS., the problem is simple. But the relation to the Epistle of Barnabas—it is being universally recognized—is not to be so simply explained. Professor Harris of course agrees with those who reject Harnack's original dogmatic assertion that the Teaching copies Barnabas; but although he contributes valuable matter to the discussion of this and kindred points, it is rather by calling attention to new problems than by solving old ones. For instance, he suggests that the scribe or corrector of the Sinaitic Codex altered the text of Barnabas into greater agreement with the Teaching. The hypothesis in this case seems improbable and the evidence not convincing, but they aptly illustrate the complexity of the data. As to the Church Ordinances (why on earth does Mr. Harris call them by so misleading a name as the Apostolical Canons?), the point emphasized in this volume is their dependence on Barnabas. But of the four instances quoted in support of this view, three vanish if we take the text of the Ordinances, not from the Vienna but from the Ottobonian MS.—a phenomenon which in conjunction with others is not unworthy of discussion. It is curious, for instance, that, if we have reckoned rightly, there are twenty-nine minor readings where the Ottobonian MS. (sometimes with, sometimes against, the Vienna MS.) agrees with the text of the Constitutions against that of the Teaching, while coincidences of the Ottobonian MS. with the Teaching against the Vienna MS. are numerous, drastic, and all-important.

In conclusion we can only make passing mention of one point where Professor Harris, supplementing and developing the views of some previous editors, seems to us to be substantially in the right. Going beyond Dr. Taylor, who had demonstrated the Jewish origin of the *Two Ways*, and beyond Dr. Salmon, who had extended the hypothesis of the Jewish original to the chapters on Baptism, Prayer, Fasting, and 'Eucharists,' he sees in the whole work as we have it (with the exception of the purely Christian interpolation in chapter ii.) the *réchauffé* of a Jewish manual for proselytes, a conclusion which has been already expressed in this *Review*.¹ Mr. Harris supports his position by arguments drawn from the Hebraistic character of the whole; but for these we must be content to refer our readers to the book itself.

The Scripture Doctrine of the Church, Historically and Exegetically Considered: the Eleventh Series of the Cunningham Lectures. By the Rev. D. DOUGLAS BANNERMAN, M.A. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1887.)

WE have read Mr. Bannerman's lectures with very great interest. Delivered by a Presbyterian on a Presbyterian foundation, there is of course much that we disagree with, but we prefer to realize how much also there is with which we are able to sympathize. If we shall have to point out the fallacies in his defence of Presbyterianism, we must thank him for his elaborate vindication of the doctrine of a visible Church.

¹ *Church Quarterly Review* for July 1887.

Passing over details we will consider separately the two main objects of the lecture—the doctrine of the Church, and the evidence for Presbyterianism.

Not confining himself to the New Testament, Mr. Bannerman traces the history of the Church from the time of Abraham onwards. The Christian Church was not in itself something new ; it was not a substitute for, it was a development of, the Jewish Church. The term *ἐκκλησία* was not a new one, it was derived from the Septuagint, and was probably (though not certainly) used of the Church, as a whole, before it was used of local churches.

In working out the practical conception of the Christian Church as established by the Apostles, Mr. Bannerman shows how it was one : ‘The Hebrew Christian Church was, and felt itself to be, essentially one. It is constantly spoken of as one. It acted and had suitable means for acting as one.’ ‘They were, and felt themselves to be, one in the Lord, one in the new life of the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Christ and of God, one in faith and love, in hope and joy’ (p. 433 ; cf. also p. 557 sq.). The unity in doctrine, in worship, in sacraments, in organization, is carefully worked out. What we miss, perhaps, is an insufficient appreciation of the mystical idea of the Church, as taught by St. Paul, and of the very important doctrinal consequences to be drawn from it.

But we must pass on to Mr. Bannerman’s defence of Presbyterianism.

In the first place, he attempts to gain credit for Presbyterianism by asserting that it has a Jewish origin, and is older than Christianity. This is really a very dangerous method of argument, and it will certainly have no weight with any but Presbyterians ; all, in fact, it does do, is to explain the historical origin of the *πρεσβύτεροι* of the New Testament ; this is something very different. Moreover, the elders of the synagogues were a very subordinate element in Jewish religious life ; therefore, we might argue, the elders ought to exercise a subordinate position in the Christian life ; and, again, though the synagogues did undoubtedly help to preserve the unity of the body of Jews in any one city, it was not the synagogues but the temple which preserved the unity of the Jewish race. The synagogues with their elders only succeeded in fulfilling their purpose by existing side by side with the temple and the temple system.

Secondly, whatever the organization of the Catholic Church may have been, it certainly was not Presbyterian. Now, we will set aside any evidence there may be against the identity of *πρεσβύτεροι* and *ἐπίσκοποι* ; we will also set aside the position of the apostolic delegates Timothy and Titus, and any argument which may have been drawn from the *ἄγγελοι* of the Apocalypse. We do this because we wish to dwell only on what is certain. Now one thing is certain, and that is *the apostolic government of the apostolic churches*. It was through the Apostles that the Church was organized ; it was from them that the deacons and presbyters received their authority, though certainly in some cases, perhaps in all, elected by the community. It was they, above all, who preserved the unity of the Church. It

was they who, acting, it is true, with the Church as a whole, prevented the disunion of the early Church by the apostolic council at Jerusalem. It was St. Paul who by his letters and personal supervision preserved the unity of the churches he had founded. What would have happened if the presbyterate of Galatia and of Corinth had been allowed to go their own way and had had no supervision and authority above them? Considering how invariably in the Acts of the Apostles the *ἀπόστολοι* are separate from the *πρεσβύτεροι*—considering the importance which St. Paul ascribes to the office of *ἀπόστολος*—it is as absurd to dwell on the fact that St. Peter or St. John calls himself *πρεσβύτερος* as it would be on the fact that St. Paul calls himself *διάκονος*. There were *πρεσβύτεροι* in the Apostolic Church, but they held an inferior and subordinate position; the Church was not Presbyterian, and if it had been it would not have preserved that unity on which Mr. Bannerman rightly dwells so fully.

Thirdly, although the actual process of the growth of the Christian ministry in its present form is undoubtedly obscure, what is certain is that Episcopacy existed in Asia Minor in the time of the Apostle John; that at the end of the first century the Christian officers at Rome derived their authority from the Apostles; that Episcopacy was held by Ignatius at the beginning of the second century as essential to a Church, and is known to have been universal shortly after the middle of that century. For our proof we need only refer to Bishop Lightfoot's *Ignatius*. Here we will make two remarks. The connection of Episcopacy with St. John is very much more than a mere 'speculation' (p. 553, note 2); there is just about as good evidence for it as there is for the four Gospels—that is, the direct evidence of Clement of Alexandria, of Irenæus (based upon Polycarp), of Tertullian, of the Muratorian canon, of Dionysius, of Polycrates—the indirect evidence of the Ignatian letters. And secondly, if an appeal is made to Harnack's criticism of Lightfoot in the *Expositor*, let Mr. Bannerman remember that as an authority Harnack is to him valueless, because he says that we have no evidence for *πρεσβύτεροι* until the second century in the Christian Church, and that in his arguments he practically draws attention to the similarity of evidence for the Gospels and for Episcopacy—only he does not accept the Gospels.

We reject Presbyterianism because we are quite certain it does not represent the form of government in the Apostolic Church; we accept Episcopacy because we are certain it has existed 'from the Apostles' time' (Preface to Ordinal).

Lastly, may we make one appeal to Mr. Bannerman personally? He, equally with ourselves, has realized the conception of the Church of Christ; he has that desire for unity which is the necessary condition of attaining unity. All must feel that, at any rate from a human point of view, the reunion of Christianity must be very far off; but all can work and hope for it. And we ask him, is it more likely that that desire for unity which the tone of his book and the fairness of his arguments will foster will be more easily fulfilled by a modern

institution like Presbyterianism, or by 'those three orders' which were recognized by all Christians for 1,500 years, and are still, after 1,800 years, preserved by the majority of Christians?

The Gospel of St. John: an Exposition Exegetical and Homiletical. For the use of Clergymen, Students, and Teachers. By the Rev. THOMAS WHITELAW, M.A., D.D. (Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1888.)

DR. WHITELAW'S commentary on St. John is a result of much honest and laborious work. In the introduction of lxii pages he has made a careful and well-arranged analysis of almost everything which has been written on the subject. He adds no new arguments, but gives the old ones well and ably. He follows Westcott in assigning a Hebrew origin to the term Logos.

The commentary, which fills 460 pages, consists firstly of a very full 'exposition,' and, secondly, of 'homiletics' or points for sermons. We must own that we have very slight affection for aids to preachers which provide a substitute for thought instead of a stimulus, and these analyses of the doctrine of the Gospel will have a tendency, we are afraid, to produce rather dull and heavy discourses. The commentary is as laborious as it is jejune. We give instances of his views on two important passages. On iii. 5 he writes, 'The term water . . . is simply the water of baptism itself, with which Nicodemus was familiar, both in John's baptism and in the baptism of Jewish proselytes' (p. 66). On vi. 56 :

'The truth seems to be that *the idea here expressed of inward, believing, spiritual fellowship with the crucified and risen Christ was afterwards embodied by our Lord in the Holy Supper*, but whether at the time of announcing it He had before His mind the institution of that supper . . . or whether this was an afterthought, "the product of the hour of the supper itself," cannot be determined' (p. 159).

Occasionally, his style is a little curious. 'In the preceding prologue the author has briefly introduced *the exalted personage* who is to form the subject of his contemplated history' (p. 24). The discourse in chap. vi. is subdivided into 'A solemn reproof,' 'An earnest exhortation,' 'A clear direction,' &c.

The critical notes seem to be given accurately where we have verified them, but the following extracts imply that the writer has rather a confused idea of the subject. On the Woman taken in adultery he writes: 'It occurs . . . in the Syriac, Æthiopic, and other translations.' And then, 'it is absent *from thirty versions*, amongst these the *Peschito* and the *Nestorian*.' Dr. Whitelaw can hardly understand the different Syriac versions.

Dr. Whitelaw does not add anything to the elucidation of the Gospel, and is destitute of any great exegetical insight or skill, but has produced a book which will be very useful to many students, and the writing of which must have been very helpful to himself.

The Ante-Nicene Fathers ; Bibliographical Synopsis. By ERNEST C. RICHARDSON, M.A. (Buffalo : The Christian Literature Company, 1887.)

WE have here a bibliography of the Ante-Nicene Fathers which, so far as we have been able to test it, is practically exhaustive. Not only are the lists under the heads of Editions, Translations, and Literature immense, but frequent notes are appended which classify the chief authorities for the various views of disputed points. For instance, the note at p. 15 upon the Ignatian Epistles. It is quite astonishing to see, in the tremendous catalogue of works upon so recent a discovery as the Didachè (pp. 83-6), what a place early Christianity claims in the world's attention. Mr. Richardson is librarian of Hartford Theological Seminary, and doubtless his position has afforded him facilities for carrying out so laborious a work. But though Dr. Cleveland Coxe in the preface which he prefixes to the work appears to believe that it owes much to the stores of Hartford Library, Mr. Richardson himself explains that one of his chief reasons for believing it to be needed by his countrymen is that there is not a single adequate theological library in America. We know not how far the stores even of European collections would meet the demands of so omnivorous a scholar. But even if we have better libraries at hand we cannot perceive that the fact renders us more independent of such an invaluable help as that which Mr. Richardson has provided. It must be regarded as indispensable to all who intend to study any department of the field of early Christian literature. The very copious index drawn up by Dr. Pick to the American translations of *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* is only useful to those who possess that edition. It would be worth Mr. Clarke's while to adapt it to his English series.

Proteus : a Layman's Reply to Sir James Stephen on Mr. Mivart's Modern Catholicism. By THOMAS MAGUIRE, F.T.C.D. (Dublin, 1888.)

THIS is but a pamphlet of a dozen pages, but those who are aware of the author's metaphysical reputation will read with interest the rejoinder of so able a Roman Catholic to the rude attack of Sir James Stephen upon the Roman Church. The reply comes to this : that the learned judge writes as a materialist, and that not only all religion but all philosophy is against materialism. Even materialists themselves are forced to believe in something behind matter, and when you allow this something behind matter it confounds all calculations, however confident, which are made on the supposition that there is nothing behind matter. And Professor Maguire appears to regard the Church as the representative of that eternal something which underlies phenomenal existence. In fact we might suggest a motto from Rabelais : ' As the great vaticinator Proteus could not presage anything till he was restored to his proper and kindly form, so man cannot receive the divine gift of prophecy unless the part within him which is divine—the *voûs* or mind—is calm, peaceable, untroubled, quiet, still, and not distracted with foreign passions and affections.'

The Professor undoubtedly deals the materialists some awkward strokes. For instance, he quotes Mr. Morley as laying down that 'we can only know ourselves as part of the stupendous and inexorable succession of phenomenal conditions, moving according to laws that may be formulated positively, but not interpreted morally, to new destinies that are eternally unfathomable.' 'The reply,' says Professor Maguire, 'is, if all is phenomena there can be no laws; and if there be laws then all is not phenomena. And "new destinies" look very like old final causes. And how can a positivist use the word eternal in any sense whatever?' This, we must say, is not only neat but thoroughly true. But when we come to consider Professor Maguire's principle in its reference to the claims of his Church, we are much perplexed thereabout. The Professor has a tantalizing method of just hinting at some great truth as sufficient to cover all his adversaries with shame, and leaving us to face without any assistance the difficulties which meet us in applying it. As an example of the freedom of Roman Catholics in all physical inquiries, he denies that the doctrine of transubstantiation binds them to the scholastic distinction of substance and accident. They are bound to believe that 'after consecration a change takes place objectively in the elements, though that change is not apparent to the senses, or to the more searching apparatus of physical science. Every Roman Catholic of intelligence would avow that to a Parsee chemist the elements both before and after consecration would present no difference. But if the Roman Catholic denied all difference he would cease to be a Roman Catholic; that there is a difference he must believe, but *how* that difference arises he is not called on to explain.' But Professor Maguire does not explain why the word transubstantiation is used in the Roman definition, or what the meaning of the term can be, if the scholastic distinction of substance and accidents is not to be insisted on. And when he says that the Parsee chemist would find no difference before and after consecration, does he mean that a Christian chemist, were he even a chemist-Pope, could find any such difference? And if no such difference in the matter of the elements can be discovered by man, while at the same time the qualities discoverable by man include all that man can know of matter, what is this objective change of which he speaks, and how did anybody find it out? It would seem to us that what Professor Maguire believes in is not a change objectively in the elements, but an objective Real Presence without any change in the elements; which is the belief, not of the Roman Church, but of the Anglican. Professor Maguire believes that cases like that of Sir James Stephen demonstrate the necessity of a teaching Church, unless sheer materialism be good for man; for the basis of religion is philosophy, and the majority of educated men are utterly incapable of philosophy. We do not agree that philosophy is the basis of religion, but we admit that its true basis lies in those capacities of universal human nature which philosophy expounds. It is quite true that a teaching Church is required in order to keep before human nature the Religion which supplies their wants. But if mankind in general be incapable of that

exercise of mind which is the basis of religion, by what means does Professor Maguire propose that the teaching Church shall get a hold of them ; and what good will it do them to be compelled or induced by the Church to profess a religion the basis of which they are incapable of taking in ?

Westminster and other Sermons. By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, D.D., Archbishop. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co., 1888.)

THIS volume contains a selection of twenty-five sermons from two volumes published by Archbishop Trench in his lifetime, both of which are now out of print. The title-page illustrates in a curious way some remarks which we have elsewhere made upon the desire with which the Archbishop's literary representatives seem consumed of suppressing all remembrance of his connexion with Ireland ; for while the two volumes in question were entitled *Sermons preached in Westminster Abbey* and *Sermons preached for the most part in Ireland*, Westminster is the only local designation which appears in the present volume, and the name of the obnoxious island is veiled under the description 'other.' This may be accident, but it certainly results in a title which would naturally mean that one of the sermons is called 'Westminster.' But it is not accidental that the author should be described here, as well as on the title-page of the Memorials, simply as 'Archbishop,' without any local designation. This is obviously wrong. It is to perpetuate the anomalous condition in which the Archbishop was placed after he had resigned his see and his title had become merely one of courtesy. We say of course, colloquially, Archbishop Trench and Bishop Jeremy Taylor. But who ever saw outside the Calendar the formal designation 'Jeremy Taylor, Bishop' ? Yet 'bishop' denotes the indelible order which remains after the connexion with a special sphere of jurisdiction has been dissolved, while nobody can be archbishop except in relation to a particular province. We find in Martinus Scriblerus the question argued whether it is possible to form an abstract idea of a Lord Mayor. It is equally hard to form an abstract idea of an Archbishop. As if some general, having once filled the post of commander-in-chief in India, were ever afterwards to be designated as commander-in-chief, without saying where the function had been exercised ! For the sermons themselves, they are worthy of their admirable author. They do not, indeed, treat of those primary questions of all theology with which the teachers of the present time are forced to grapple ; nor do they, for the most part, concern themselves with those doctrinal subjects so hotly debated, both in England and Ireland, at the time when they were preached. Remembering the condition of the Church at that time, we might almost wonder that there is so little in the volume which exhibits its author as a combatant in the fight. But it is best that he should have preached as his inspirations led him. His readers will find here, as everywhere in his works, the deepest sense of the beauty of divine truth, a loving quickness to observe the spiritual applications of Bible story, an unflinching moral earnestness, which could only

come from the experience of a true pastor and a true man, and, lastly, an exquisite literary skill both in the expression of each sentence and the proportion of the whole. As a worthy specimen of all these merits, as well as for its unusually doctrinal character, we might perhaps select Sermon X.—‘Christ the Lamb of God.’

The Blessedness of the Dead in Christ, and other Sermons. By the late WILLIAM MATURIN, D.D., Perpetual Curate of All Saints, Grangegorman, Dublin. (London and New York : Macmillan & Co., 1888.)

THE English reader will find these sermons very well worthy of his attention. They display a firm grasp of Church principles, not in any narrow conception, but in their connexion with the great problems of moral life : a peculiar power in realising and elaborating pictures of human character and history, and great depth of natural feeling rigidly kept in restraint. The six first discourses are upon that subject of universal interest which gives the title to the volume ; six others contain a complete and excellent exposition of the parables in St. Luke xv. The name of Rizpah calls up a Scripture scene of inimitable pathos which has been expounded by many a preacher, never, we think, with greater beauty and feeling than here. The Easter sermon and that upon Justification are well-reasoned statements of doctrine, and ‘Glorying in the Cross’ exhibits with glowing life the practical effect of Christian belief. That on ‘Women’s Rights’ displays formidable powers of sarcasm side by side with the truest appreciation of woman’s work in its genuine place. Nor will the rest of the volume be found in any way below the sermons we have named.

But to many in Ireland the volume will offer a charm which, in spite of its many merits both literary and theological, it cannot possess for those who did not know the author. They, as they read, will supply the well-remembered voice and delivery, the earnest face, a little stern, the firm decided voice, the restrained action, the deep intensity, which made all feel that behind every thought and emotion that was expressed there lay a store of belief and affection which ‘cannot be uttered.’ William Maturin was in truth a man of great mark, though his sphere was comparatively small, and his advancement in the Church so poor as to do little credit to the Church rulers, who neglected his claims until, when Archbishop Trench offered better preferment, he was too old to move. But he did not live in vain. Through fully half a century he held up the standard of Church principles, and for the larger part of this period he stood almost alone among the Dublin clergy. The stormy times of Disestablishment and Revision brought him special difficulties, which he faced and overcame by the sheer force of character and conviction. And he lived to see opposition die down and provision made for the continuance of his parish work upon the same lines as those on which he placed it. It would have been a pity that such a man should pass away and leave no memorial of his mental powers. And those who read the sermons without previous knowledge of their author may

take from us the assurance, never without interest for the reader of any such work, that his life and death were as unworldly and as Christian as the precepts which he preached.

Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, 1807-1885. By JOHN HENRY OVERTON, Canon of Lincoln and Rector of Epworth, and ELIZABETH WORDSWORTH, Principal of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford. (London: Rivingtons, 1888.)

A BIOGRAPHY like this one can be fairly judged only by recollecting the character of its subject and the end which the writers have had in view. The late Bishop of Lincoln was not wont, except indirectly, to reveal the innermost springs of thought and action. The reserve which distinguishes all really strong religious life distinguished his, though its light shone before men. There was no marked crisis in a career thoroughly sound from boyhood and unbroken in its continuity. In the history of convictions thought out and substantially formed in early manhood there is little to record except a calm development. One who was so indifferent to earthly distinction did not pursue any social advantages, though using them when given for the welfare of the Church. It is vain, therefore, to expect to meet in this volume with events and personal experiences of the same engrossing kind as are found *e.g.* in the Lives of men like Bishop S. Wilberforce, Bishop Patteson, or Frederick Maurice. The writers have been wisely content to illustrate from various points of view the life and work of the bishop as determined by his character. Their design is brought out in the following passage, which admirably summarises the main lesson conveyed by the whole memoir.

‘It may well be believed that such a personality as his had a special and important work to perform for the age in which he lived, and seemed intended to afford an illustration of what strong religious faith could do. If such a phrase may be used, it emphasized in a most remarkable way the *à posteriori* evidence for Christianity. It displayed to the world a character of rare beauty, strength, simplicity, and loveliness, and it gave that character a power of acting on others which had in it something perfectly distinct from the effect produced on us by mere ability, learning, talent, kindliness, and the like. It brought men into the presence of one who lived in a constant sense of the presence of God, and whose very countenance and manner bore the tokens of it. His *character*, as a whole, was the first and the last thing that one thought of in being with him. The result of life and education had been, in his case, not to produce some one who *knew* a great deal, nor even who *did* a great deal, but who *was* many-sided, earnest, far-seeing, deep-feeling, and noble, a man with an unusually strong sense of proportion, and for that reason one with whom the paramount idea was the thought of Eternity’ (p. 516).

In a former number of the *Church Quarterly Review* (April 1885, Art. viii.) a sketch of Bishop Wordsworth’s episcopate was given, which is now illustrated in detail by his biography. This obviates the necessity for any lengthened notice of the present work, which, as we learn from the preface, ‘has not been intended to supersede, but to supplement that which the bishop has himself left

behind him in his various publications.' The volume is, of course, mainly occupied with his episcopate and its results, but we are glad to see that Dr. Wordsworth's headmastership at Harrow, his conscientious administration of the country parish of Stanford-in-the-Vale, and his work as Canon of Westminster have been carefully described. The actual founding of St. John's House and nursing sisterhood, in which Dr. Wordsworth and his friends took a large and active share, was due to Dr. Todd, a fact which will, doubtless, be mentioned in any further edition of this memoir. We are not sure whether the work, as a whole, would not have been more satisfactory if a concise sketch of the bishop's life from birth to death had been given by his eldest daughter, while the chapters on Convocation, the intercourse with foreign Churches, literary work, and some portions of those on the episcopate might have formed a supplement. The chronological table prefixed to the biography will, however, enable a large circle of readers, who either personally or by reputation knew something of the bishop's life, to mark the salient points of his career for themselves.

The biography has, we think, a special interest and value in showing how carefully from early manhood to old age the bishop harmonized the claims of public and private duty, with which neither feelings nor interests of other kinds were allowed to interfere. The picture of his early life at Winchester, in his home at Buxted and Trinity Lodge, and, afterwards, during his academic career at Trinity College is attractive because of its straightforward and affectionate dutifulness, while it proves the existence of solid though reserved piety stronger in its influence, perhaps, than much of the demonstrative religious feeling of the present day. It is interesting to trace among the extracts given from the boyish journal the earliest glimpses of future work and matured devotion, and that 'strong sense of family religion which is the best possible preparation for the highest kinds of churchmanship' (p. 70). In later years, alike at Stanford, Westminster, and Lincoln, the biography offers abundant evidence of the 'perfect confidence' which always characterized the tranquil life of the home-circle (pp. 327-33). The bishop 'always expected' his children 'to be interested in the things he was interested in himself' (p. 489), and, in the daily course of the household, the influence 'of the devoted wife, who was never far distant, and who was so completely one with him' (p. 506), is described with singular grace and fidelity. To many, the 'personal reminiscences' in the concluding chapter, which include the graphic recollections of the bishop's old friends, the present Archbishop of Canterbury and the late Dean Burgon (pp. 519-26), together with some kindly letters from the bishop himself, such as those on pp. 326, 327, will prove the most attractive parts of the book. They show how truly human in all the relationships of life the great ecclesiastical, scholar, and saint continued to be.

In view of recent discussions, many of our readers will turn with interest to the present biography to ascertain what line of action would have been adopted by the bishop with regard to the anxious question of the relation and duty of the English Church towards the

'Old Catholics.' We are of opinion that, with all his well-known hostility to the papacy, Dr. Wordsworth would not have advanced a step beyond the principles enunciated in the paragraph drafted by him in the report of the Lambeth Conference of 1878, which referred to the attitude of the Church of England towards foreign churches :

'We gladly welcome any effort for reform upon the model of the Primitive Church. We do not demand a rigid uniformity ; we deprecate needless divisions ; but to those who are drawn to us in the endeavour to free themselves from the yoke of error and superstition we are ready to offer all help, and such privileges as may be acceptable to them and are consistent with the maintenance of our own principles, as enunciated in our formularies' (p. 381).

A reference to the complete text of the Latin address delivered at the Cologne Congress in 1872 confirms this opinion. After reminding his audience that 'the heretical pravity of the Arian bishops was execrated by the orthodox Church, but she did not deny that they were bishops,' Dr. Wordsworth proceeded, '*Schisma vos patimini. Sed schisma ne facitote. Episcopos novos creare et constituere ne properate. Dioceses, aliis Episcopis jam assignatas, ne temerè invadatis.*' It is true that this strong language is somewhat modified in the English translation, 'Do not be in a hurry to consecrate new *diocesan* bishops,' but, in an accompanying note, the speaker invited the attention of the 'Old Catholics' to the history of the Meletian schism at Antioch in the fourth century, as showing the disastrous consequences that may arise, and long continue, from setting up a rival episcopate, even with good intentions' (Bishop Wordsworth's *Miscellanies, Literary and Religious*, vol. i. pp. 465, 469). It can hardly be supposed that, whatever the bishop may have felt as to the consecration of Bishops Reinkens and Herzog, he would have consented to proposals—happily avoided by the Lambeth Conference of 1888 as well as by that of 1878—the adoption of which would have involved the Anglican Communion in unforeseen, and perhaps disastrous, difficulties and confusion.

The narrative of the bishop's closing days and the record of his last words, '*novissima verba*,' preserved with filial piety by the Bishop of Salisbury in his memorial sermon, *Love and Discipline*, from which an extract is given (pp. 527-532), will touch and console many hearts. During the last five sorrowful months of life, his work for the Church was not intermitted. When 'the hand of death was already upon him' (p. 459)—and 'in losing his wife he had lost the sheet-anchor of his life' (p. 475)—he wrote, 'as a legacy for his grandchildren,' a little volume entitled, *How to Read the Old Testament*. That book is justly described as 'a brief, but very thorough, though simple sketch of the spiritual or mystical interpretation of the Old Testament, a subject which would keep the intellectual powers of a scholar in the prime of life and vigour at their fullest strain' (p. 459). No one can close this biography without being deeply impressed by the 'singleness of eye' which, in the language of Bishop King (p. 533), characterized Christopher Wordsworth, and with the dignity and proportion of a devoted life full of good works which will long endure.

The beautiful monument which has been erected in Lincoln Cathedral, not far from the site of St. Hugh's shrine, will, by its fidelity of execution and the appropriateness of its symbolism, suggest to future generations the main features of the bishop's life and work, as they have been happily represented in this instructive and edifying biography.

One Body: the Story of the Church of England. By the Rev. J. R. TURNOCK, M.A., Hon. Canon of Norwich, Vicar of St. Mary at the Tower, Ipswich. (London: Wells Gardner, Darton, & Co., 1888.)

THIS painstaking and readable little volume is a reprint of eight lectures delivered in the church of St. Mary at the Tower, Ipswich, a method of instruction in Church history which might with great advantage be imitated elsewhere. The writer has been careful to trace the various channels through which Christianity came to our country, though the results of the mission of St. Augustine are not sufficiently emphasized, while an additional lecture would have enabled general readers to distinguish with greater clearness the position of the 'British Church' and the work of the Celtic Mission, and have brought into greater prominence the figure of St. Aidan. The Oxford Movement and its results, especially the growth of the Colonial and Missionary Church, should have had a lecture to itself. Should another edition of the work be called for, its value would be increased by these additions. Meantime, we can recommend it to the notice both of clergy and intelligent laity, who are able by lectures or in other ways to spread accurate information about the history of the English Church.

Memoir of George Edmund Street, R.A. By his Son, ARTHUR EDMUND STREET. (London: J. Murray, 1888.)

MR. ARTHUR E. STREET'S memoir of his distinguished father is not calculated to alter the general verdict that no one is so ill-qualified to write his father's biography as his own son. No one, it is true, possesses such intimate knowledge of him, but much of that knowledge is not of a kind that it would be becoming for a child to publish to the world. The best of men have their foibles, the strongest characters have their weaknesses, and to these those who associate with them day by day in the undisguised intercourse of family life, unless unreasoning affection blinds their eyes, cannot be strangers. But the very nearness of the connection imposes a restraint with regard to the very features essential to a truthful portrait. All the world cried shame on the late Rector of Lincoln when in an autobiography, which certainly ought never to have been published, he exposed the foibles of his father and smirched the brilliancy with which popular belief had invested his sister, the idolized 'Sister Dora' of Walsall. Mr. Arthur Street would have been pronounced equally wanting in filial piety if any unfavourable animadversions on a father who, if ever a father did, deserved his son's most reverential affection, found place in his pages. It was certainly not his province to register his father's failings and admit

the world to his confidence. No one could ask it of him. But the result is, as it ever must be, that we possess a very partial likeness of the man, and we should have preferred an impartial likeness. Who is there who would not prefer a Cromwell with all his warts to an Elizabeth without her wrinkles? And the worst of it is that a biography which, like the one before us, is all panegyric, even though not destined for publication, and originally intended, as Mr. A. Street tells us, to be no more than a private record, provokes unjust depreciation, and the attempt to elevate a character, in many respects so truly admirable, to a pinnacle above common attainment provokes in some a malicious desire to drag it down below its proper level. Those who unfortunately had other experiences of Mr. Street will smile when they read that, as far as his son can remember, his father 'never spoke a harsh word,' and that he habitually 'exercised a great command over the expression of his feelings,' even though this description is qualified by the statement that 'his weapon, when he had to draw it, was the good broadsword of honest outspokenness, and not the rapier of innuendo,' of which indeed he was incapable. 'Straightforward, sincere, and charitable,' it is true he was, and, as his son writes, with 'the merits and demerits of a typical Englishman.' Though deeply wounded if another man's work was preferred to his, few men were ever more free from mean jealousy of his brother-architects, with whom, his son records, and we believe truly, his 'relations were always kindly and cordial,' and for the works of many of whom he had 'heartly admiration.' He also gladly recognized the merits of the young and rising members of his profession with whom he was brought in contact at the Institute of British Architects, in whom he perceived evidence of real ability, 'seeking them out diligently, and giving them what prominence he was able.' But to these attractive qualities was united a highly-strung susceptibility, which rendered him sensitive of every slight and made him wince under adverse criticism. Though never consciously 'placing himself on the pedestal of infallibility,' and as free from any offensive manifestation of self-conceit as any man could be, his self-reliance not unfrequently betrayed him into a dictatorial attitude and a somewhat petulant impatience of animadversion. Ready, as his son tells us he was, to 'criticize the products of his own imagination' most severely, and amend them if he found them faulty, when once they had passed that self-constituted ordeal he did not take the criticism of others kindly. If he had satisfied himself that he could not better the work, it did not please him that any one else should be of a different opinion. It is not surprising that, as his son tells us, 'those who put themselves into his hands as clients'—why not 'employers'? 'client,' now so fashionable, implies a subordinate position hardly in keeping with the true relation of the parties—'were generally content to do so with little restriction,' and 'generally found him inflexible' when they suggested alterations of his plans. It is true that his 'obvious self-reliance and strength of character begot a corresponding feeling of security in those for whom he worked, which'—such is the infectious power of unswerving belief in one's self—'often became

enthusiasm.' But it does not necessarily follow that this conviction of his infallibility was always well grounded, or that if he had thought it more possible that he could err, and had been more open to counsel from others, he might not sometimes have produced better work. The susceptibility of Mr. Street's nature appears painfully in the references in the *Memoir* to affronts, as he regarded them, passed upon him on the inauguration of some of his architectural works. On these occasions he was always pulled two ways; his 'natural horror at being made much of in his own person,' belonging to him as 'a typical Englishman,' being 'difficult to reconcile with the importance he rightly attached to his official position as architect of the building the completion of which was being celebrated.' 'He would and he would not.' He shrank from the recognition, and yet fretted if it was not accorded. At the annual gathering at East Grinstead, when 'his great work there was drawing to a close,' he writes, 'We found a great mob of people, among whom the shy architect seemed the least important;' and failing to secure his proper recognition, he 'effected his retreat from the tent before the speeches began.' Again, at the reopening of Bristol Cathedral—the nave of which is certainly one of his most successful, if not the most successful of his works—when, on going to Canon Girdlestone's to lunch, he found 'every one marshalled in before him,' he 'took the opportunity to slip away instead of going into the dining-room.' 'It suited me,' he writes, 'as I was rather in a hurry for time; and really it does seem rather absurd that all the young parsons and elderly aldermen should be thought of first, and the architect left to himself on such an occasion.' Mr. Arthur Street has done little service to his father's memory, which is so deservedly dear to him, by giving to the world these passing ebullitions of a wounded self-appreciation, which were only intended for the eye of a member of his family circle. To turn to another point, the writer of the *Memoir* has done a wrong to his father in bringing forward so prominently, as if it were a merit worthy of imitation, the railroad rapidity with which he got through his work. In Mr. Street himself the old adage was too often verified, 'Most haste, worst speed,' his works being often distinctly, and, we may add, necessarily, inferior to what he was capable of, if he had taken more time about them, while his example may prove very prejudicial to younger men who, with less than a tithe of his genius and consummate practical ability, attempt to rival his speed of production, and end in ill-considered, slovenly work. Good as much of Street's work is, it too often furnishes something to be regretted, which recalls Goldsmith's critical dictum, that 'the artist would have done better if he had taken more pains.' Mr. A. Street's record of incessant railway journeys—usually employed in trying to keep abreast of his overwhelming correspondence—with inspections of churches and cathedrals, rapid measurements and sketchings, and as rapid drawing up of plans and specifications—such as two railway journeys, a whole church measured, plotted to scale, and new parts designed in about seven hours and a half; and again, the American Church in Paris, 'about the most costly church he had ever had to build,' designed and

drawn to scale within an hour or so of his first visit to the site, these and other almost equally marvellous *tours de force*—fairly take away one's breath and render it no matter of surprise that after the warning of too little heeded headache, paralysis, the nemesis of overstrained brain power, should have put a final stop to his busy and successful career at the comparatively early age of fifty-seven, just a twelve-month before the formal opening by the Queen of the most important, though not, we think, the happiest of his architectural works, the New Law Courts, to the perfection of which in every detail, all, down to the woodwork and ironwork, thought out by himself and drawn conscientiously by his own hand, he had devoted such unremitting attention, with which, whatever the verdict posterity may pass upon them, the name of Street will be as inseparably connected as those of Wren with St. Paul's, of Chambers with Somerset House, and of Soane with the Bank of England.

We have spoken freely of some of the patent faults of the *Memoir*; we are glad to pass to a more welcome subject, its merits. We have to thank Mr. Arthur Street for the picture he has given us of the noble life of one who was not merely a distinguished architect, but a great and good man—a power distinctly 'making for righteousness,' truly described by his son as one who, 'wherever he bestowed his friendship, exerted by his steadfastness and rightmindedness a real and appreciable moral influence, of whose power none who were thrown much against him could help feeling sensible.' If the unbroken panegyric of the book has led us reluctantly to dwell upon some of the weaknesses of Mr. Street's character, we are not slow to recognize its general beauty and strength, which, while he commanded the admiration and esteem of all brought closely into contact with him, and the enthusiastic affection of those whom he honoured with his friendship, made him also the object of the sincere respect and regard of those connected with him in a lower station, who recognized, as workmen are not slow to do, the thoroughness of his knowledge of his work, and because he was 'never unjustly severe or foolishly lenient,' welcomed his 'strict and equal justice with more real satisfaction than they would have welcomed a weaker and less consistent course.' It is hardly necessary to inform our readers that Mr. Street's whole life was spent under the abiding sense of religion, and that before all things and above all things he was an earnest and devout Churchman. His art he chiefly valued as a handmaid to devotion, and regarding the powers of the possession of which he was conscious as a trust placed in his hands by God, he rejoiced to consecrate them to the glory of the Giver. 'The very first work which came into his hands, when as yet he was quite uncertain whether a second was ever to follow, as a true son of the Church, he resolved to give to her as a free-will offering.' The Church's rule was made as far as possible the rule of his life. To attend (with his wife) the early Saint's Day celebrations at All Saints, Margaret Street, of which, at Mr. Richards's request, he held the churchwardenship for many years, was a rule never departed from. On arriving in London at half-past seven on Sunday morning, after a very cold journey from Dublin

involving a nearly five-hours' crossing, he gives himself 'a very mild polish,' and is in his place at church at eight o'clock. When 'the chief object' of his life had been accomplished in the erection at his own cost, as a memorial to the wife of his youth, of a church for the outlying district in which his own house had been built—(he beautifully writes, 'I have had such a happy, prosperous life that it is time for me to say *Quid retribuam Domino?*')—he showed in his person how it should be used: his 'devout example, his reverence and devotion, bearing fruit in the heartiness and orderliness of the churchgoers.' 'Amid all the satisfactions of the place he had chosen for his home, this church, the memorial of his griefs, was the greatest, and he rarely failed to take advantage of the week-day service when there. The establishment of week-day services was one of the aims of his life, and he was happy in having been able to carry out his wish so near his own doors.'

It only remains for us to say that ample justice is done in the *Memoir* to the part taken in shaping his career by the present Dean of Lincoln, by whose advice he settled at Wantage in 1850, which led to his becoming architect for the diocese of Oxford, and by our lamented friend the Rev. Benjamin Webb, who recommended his moving to London in 1855, and that a full account is given, in chronological order, of the numerous great competitions in which he was engaged—Lille, Constantinople, the National Gallery, the New Law Courts (the last of the series, and the only one in which he was successful, but which he never saw completed), with the wearisome 'battle of the sites,' which it was needless to resuscitate—together with the chief works of new building and of restorations of old buildings which came from his hand, of which lists are appended which, though not pretending to exhaustiveness, fill ten closely-printed double-column pages:—a sufficient testimony to the fertility of his power of production and the marvellous rapidity of his execution. It may be questioned whether, if he had been content to do less, and had concentrated his confessedly remarkable powers on fewer objects, he would not have left a greater name to posterity. *Ne multa sed multum* is a rule which cannot be safely neglected. The volume has a fairly good index, chiefly topographical, but it wants a table of contents—a serious defect. Its permanent value is much increased by the republication in the Appendix of Mr. Street's six Lectures to the students at the Royal Academy as Professor of Architecture, which proclaim his complete mastery of the science of mediæval ecclesiastical architecture.

The Life of the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P. By T. WEMYSS REID. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1888).

MR. FORSTER occupied so prominent a place for some time, and was so much respected by men of all classes for his nobility of character and generosity of purpose, that the memorial of his life will be extensively read. Mr. Reid has evidently the pen of a ready writer; and whilst his narrative is interesting and his style attractive, we regret that he has not confined himself to somewhat narrower limits, and

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shown himself somewhat less of a universal admirer. Both at the beginning and close of the volumes it seems to have been forgotten that there is much which interests the members of a man's own family which it is unnecessary to place before the general reader by whom these volumes will be studied. Mr. Forster was born in 1818. His father was an indefatigable and enthusiastic preacher amongst the Quakers. His mother, sister of the first Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, was also a frequent preacher in the same sect. Young Forster followed earnestly the bent naturally given by such parents, and seems to have been prematurely given and disposed to take part in the political and philanthropic contests of the day. Of his youth his biographer seems to think it impossible to speak in too flowing terms. He tells us: 'The whole picture of the youth during those days at school is that of an eminently healthy and noble soul—generous, sensitive, bright, and sympathetic, absolutely free from the small meannesses which are at times to be found in the dispositions even of schoolboys.' When his vocation for life had to be chosen his father resolved that he should follow some trade, as being more lucrative than the profession of a barrister, which the son desired, the father urging 'the many difficulties which attended the path of a young barrister, the fewness of the prizes of the profession, and the long period which must be endured in almost every case before even a modest competency can be earned;' thus strangely opposing, for his son, the pursuit of a self-sacrificing disposition of his life, possibly because he had felt the strain in his own case, which, without the supports provided by the Church, we can readily believe to have been excessive. For a time Mr. Forster was engaged with a manufacturer at Norwich; thence he was transferred to Darlington, and afterwards to an office in London, and at the three places learned all that was needed for the successful carrying on of the manufacture of merinos at Bradford, where he was joined in partnership by Mr. Fison. He took the greatest interest in the moral and physical welfare of the hands in his mills, and was ever ready to assist in philanthropic works. At the same time he took an active part in politics as an advanced Radical for those days. He was the eager advocate of universal suffrage; but his views on this subject became afterwards considerably modified. In 1850 he married a daughter of Dr. Arnold, and for marrying out of his own sect he was expelled from the Society of Quakers. His great energy and strong good sense commanded the respect of his neighbours, and he occupied a position of considerable influence, not only in his own party, but in the country. After one or two unsuccessful attempts to get into Parliament as member for Leeds, he was elected in 1861 for Bradford. He at that time was an ardent champion for a national system of education, contending that the voluntary system had been a complete failure in its endeavour to meet the educational wants of the country (i. 311). In this we think he did scant justice to efforts which had effected much during the comparatively short time that it had been encouraged by a small amount of State help; and we doubt whether the work could not have been much better done in every

way by a more liberal amount of State assistance and volunteers, on the principle which prevailed before 1870, than it has been by the system that was then introduced. When Mr. Lowe proposed his scheme of payment by results, in 1862, Mr. Forster 'believed that it would aggravate rather than remove the existing evils. His chief opposition was to the mechanical grouping of children by age in deciding their claim to the capitation fee;' and greatly through his co-operation with Mr. Walpole the scheme was modified, to the disgust of its author, who thereupon resigned his office as Vice-President of the Privy Council. In 1865 he was for a short time Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and had to deal with the outbreak in Jamaica under Governor Eyre. The uncompromising views which he had always held and keenly enforced on the subject of slavery naturally biassed him against the Governor; but he cordially assented to the comparatively moderate proposals of his chief, which were far from satisfying the extreme men of his party. In the following year his party resigned office, but towards the close of 1868 regained power, when Mr. Forster became Vice-President of the Education Department, and shortly undertook the most important work of his life. During the recess of 1869 he placed before the Cabinet a memorandum, in which he sketched the lines on which he thought an Education Bill ought to be drawn. Substantially, his proposals were adopted in the Bill which he introduced in the following year. The aim he placed before himself was (1) to cover the country with good schools; (2) to get the parents to send their children to school (i. 464). He had previously announced, in 1869, that he was 'resolved not to destroy anything in the existing system that was good, if he could avoid it' (i. 461). This had angered his Radical friends, who chiefly cared for an Education Bill because they hoped it would injure, if not destroy, the influence of the Church upon the education of the country. As the biographer says—

'To a section of the Liberal Nonconformists it seemed that the schools established under the Minutes of Council by the clergy were a violation of those principles to which they clung so stoutly, and their hope was that any scheme of national education would either transfer the Church and other denominational schools to the control of the ratepayers, or leave them to be carried on without any assistance whatever from the State' (i. 460).

For not falling in with this view Mr. Forster had to encounter the bitter hostility of men of his own party; and in fact they never forgave him. With regard to the religious teaching to be given in the schools he felt as a man of a devout and religious mind, who had been brought up as a Quaker, and who was unbaptized, might be expected to feel. He thought it possible for schools to be Christian without teaching any definite Christian doctrine, or, as it is expressed in the memorandum he presented to the Cabinet, 'We are and mean to remain, a Christian people, and we have made up our minds that the Government shall not in future legislation attempt to teach any special form of Christian faith' (i. 468). This was embodied in the Cowper-Temple clause, which, though introduced by a friend of the

Government and not by a member of it, exactly expressed Mr. Forster's views. He was willing to allow School Boards to make grants to denominational schools; but this proposal was withdrawn to gratify the extreme party, who were represented by the Birmingham League. The friends of voluntary schools were promised a substantial addition to the grant from the Education Department as compensation. This was given, but has been practically nullified by that Department demanding such an increased expenditure as more than swallows up the additional sum paid by the State. The result of the Education Act has been to supply the country with an abundance of schools, and to enforce the attendance of children; but its moral, spiritual, and social results cannot be regarded as satisfactory. If we take into account the tens of thousands of children detained in reformatory and industrial schools, it is difficult to show that crime has materially decreased, while Socialism, Communism, and sedition appear to have increased. To Mr. Forster was also entrusted the Ballot Bill, which was a doubtful gain, if not a positive loss, to the community. After labouring earnestly for his party in Parliament in opposition to the foreign policy of the Government of which Mr. Disraeli was the chief, and in the country for the return of members of the Liberal party at the election of 1880, he was made Secretary for Ireland on that party triumphing and succeeding to office. Possessed with the Radical idea that most of the ills under which that unhappy country was labouring arose from bad legislation, he desired to be a beneficent ruler, who should remove all such evils, and bring happiness and prosperity to the land. The result was grievously disappointing. In spite of his generous and heroic efforts to ameliorate the condition of things, he found them ever growing from bad to worse. Wearied and pained by the result, he was undaunted, and nothing could persuade him to surrender the interests of Great Britain to a conspiracy which he regarded as seditious and ruinous to all good government. When Mr. Gladstone and the rest of the Cabinet took a different view he resigned, after holding his office for two years, and steadfastly upheld the principles for which he contended to the end. He was certainly a high-minded, patriotic, brave, and generous statesman. We think that the bias given to his mind in childhood was unfortunate, and that the legislation which he inaugurated and supported was often the reverse of beneficial to the country, but we cannot withhold our tribute of admiration to the purity and sincerity of his motives, and the ability and the earnestness with which he battled for what he believed to be the right. In the autumn of 1885 he was overtaken by an illness which at first seemed trifling, and which appears to have puzzled the doctors a good deal at first, and after lingering till the following April he died, to the great grief of a large circle of attached friends and the regret of his fellow-countrymen.

Ninette : an Idyll of Provence. By the author of *Vera*, *Blue Roses*, *The Maritime Alps and their Seaboard*, &c. &c. (London : Hurst and Blackett, 1888.)

A NEW story by the author of *Vera* would naturally give rise to great expectations among the lovers of good fiction ; the more so as an interval of ten years has elapsed since that popular writer produced her last novel. In these days of rapid succession of events and inventions, either of the head or hand, it is no small compliment to the author that *Vera* should still be so 'freshly remembered ;' but so long as Englishmen are Englishmen the story in which the fortunes of a Crimean hero are made with consummate skill to blend with those of a beautiful daughter of Russia, will hold its own, not only for this, but through many a succeeding generation. Wide as the poles asunder is the difference between the story of *Vera* and that of the writer's latest work, *Ninette*. In plot, situations, and character it would be difficult to conceive a greater contrast than that presented by the two novels. There is only one exception, the spot where the scene is laid, and which, to judge from the masterly description, the thorough knowledge of the country, with its agricultural resources and the habits of the people, has certainly not in vain been the residence of the writer for the last seventeen years. It is to this aspect of the Riviera that the reader's attention is directed—the study of the native character and humbler method of life pursued by the natural inhabitants of the Maritime Alps rather than to the gay, esoteric existence of the English and foreign society which frequent the fashionable resorts of Cannes and Nice. Dedications of books are seldom even looked at, much less studied ; but in them, as in the second title of the book, there very often lies the clue to the succeeding pages—a clue, in the first instance, to the spirit in which they are composed, in the second to the subject they profess to treat.

Ninette is dedicated with much grace and feeling to the memory of a lady whose inherited claim to rank and distinction became merged in the title of 'Duchess of the Poor,' which she won for herself by a life of benevolence and self-denial spent among her poorer brethren. Here, then, is the clue to the true appreciation of such claims upon every thoughtful and generous mind which is the key note of the story ; while the second title of the book, *An Idyll of Provence*, makes any further introduction unnecessary to the perfect picture of French country life which is laid before the reader.

Faithful, simple, and true as a Dutch painting in all the accessories down to the very minutest detail, yet in the pathetic, tender touches, in the passionate love of the beautiful, in the suggestion of the sublime, it possesses qualities which are too often conspicuous by their absence from the canvas of a Dutch artist. It would, perhaps, be more from Meissonnier, in his best mood, that might be expected the series of cabinet pictures which succeed each other, and of which the first may be found in the first paragraph of the book. But the writer is too thoroughly acquainted with the mysteries of her craft to be led away by great descriptive power to overlay her pages with description to the detriment of the narrative.

Ninette is a story of sustained power from beginning to end, it is put together according to the true principles of art ; moreover, we congratulate the author upon her hero and heroine. *Ninette*, in her simple untaught rectitude of conduct, her innate modesty, and childlike faith, recalls some of the happiest touches in the *Lucia* of the immortal *Promessi Sposi*. Noel Cresp, the soldier lover, as constant as Renzo, is of sterner stuff, and had he lived in the sixteenth instead of the nineteenth century, would have found some equivalent for the 'three respectful summonses' from which it would have been impossible for even a Don Abbondio to escape. His character is admirably drawn and sustained throughout with firmness and delicacy.

It would be difficult to paint a more idyllic scene or one more worthy of a pastoral play than that described at p. 171 :—

'Noel was just going to call *Ninette* when he discovered her close to his feet. There, all her length on the turf, with one hand under her head, and with a basket of wood strawberries at her side, lay the sleeping girl. Noel stood for a moment gazing at her, with one hand shading his eyes and in the other twisting a branch of ivy heavy with its black berries. The little face with its closed lips was pale ; the sleeves of her cotton were frayed and faded, yet he felt his heart beat as it had only done when in Tonquin at the commencement of a battle. He was positively afraid to wake her ; her, the child whom he remembered as climbing apple-trees, and riding the most undisciplined he-goat in the valley of the Loup while she held on by its horns. How sound her sleep was now ! The air just lifted her little curls, and they gave a smiling childlike beauty to her head. . . . How was he to wake her ? Should he lift her hand ? kiss her sweet half-opened mouth ? or touch her eyelids with the branch he held ? Suddenly taking a strawberry from her basket he put it inside her lips. *Ninette* opened her eyes with a little cry and sat upright.'

But for anticipating the pleasure of the book itself the quotation might extend itself to greater length, and other passages might be cited of equally finished workmanship which shine like jewels in the chain of the narrative. There is great originality in the character of the wizard Uncle Anfos Ghiz, and his devout, narrow-minded sister Nerta, who form a strange, but not really ill-assorted, partnership together, in their quaint homestead. The character of the old grandmother, Petronilla, has been sketched with much feeling and tenderness, and presents a beautiful picture of a contented and holy old age in the midst of circumstances of vice, discomfort, and misery, which, but for the love of her granddaughter, would make the sum of all that is emphatically unlovely upon earth.

The earthquake at the Riviera two years since forms a very powerful and legitimate climax for the story ; and none but an eyewitness could have conveyed so vivid an impression of the dawn of that awful Ash-Wednesday :—

'*Ninette*, finding herself alone in the dark, first crossed the room and then threw open the wooden shutter of the window that filled its eastern gable. Day really had begun. A bird twittered. A paleness was creeping up behind the crags, and the dark mass of the town, with its high-piled castle, reared itself grim, ill-defined, and almost portentous against the sky. The valley and the garden, so thick set with orange-trees, were

all shadowy and chill; but the edges of the clouds had begun to flush under the first influences of the dawn, where slumbrous earth and watery sky seemed to melt into one. A distant bell rang, the notes of the peal scattering themselves as it were along the west wind, and breaking softly in the air till, ceasing to vibrate, they were lost.

'The morning light, coming in at the window and striking Ninette full in the face, showed all her pallor and all her grave resolution. She meant to rise from her knees and to go out, but some overmastering power momentarily rooted her to the floor.

'There came along the ground a dull, rumbling noise, rolling nearer and louder, till it was like the passing of a battery of heavy guns when the drivers drive furiously. The air grew full of sounds of groanings that could not be uttered, as if the earth, big with some monstrous birth of time, was heaving and bellowing, and bringing forth in convulsive throes. First the ground rose and then fell as suddenly, and there came a breath as of a fast-sweeping tempest let loose in the four corners of heaven. Then the walls, expanding, made the rafters creak; then the casements falling together as if rattling under a giant's hand, and Ninette, feeling the floor reel under her, made a few hasty steps towards the door. Then, to the rattling noises of chairs and lamps and mirror and *bénitier*, and of all near objects falling to the ground, there succeeded a terrific crash, and two loud resounding thuds, as of the crags rent in twain, that made the earth and the air vibrate, and then echoed away among the hills' (pp. 297-300).

We have said that the story of *Ninette* is like a beautiful painting, and we know that no picture could claim to be a work of art which was painted all in light without any shadow at all; also that it is an accepted canon of art to set the highest light against the greatest dark. There are purposely very dark shadows in this picture, and the characters of the villain and his accomplice are drawn with an unsparing hand; but the design of the story is to represent the condition of France after the centenary, so soon about to complete itself, of that 'Liberté, Egalité, and Fraternité' which was supposed to be the panacea for all the people's woes; it coincides with the recent reply of the Comte de Paris to the deputation of Parisian workmen; it illustrates the theme of the eloquent Italian preacher who boldly maintained that liberty without religion is in reality *the bondage of the slave*, and that there is no true liberty but that 'wherewith Christ has made us free.' Let the novelist then bear witness to the same great truth, and the reader will more readily acquiesce in the faithful discharge of the first part of her duty

'To brand the front of vice with pointed scorn,'

when, as in *Ninette*, she is not deterred by any false sentiment, any morbid love of the horrible, from fulfilling the remainder of the injunction—

'And virtue's smiling brow with votive wreaths adorn.'

England in the Fifteenth Century. By the Rev. W. DENTON, M.A., Worcester College, Oxford. (London : George Bell and Sons, 1888.)

WE are told in the preface of this book that the original intention of its author 'had been to publish two series, each complete in itself.' The first is the present volume, the second would have been a companion sketch of the ecclesiastical state of England. To many persons vol. iii. of Stubbs's *Constitutional History*, or the lighter pages of John Richard Green, contain all that they desire to know of these troublous times. But few who may be persuaded to read Mr. Denton's book will consider it superfluous; rather, we think, they will regret that he has not been spared to finish the task so well begun. The issue of posthumous notes is always difficult, and frequently disappointing; but chapter xi. of Green's *Conquest of England* may encourage the literary executors of Mr. Denton to edit the materials collected by him. Work such as his ought not to be wasted; the care and thoroughness displayed abundantly in the volume now published lead us ardently to wish for other labourers, like-minded, in the same field.

Hume, Hallam, Carte, were prejudiced against Edward I. But his commanding figure now rises clearly in our English story; and Mr. Denton hardly yields to the Bishop of Chester in admiration of the great king. 'We shall have,' he says (p. 61), 'to reach forward to the sixteenth century, and to the days of the great queen, to find a period comparable in any one line of progress with the times of Edward. In several respects the Elizabethan age probably falls below the level of the age of Edward I.' Had his reign been prolonged to the length of his father's, 'England would have continued to advance in health and peace, and perhaps in godliness' (p. 62).

From 1307 to 1485 the national career was chiefly downward; and 'the evils of the time required a rough but honest far-reaching despotism' (p. 125) to save a kingdom 'which seemed on the point of dissolution.'

Edward I. built up the constitution, though Alfred would have been less astonished at it than William I. 'Henry VII. gave to England a dynasty of dictators rather than a line of constitutional sovereigns;' but 'constitutional sovereignty would have been out of place in the disordered times ushered in by the War of the Roses' (p. 125). The light of modern research assures us what those times really were; and from the Rolls Series to articles in contemporary magazines, and even manuscript histories of parishes, no evidence is neglected in these candid pages. The grievous tale of want and privation, pestilence and war, is fully told, gathered from social and domestic annals, as well as from royal chronicles and records: the lust and violence and cruelty which marked the Plantagenets, York and Lancaster alike; the physical weakness and moral degradation of the baronage; the decay of the yeomanry; the misfortune of trader and artisan; the distress of the peasantry; the whole story of national decline. And the indictment is made soberly; its array of well-attested facts can neither be disputed nor put aside.

Incidentally many statements strike us, some conspicuous for contravention of current opinion : notably the results of Bannockburn (pp. 31-66). Few Scotchmen will relish Mr. Denton's conclusion, that 'five hundred years of suffering, during which great part of Scotland relapsed into barbarism, were the consequence of Edward's death and the worthlessness of his successor.' . . . 'At the moment when, unhappily for both countries, an English nobleman, availing himself of provincial prejudices, raised with the help of the highland clans the standard of rebellion against Edward, the people of Scotland were advancing materially and intellectually on a par with those of England,' . . . and the defeat at Bannockburn 'was the source of long misfortune to England, and of the most terrible calamities that ever befel Scotland.'

Another bold departure from usual criticism is the explanation on page 19 of Edward's famous statute *De Religiosis*. And we are also glad to see stated plainly of the Feudal System that 'in its completeness it never gained a footing in England' (p. 27).

Unusual interest will be attracted at present to the insurrection of copyhold tenants and agricultural labourers in the reign of Richard II. (pp. 105 *sqq.*). The Ordinance of 1349, commonly called the *Statute of Labourers*, though it was issued prior to consent of Parliament, is well treated on pages 219, 239 ; and more fully in the Appendix, Note B, p. 311. Mr. Denton's statements should be read beside those of Mr. Green¹ and Bishop Stubbs.²

An early view of the allotment question (*circa* 1500) may be found on p. 246, and the original letter of the worthy vicar of Quinton is given on p. 318, Appendix D.

Another picture of new life in the old will be seen in the description of local courts ; a return to which, in the form of county councils, is a feature of modern times. The dissolution of these ancient assemblies was attended with many and great disadvantages :—

'It diminished the share once possessed by the people in the government of the country, deprived them of one valuable element of political education, and turned their attention more to party objects than to social improvement. More than this, the extinction of these local tribunals has thrown upon parliament a mass of business it is oftentimes unable to manage ; or attempts to manage without possessing any local knowledge, and therefore naturally mismanages ; and it is every year adding to the inefficiency of the one court which has swallowed up almost every other' (pp. 16, 17).

Further noteworthy passages tempt the reader to linger, but we have space for only one reflection more—a regret that the clergy did not obey the Writ of Summons for the Assembly of 1295. For by their continual neglect through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they lost the privilege of sitting in Parliament at all.

¹ *History of the English People*, vol. i. book iv. p. 431.

² *Constitutional History of England*, vol. iii. p. 603.

Ulysses, or Scenes and Studies in Many Lands. By W. GIFFORD PALGRAVE, H.M. Minister Resident in Uruguay. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1888.)

MR. PALGRAVE is a great traveller, and it is not without reason that he ventures to bestow on himself the title of Ulysses. But it is not merely the seeing of cities and the manners of many men that constitutes a Ulysses. There is a certain way of seeing them and a certain kind of character, such as Homer describes, Sophocles hints at, and Tennyson has modernized, which makes up the conception of Ulysses, which to our mind Mr. Palgrave hardly embodies. The freshness, simplicity, and intense poetical charm of the *Odyssey* are hardly represented in what we may venture to call the *Palgraviad*. The element of personal adventure is certainly subordinated to that of useful information. There is one circumstance about the work which is rather puzzling to a reviewer. We are not sure how far the present collection of miscellaneous papers has or has not been already published. Some of them certainly have been so published, for we are referred to the *Cornhill*, the *Fortnightly*, and *Macmillan*. Others contain no such reference, but it is none the less certain that they are republications. Of some few it is impossible to speak with certainty. It is to be regretted that this point is not made clear.

There is a lack of personal interest in the volume. It would have been better to have thrown it more into the form of an autobiography, and to have supplied some missing links and references. As it is we may have a Ulysses, but we certainly have not got an *Odyssey*. The book has neither contents nor an index, which Bayle said was the soul of a book. The longest article is an Arabian story, which the author appears to have thought too good to be lost, but which is out of harmony with the general design of the volume. Taken for what it is, a collection of travel papers in regions so far apart as Georgia and the West Indian Isles, we have the summarized results of various experiences by an observant and highly cultivated traveller, utilising some special advantages. They often give full information on subjects where we desiderate such. Thus the paper entitled 'Phra-bat' is some account of Siamese Buddhism, drawn from a three years' residence in Siam, or Thai, which Mr. Palgrave thinks the more correct name. The word 'Phra-bat' signifies literally 'the foot-print of the Lord,' and is applied to a range of hills, the scene of many pilgrimages, in one locality of which the supposed foot-print is to be found. The foot-print symbol is a favourite one in Buddhist countries, and Mr. Gifford says, 'Christianity and Mohammedanism [bracketed together] alike claim veneration for the foot-marks of their respective founders at Jerusalem, Damascus, and Rome.' No one supposes that Christianity was ever bound up with any legendary foot-print of the Redeemer. To this shrine, where there is a gigantic statue of Buddha in the midst of a crowd of little Buddhas, the Siamese devotees continually resort. The supposed foot-print is nearly five feet by three, and bears no resemblance whatever to a human foot. It is, however, considered identified by a hundred and eight distinctive marks. Mr. Palgrave is very much

impressed with the Buddhist worship. 'The bloody sacrifices of Greece and Rome, the monster-peopled twilights of Hindoo worship, the melancholy symbols of pain and death so frequent in Catholic sanctuaries, the dull weary decorum of a Protestant church—none of these have place in "Phra-bat," where, on the contrary, all combines to announce that religion is something joyful, something belonging to the bright side of life, and to be approached accordingly' (p. 187). Does Mr. Palgrave consider that this is a fair account of a 'Catholic sanctuary' or 'Protestant church'? He exclaims *Esto perpetua* to the Buddhism of Siam. 'The best wish of her friends may rightly be that she may long continue faithful as ever to the memory of her first law-giver, and to the system symbolized at Phra-bat and Phrai-Chai.' He is strongly against missionaries, and advises us not to interfere with the worship of idols, as he considers that we are all idolaters ourselves (see p. 164).

We go, with our author, from the far East to the far West. His narrative of a journey 'From Monte Video to Paraguay' is interesting. But here, as elsewhere, we have to doubt the accuracy of our author's judgment. 'I will venture,' he writes, 'on a not ungrounded hope that the venturesome Confederations and Republics of the American South may have before them a nobler destiny than has yet been apportioned to their counterpart, on the northern continent, higher aims and wider fulfilment.' We can see nothing in Mr. Palgrave's narrative, or in any similar narratives, that gives any sure grounds for such a hope. He incidentally mentions that he has never been to the United States, or, we suppose, to Canada, which is perhaps an explanation of the paragraph. The climatic differences, the racial differences are such, that there can never be any question of South America surpassing North America. The chapter consists of a historical account of the country, during and since the dictatorship of Lopez, necessarily meagre, and some particulars of its social life and natural productions. Among these last is the yerva, 'the dry and pulverised leaf often spoken of as Paraguayan tea,' and 'maté,' a light tonic drink, not unlike Japanese tea. He thinks that the real tea of China might be introduced and supplant both. The contrast between the anticipations of his prefatory note and the unfavourable description of places and people is at least remarkable. He thinks that the native race is probably Mongolian, or perhaps had a separate creation to themselves. Anyhow they do not belong to the *race Adamique*.

'Nor does it appear why the same cause or causes [causes?], whatever it or they may be, which originated the Mongolian race in Asia, should not, simultaneously or at a different period of our planet's existence, have originated another race of mankind in America, identical or nearly so with the first, yet wholly independent of it in genealogical descent' (p. 284).

We can only give a *catalogue raisonné* of the other papers. They are: (1) 'Byzantine Anatolia,' too wide a title for a limited survey; (2) 'The Monastery of Sumdar,' which is interesting and reminds us of Curzon's books; (3) 'Anatolian Spectre Stories,' hardly within the

range of a volume of travels ; (4) 'Turkish Georgia ;' (5) 'Upper Egypt and Thebes,' very much after date ; (6) 'West Indian Memo-ries ;' (7) 'The Three Cities,' which is, however, only a description of one of them, Hong-Kong ; (8) 'Kioto,' a chapter on the early nature-worship of Japan before Buddha. One other paper has to be enumerated, 'Malay Life in the Philippines,' which is fresh and bright, and more interesting than most of the others. The following extract will be *à propos* to the recent discussion respecting Mr. Isaac Taylor's views on Mohammedanism :

'Not less does experience show that, sooner or later, the tribe, the nation, that casts in its lot with Islam, is stricken as by a blight ; its freshness, its plasticity disappear first, then its vigour, then its reparative and reproductive power, and it petrifies or perishes. With the abstract and theoretical merits of Monotheism or Polytheism, Islam or Christianity, I have nothing to do ; but this much is certain, that within the circle of the Philippine archipelago itself—not to seek examples further away—the contrast between the Mahometan villages on the southernmost islands, and the Christian ones elsewhere, is very remarkable, nor by any means favourable to the former' (pp. 153-4).

Breviarium Romanum a Francisco Cardinali Quignonio editum et recognitum juxta Editionem Venetiis A.D. 1535 impressam. Curante JOHANNE WICKHAM LEGG, Societatis Antiquariorum atque Collegii Regalis Medicorum Londinensium Socio, in Nosocomio Sancti Bartholomæi olim Prælectore. Cantabrigiæ: Typis atque impensis Academiæ. MDCCCLXXXVIII.

PRESSURE of other matter has again crowded out the fuller account of Dr. Wickham Legg's admirable edition of the First Text of the Quignon Breviary, which we promised to give our readers, when in a few hurried lines at the close of our number for April 1888 we announced the important fact of its publication. This promise we hope to redeem next January, but meanwhile we are anxious to impress upon all who are interested in liturgical studies how great is the service which Dr. Legg and the Cambridge University Press, between them, have rendered by giving us in a handy volume—matching in size and general 'get up' the Cambridge edition of the *Sarum Breviary*—the ready means of comparing the Cardinal's Reformed Breviary with our own Book of Common Prayer. In one respect we should have been truly glad if the book had been somewhat less handy. For the reduction in bulk is due to the fact that neither the Lessons nor the Psalms are printed in full, only the opening and closing words of each being given. This we cannot but consider a very serious drawback. It obviously involves the necessity of incessant reference to a copy of the Vulgate. It also entails a somewhat infelicitous contrast ; for the 'Third Lessons' from non-Biblical sources enjoy the privilege of being printed in full, which is denied to the more sacred Lessons from the Bible itself. Dr. Legg regrets he has not been able 'to strike the source' of all these 'Third Lessons.' He ought rather to congratulate himself on his success, for, as we make out, there are only seventeen which he has failed to identify, in consequence of enforced absence from a large library,

and these we have no doubt he will be able to supply in time for a second edition, when we trust the University Press will reconsider their determination to give nothing but the headings of the Psalter and other Biblical portions. The labour which Dr. Legg has bestowed on the editing of this First Text—to be followed as we trust by an edition of the Second Text—is beyond all praise. In this branch of liturgical literature the University Press has certainly been fortunate in its editors. We hope the syndicate may meet with every encouragement to continue labours so auspiciously begun.

Our remarks on the use and general history of this Breviary and on its influence on other breviaries and liturgies—especially our own Matins and Evensong—we reserve for the next number. Attempts have been made, in certain quarters, to represent Cardinal Quignon's Reformed Breviary as only intended for private use. We should have thought this hard to reconcile both with the facts of the case, and also with the language of Pope Paul III. in the volume before us, p. xxvi. But what are facts to those who need to bolster up a theory?

The Armour of Light, and other Sermons, preached before the Queen.

By the Rev. GEORGE PROTHERO, M.A., of Brasenose College, Oxford, Chaplain in Ordinary to Her Majesty the Queen, Canon of Westminster, and Rector of Whippingham. Revised and prepared for publication by ROWLAND E. PROTHERO, Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. (London : Rivingtons, 1888.)

IN a very charming, and even touching, Preface, written on his seventy-first birthday, Canon Prothero submits to us four motives which have induced him to publish this volume of Sermons, and thus 'for the first time set his name to a printed book.' We beg to assure him that it was quite unnecessary to put forward a word of apology or of justification for what he has done. He modestly admits that of the motives thus alleged none are 'adequate.' 'I have essayed,' he adds, 'no original explanation of doctrinal difficulties; I have preached no new gospel; I have offered no fresh interpretation of *insoluble problems*' (is this conscious or unconscious sarcasm?); 'I have attempted no novel reconciliation of the conflicting claims of religion and modern thought.' May not this be the very source of the charm which these Sermons seem to us to possess? It is this unobtrusiveness of treatment, this willingness—nay, this desire—to be absorbed, to be effaced, by the overpowering vastness of the themes he handles, which is at the root of the power which the simple words of these Sermons undoubtedly exercise. They are pre-eminently—will the criticism be thought grotesque?—the sermons of a gentleman. By which we mean, there is in the style a characteristic amount of dignified reserve and retiringness, a shrinking from all exaggeration in thought or expression, and above all a total absence of self-assertion and self-consciousness. The preacher's one desire seems to be to rouse the mental activity and quicken the spiritual life of his hearers. We do not find a trace in these pages of the spirit so ably described and so justly denounced in the following passage extracted

from the very beautiful sermon on the 'Simplicity of Christ's Teaching' (p. 268) :—

'It is a very common habit among religious men or women to pick and choose their own line in religion, and to follow their own particular religious crotchet. God's way is too old-fashioned for them ; it is not abreast of the times ; it is not spiritual enough. It might have suited the infancy of Christian faith. But in the nineteenth century a larger field of action is required ; more room is needed for the expansion and the development of spiritual cravings than was necessary or desirable in the first ages of a primitive Christianity. It is beyond denial that such persons are dissatisfied unless they are men of mark. But there is a very different view of the true sign of spirituality. "We are never so high in spiritual life as when we seem just like everybody else."

This kind of flavour and treatment in sermons may be by some considered jejune and old-fashioned, but when we find a Church Congress on the point of meeting to consider, *inter alia*, the 'adaptation of the creeds (!!!) to modern needs,' we think it is high time to rally round the standard of those who are old-fashioned enough to cling to 'the faith once delivered unto the saints.'

We cannot refrain from quoting one more passage from this charming volume, in the editing of which the author owns himself 'indebted on every page, if not in every line,' to his son, Mr. Rowland E. Prothero. Our quotation is from the Preface:—

'Sermons form the *hortus siccus* of a parson's life. Here are the pale flowers of my spring ; here are the ruddier blooms into which my summer heat has entered ; here the faded marigolds of ripe October ; here the pinched blossoms that have defied the chilling frosts of winter. They are ready, as it were, to crumble ; yet for me they retain a fragrance and colour ; for me they possess the charm of association and of memory. Strangers will find in them no such fascination ; they will probably think them sapless, hueless, scentless.'

With the concluding words of this passage our readers will have gathered that we entirely and emphatically disagree.

BRIEF NOTES ON NEW BOOKS, NEW EDITIONS, PERIODICALS, &c.

IN our last number, p. 492, we called attention to the two first volumes of a reissue of the works of Bishop Kaye, and pointed out the substantial value of his contributions to patristic literature and ecclesiastical history. Five more volumes have appeared since then, viz. : *Works of John Kay, Bishop of Lincoln* ; vol. iii. *The Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr* ; vol. iv. *The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius* ; vol. v. *The Council of Nicæa in Connexion with the Life of Athanasius* ; vol. vi. *Sermons and Addresses* ; vol. vii. *Charges, Speeches, and Letters* (London: Rivingtons, 1888). To none of these volumes is there any index, which materially interferes with their usefulness. The last volume, which contains *Charges, &c.*, from 1821 onwards, is extremely interesting as exhibiting the first germ of controversies and of legislation which have now been finally disposed of—not always *for good*. The addresses to Eton boys before and

after Confirmation, in vol. vi., leave much to be desired in tone and teaching.

Five new volumes have appeared in *The Ancient and Modern Library of Theological Literature* (London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden, and Welsh, 1888) since we last had occasion to recommend this valuable series. They are as follows : 1. *The First Prayer-Book of King Edward VI.*, 1549, reprinted from a copy in the British Museum. 2. *The Second Prayer-Book of King Edward VI.*, 1552, reprinted, &c. 3. *The Whole Duty of Man.* 4. *The Orations of St. Athanasius against the Arians.* 5. *Christ's Victory and Triumph*, by Giles Fletcher ; and other Poems of the Seventeenth Century. All will welcome the two first of these volumes, the reprints of the first and second Prayer-Books of Edward VI. The Editor tells us in the Preface to No. 1, that it is intended in subsequent volumes to show the successive changes which have brought our Liturgy to its present shape. From the Preface we extract a passage which may usefully stimulate inquiry among those who are curious in hunting through bookstalls, &c. :—

‘Whilst the Committee on the Liturgy were pursuing their labours, a short office in English was prepared, *which is now so rare as to be hardly attainable*. But individual congregations here and there procured for themselves translations of the whole Mass into English, and a few of them are in existence. The late eminent librarian of Cambridge University, Mr. Bradshaw, mentioned some of these to Dr. Edwin Freshfield, and was at a loss to account for them. The latter referred him to the account books of St. Michael's, Cornhill, where, in 1547, there is an item of “ten shillings paid to the master of Paule's School for writing the Mass in Englishe.” They would not wait for the authorized Liturgy, but anticipated it thus, and had the Mass, according to the Sarum use, in English for themselves, whilst they also sold the vestments and destroyed the images in their church, and had the walls “painted with Scriptures”’ (p. viii.)

The fact thus elucidated by Dr. Freshfield is a very curious one, and, we may add, not generally known. We trust the Editors may include in their series a specimen of one of these ‘Masses in English.’ We presume these translations are not all *verbatim* alike. The Preface to the Athanasius volume, No. 4, is short, but shows a master hand.

The Hallowing of Work, by Francis Paget, D.D., Canon of Christ Church (London : Rivingtons, 1888), is, we need scarcely say, a very charming volume, composed of addresses given in the Chapel of Eton College, at a meeting of Public Schoolmasters, January 16–18, 1888. The subject of these addresses may be briefly described as the Life of Self-Consecration, and the place in that life and work of Faith, Hope, and Charity, ‘those first principles of self-consecration.’ Like everything else which Dr. Paget writes, this booklet is full of a tender grace, a keenness of insight, a width of sympathy, a depth of culture, and a gentleness of spirit which will always secure to him an unique position in the preacher's pulpit or the professor's chair, and which we trust may follow him ere long to a yet higher and more arduous sphere of thought and influence and action. The public

schoolmasters who had the privilege of listening to these addresses must indeed have been dense, and dull of hearing, if they did not catch some at least of the spirit which breathes in every line of these heart-stirring words.

The English Historical Review, No. 11, July 1888 (London : Longmans), has a very attractive paper on 'Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim,' the well-known nun of the tenth century, and her six dramas and Latin verses, by Mr. W. H. Hudson. The author very properly dismisses the charge of their being forgeries by the first Editor, Celtes and his friends, in 1501. He inclines to the opinion that they were not intended to be acted—in which we do not agree ; but we are only speaking from the impression made on our mind some twenty years ago when we first studied the subject. This number also contains two excellent articles on 'The Early Life of Thomas Wolsey' and on 'The Great Condé,' by T. W. Cameron and J. B. Perkins respectively. Not the least interesting portion, however, of this, as of other numbers, of this Review, consists of the appended 'Notes and Documents' and 'Reviews of Books.'

That the *Archæological Review* (London : Nutt) has reached the first number of the second volume testifies rather to the enterprise of the publisher than to the excellence of the publications. It has from its early infancy shown marked feebleness of constitution, and if we might offer a suggestion it would be a *change of Nurse*. *Verbum sap.*

A Chapter in English Church History : being the Minutes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the years 1698-1704. Edited by the Rev. Edmund McClure, M.A., Editorial Secretary of the S.P.C.K. (London : S.P.C.K., 1888). This publication does great credit to the able and accomplished Secretary of the S.P.C.K., who must have had infinite trouble in ferreting out the information contained in the notes to this very curious Chapter—as it is well called—in English History. We cordially commend it to the notice of our readers. It was new to us that one of the main branches of the Society's design, when first started, was to 'reduce the Quakers to the Christian Faith' (p. 22).

The same Society sends us two most admirable handbooks, as we may be allowed to call them : *Anglo-Saxon Literature*, by John Earle (London : S.P.C.K., 1888) ; and *Domesday Book : A Popular Account of the Exchequer Manuscript so called, with Notices of the Principal Points of General Interest which it contains*, by Walter de Gray Birch, F.S.A. (London : S.P.C.K., 1887). Any book to which the Rawlinson professor puts his name becomes, so to speak, a classic from its birth. Mr. Birch's book, if very far from being the best possible, is certainly very near being the best extant work on the Domesday Book. We have no doubt it will be greatly improved in a second edition.

Every parish priest who has not parted with the belief that house-to-house visitation is one of the most solemn and most important of his duties, will be glad to know of and to possess *The Parish Priest's Register* (London : S.P.C.K.), arranged in due sort for making notes on each family so visited.

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ART. I.—GORDON'S LETTERS.

1. *Letters of General Gordon to his Sister, M. A. Gordon.* (London, 1888.)
2. *Reflections in Palestine*, 1883. By CHARLES GEORGE GORDON. (London, 1884.)

THESE *Letters of General Gordon*, written to a sister through a series of years (from 1854 to 1884), unavoidably remind us of Keble's simile of the 'twin stars' in his poem for St. Andrew's Day, of which he gives as the heading, 'He first findeth his own brother Simon, and saith unto him, We have found the Messias, and he brought him to Jesus.' They 'certify a brother's love,' as Keble puts it of St. Andrew, and are everywhere *sui generis*. Religion is the main subject of them, and the guidance of one for whose welfare he affectionately cared is their chief motive. 'What you have undergone,' he says to her in a parenthesis at p. 98, 'with my pushing at you with questions on religious matters, you will never forget.'

Their value to us is very much increased by the fact that he could never have foreseen their publication. Miss Gordon generously presents them to those who have ears to hear, and who respectfully care to know something of the inner life of her noble brother, and she adds none of the artificial and questionable matter with which editors usually adorn such a subject. We are not supplied with explanations and apologies, but are permitted to see the portrait and to form our own judgment of it in its different stages, and to watch the touches with which, year by year, he endeavoured to perfect it. Its interest is the greater because, like a Scripture portrait, it is so human. One is allowed to see in these familiar letters his weakness as well as his strength, after a fashion from which uninspired biographers, as we well know, too usually shrink.

In spite of theological eccentricities, and some curious
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theories about pre-existence, universal salvation, passing at death from one body to another—some of which we assume that he abandoned or modified, as *e.g.* his views as to universal salvation, upon which he tells us at p. 318 he had 'become much more timid about speaking'—it is most interesting to trace in these letters the way by which his practical and eminently honest and reverent mind, entirely untrained in the Church's Creeds, and practically unknowing of her traditions, arrived at that knowledge and fear and love of God which are the root of all real wisdom and strength. Peculiar theories, mentioned occasionally in a correspondence which ranges through so many years (a correspondence which he never revised for publication) are no proof that he continued to maintain them in the form in which he occasionally stated them. About that each reader must form his own conclusion. His mind was always open to fresh impressions, and he gratefully owns to constantly receiving additional teaching and light. A sentence at p. 366 in one of his latest letters gives an insight into his growth in humility of assertion which must be noted. He writes, 'In all things we should be very humble, for we really know nothing of ourselves. I own that day by day I know less, and am glad to give up any ideas I have.'

As we assume that the wish of those who feel any interest in the subject is to understand General Gordon, we shall aim at bringing together, for their benefit, his scattered expressions upon some leading subjects, in a way that the general reader of a book which deals with a period of more than thirty years cannot do. It is necessary for the reviewer to efface himself largely, and to quote, as some may think, to excess, from letters which give a species of autobiography of this remarkable man. It is inevitable, if the subject is of the value which we feel it to be. For we shall not, it is to be feared, see such men again for many a day, though words can hardly express how much we need them to be always with us.

In no spirit of disrespect to the Church, which he never exhibits, but justly emboldened by the success which was granted to him in the study of Holy Scripture, he affirms that by such study his faith was formed. The command of our Lord which he quotes, 'Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me,' came to him with force, and he manfully obeyed it. He says at p. 192, 'I base my belief on the Scripture entirely,' and at pp. 232-235 he enters into details—

'God has in His infinite wisdom incarnated His voice in the Scriptures. . . . To the carnal man it is an ordinary book. To the

spiritual man it is alive and makes alive. . . . The Scriptures are the Word of God, the sword of the Spirit, the only offensive weapon against our enemies. All the other arms of the Christian are defensive armour, Ephes. vi. 12-18. . . . God has opened my eyes to the truth that it is by the Scriptures that He will speak to man, and *rarely* will He speak in any other way ; I would almost say *never*. . . . I now look upon the Scriptures as alive—living oracles—and not as a historical, religious book, as I have hitherto done, even when feeling its mystical character. I cannot say how important this vista is to me. I have said that as long as the newspaper affords one more attraction than the Bible, something must be wrong. . . .

'The body says, "Before I give up my carnal desires, show me something better. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush." The body must have some reason before it will prefer the Bible to the newspaper : it must be so opened or represented as to be more interesting (Prov. ii. 1-9). Now if the body could see that the Bible contains an answer to every question, that it foretells, advises, &c., then it would prefer it to the newspaper. God has been very merciful to me in the thoughts I have had here regarding the Scriptures, and now I see lakes and seas of knowledge before me.'

And at pp. 254, 255 he writes four months later from Mauritius—

'I have come to a conclusion ; may God give me grace to keep it ! *Stop all newspapers*. It is no use mincing the matter ; as the disease is dire, so also must be the remedy.

'Newspapers feed a passion I have for giving my opinion. Therefore, as we have no right to judge, and have nothing to do with this world (of which we are not), this feeding must be cut short. . . . The giving up the papers may cause the starvation of my passion for politics.'

At pp. 241, 243 he says—

'God has given me so much treasure in the Bible, that ambition (that son of Anak) is very weak and ill, and I hope he will not recover. . . . I am fagged with this warfare, and you must be so also. The sons of Anak are enormous ; their walls reach up to heaven. One is but a grasshopper.'

In connexion with General Gordon's unusually strong expressions as to Holy Scripture being a sure and certain weapon, far too much neglected, we naturally recall the use made of it by our Blessed Lord during His temptation in the wilderness, to which, however, General Gordon does not refer. The reply to each successive assault of Satan was, 'It is written.' So, we fear, not many in this generation, for want of knowledge of the Scriptures, can reply to his assaults.

It was his constant endeavour to connect the various parts of Holy Scripture, to make of it one whole, as being a continuous revelation of God's will and purpose, not otherwise to be understood. At p. 314 he writes—

‘In the Scripture one sees the most wonderful exactitude of God’s rule, which extends over all creation and tends to elevate our idea of His wonderful wisdom. He does, or overrules, an event in B.C., and fits that very event into an action in A.D., which shows that He overrules every intervening thing. I am more and more convinced day by day that the framework of events is fixed and determined, but that our part in connexion with them is the gain or loss we sustain. I like this, for it equalizes *all* work, great or humble. “Rejoice not that the spirits are subject unto you, but rather *rejoice because your names are written in heaven.*”’

With insight, most valuable in a day when accuracy is not too highly prized, he says at p. 345: ‘Truly the simple truths of the Bible have been so covered up with men’s words that one has to dig in the ruins to find them. I am sure that much obscurity arises from our not using Scriptural *words*. Words . . . not in the Scriptures cause no end of trouble.’ He enlarges upon this idea in his last book (*Reflections in Palestine*), where he says: ‘May not the reason that there are such differences of opinion on religion be, that commentaries and other writings of *man* are read and studied, instead of the Scriptures searched?’ He sums up at p. 386 his sense of the value of Holy Scripture—

‘I have had many enjoyable things after the world’s estimation, but there is nothing in any way to be compared to the study of God’s Word. How wonderfully it fits in with the various events of life! Examine all things through the microscope of His Scriptures, how He turns this and that event, &c. . . . Poor, poor indeed, were the religion of Christ if it did not contain more than is generally accepted. Where is its comfort, where its support?’

He naturally traces our want of interest in spiritual things to the shallowness of our understanding and knowledge in them. How negligent we are in regard of children, through not beginning sufficiently early and before other tastes for trashy childish literature are formed, and through too often giving them their first knowledge of Holy Scripture vulgarized, diluted, and adapted in weak and human language which is not Scripture at all, and so makes no demand upon them for reverence. He says at pp. 81, 82, 83, 84—

‘Psalm 119 is full of sayings respecting the necessity of an enlightened understanding in order to keep the commandments of God and to purify the heart. Christ says in Proverbs viii. 14, “*I am understanding.*”’

‘To enable the affections to be purified, it is essentially necessary to understand the deep things of God. Affections will not leave a seen for an unseen thing unless a hope is given of attaining that

which is unseen. Christ Himself needed a hope to be set before Him ere He despised the shame of the Cross.

'The Spirit searcheth all things, yea the deep things of God. What is the moral of all this? Seek the opening of the understanding by the reading of the Scriptures, the softening of the conscience and the revival of the memory by prayer. This being done, the understanding, memory, and conscience work on the will, which coerces the affections, causes them to die, *i.e.* to care no more for the world, to rise and fix themselves on heavenly things.'

To know God in this way is one thing, merely to know about Him in the modern educational way is a far different thing. Doubtless we grow in grace through knowledge, but all depends upon the character of that knowledge. There is a qualifying remark of great value at p. 255 in regard of the benefit to be derived from the study of Holy Scripture. In his earnestness to drive home neglected truths he is generally moderate in the use of qualifications. They are so much laid hold of by weak persons with a view to explain away great truths, that they have often to be kept for a time in the background. 'We would like,' he says, 'to know Christ's life in our rooms *from the Bible*. God teaches it to us actually *by the trials of this life*.' And he had previously said at p. 128, 'I feel sure that no study without trial is of avail. Life must be lived to learn these truths. I believe if a man knows his Bible fairly, and then goes forth into the world; God will show him His works.'

The connexion he makes here between the *Word* and *works* of God is worth taking note of, as not being a chance and passing thought, but one which is needed to ensure that perfect knowledge and understanding of God which was General Gordon's great aim. The connexion occurs continually in Scripture and specially in the Psalms. 'The *Word* of the Lord is true, and all His *works* are faithful.' 'The *works* of His hands are verity and judgment; all His *commandments* are true.' 'The very heavens shall praise Thy wondrous *works*, and Thy *truth* in the congregation of the saints.' 'Not to forget the *works* of God, but to keep His *commandments*.' Of this knowledge of His *works* much is said in Scripture which does not seem to come within the modern Christian scheme. 'The *works* of the Lord are great; sought out of all them that have pleasure in them.' 'The merciful and gracious Lord hath so done His marvellous *works* that they ought to be had in remembrance.' 'Let your talking be of all His wondrous *works*.' The Psalms continually narrate and recapitulate His *works* in detail, His

works of creation and providence in the 104th Psalm, His judgments upon Egypt and the deliverance of His people, His care and chastisements of them in the wilderness, and their settlement in Canaan and so on, in subsequent Psalms. The daily providential arrangements for the individual Christian are His *works*, meant, as General Gordon's practical remark implies, to be studied, understood, and remembered gratefully by those who would arrive at a perfect understanding of God Himself. 'Thou Lord hast made me glad through Thy *works*, and I will rejoice in giving thanks for the *operations* of Thy hands.'

Men look upon God's works rather than into them, and without seeking the help with which divine works must always be examined if they are to be understood. The finite needs divine help in measuring the works of the infinite. We notice this remark at length because it is too valuable a qualification to be overlooked.

The ordinary critic, who is often a critic and nothing more, gifted with powers of destruction rather than of construction, with a keen eye to weaknesses, is likely to expect more frequent qualifications than he meets with, and to complain that General Gordon is often apt to see and state little more than one side of a subject. It may be so. We are dealing with private letters, it must be remembered, and not with essays. But the value there is in this sort of one-sidedness is much overlooked. It depends upon how it is used, and by whom. Many-sidedness has but little to show for itself in the way of result. It usually lands its professors, while trying to strike a balance, in a fog. In one of his letters from Rome, Mendelssohn defends such one-sidedness warmly.

'I may say to you confidentially,' he wrote, 'that I begin to feel the most decided hatred of all that is cosmopolitan. I dislike it just as I dislike many-sidedness. Anything that aspires to be distinguished, or beautiful, or really great, must be *one-sided*; but then this *one side* must be brought to a state of the most consummate perfection.'¹

Must not onesidedness of statement often be the manner and tendency of a prophet? Is it not to our gain that it should be so? Would he be otherwise much understood or even listened to? Is there not a peculiar kind of message needed for reaching the deaf ears of each generation, and is it not best delivered by these so-called onesided men? To an easy-going, selfish, and luxurious generation, much devoted to pleasure (now called *recreation*)—a generation which, having no strong religious habits or practical faith in, or knowledge of God, is

¹ Mendelssohn's *Letters from Italy and Switzerland*, translated by Lady Wallace, 3rd edition, p. 158. London, 1864.

weakly turning religion into an amusement and excitement—a generation in which all classes are devoted to the reading of newspapers and exciting literature, and, to a larger extent than men care to realize, of a literature which is profane and licentious—to a generation which, for the first time in the history of our country, is able to read, from the highest rank in society to the lowest, and which reads everything but Holy Scripture—is this earnest Christian prophet sent, to tell us what all-engrossing, life-giving, and fascinating matter these Scriptures contain. Shall we make light of this message sent in God's mercy, not by an unknown, unacknowledged man like Jonah to Nineveh, but by a man to the nobility of whose character the world, and not merely our own country, testifies, and who has earned, as few public men have ever earned it, our love. Shall we criticize, dilute, and reject his message, and go on in our shallow and thoughtless way as before? Shall we not listen to his pleadings for such a study of Holy Scripture as was very much the practice in quieter days of our fathers, and refuse to welcome his reminder of its preciousness? That is the question, and a very weighty one it is. It may never be so put to us again that this Book, neglected so thoroughly in this reading generation, is the one Book which should attract and employ us. The Bishop of Ripon has lately said, in a lecture at Oxford, that 'an average Englishman's mental pabulum is the novel.' What the Englishman of the future, so fed and nourished, is likely to be fit for remains to be seen. We fear he will not be the type of Englishman which has made this country famous and respected.

We cannot doubt that it was for a public purpose that God led a man of such an active mind as General Gordon so much into solitude. He speaks during his sojourn in Mauritius of that place as Patmos. He writes at p. 86 to Miss Gordon: 'You must be more or less in the desert to use the scales of the Sanctuary, to see and weigh the true value of things and sayings.' By help of such solitude it was that he discovered what a depth there is in Holy Scripture, unfathomed and inexhaustible, and he proclaims his discovery in some such terms as did St. Andrew—'We have found the Messias'—to an age which is content to look upon the surface of the Bible rather than into it—which being, in consequence, deficient in spiritual intelligence in the things of God, can only talk, even in its pulpits, a very human instead of a divine language, and performs its best works rather in the energy of the flesh than in the power of the Spirit. He speaks to an age which attaches no meaning to those weighty words of St. Paul to

Timothy : ' All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness. That the *man of God* may be *perfect*.'

Some people may be disposed to regret that General Gordon did not bring to his study of Scripture a mind more stored with traditional Churchmanship. We doubt that view, though we can see what was lost by his not doing so. But considering the result of his labour, we accept thankfully his exceptional case, and can see that there was real gain as well as real loss to him and to us. God's special servants have, for some wise reason, often lacked the kind of preparation which men so much value. The *Reflections in Palestine*, published at his desire during the last year of his life, show, as is not to be expected in letters, at what eminently orthodox theological conclusions he arrived by means of an unusual process. With only such indirect help from Christian associations and surroundings as he had in common with men in general, he discovered by prayer and study the extraordinary spiritual depth and value of the Scriptures as a connected whole, to a degree which no Churchman can gainsay, though but a small number may ever accurately appreciate. Few men, very few, could have achieved General Gordon's remarkable success in such an undertaking by his method alone. We certainly do not recommend it for general imitation. But we believe that not otherwise than by his method could we have had such a forcible message as to Holy Scripture, nor so noble a theological summary as we have in his crowning pamphlet.

It is to be noted that his mind had not been at any time in early years a religious blank. But his religious training, for which he entertained no respect, had been sectarian and sensational. He apparently never possessed at any time of his life a friend who understood the position of the Church as an authority in doctrine and a divine guide and teacher. Of his early religious education he gives us some account in a letter from the Soudan in 1877 (p. 166) :—

' If I devote myself to this country as *I* intend to do (*Dieu dispose*), we shall never be able to discuss the old days again. They were most amusing to look back upon. You know in old times the "*wrestling*," as they called it, when they had what they were wrestling for all the time, prayer meetings every night ; what bondsmen we were ! What have you done with your religious library ? It must have cost a mint. Why, ten years ago it would have turned your hair grey to have thought of parting with it. What a terrible thing our education was ! how we suffered from it !'

And at pp. 178 and 197 he continues the subject :—

'The religion of these evangelicals gives no peace, and is a miserably poor comfort in trial.'

'What husks the evangelical religion is ! It is nothing more than the Law slightly veiled ; it is useless arguing with its followers !'

The workings of his mind in escaping by help of Holy Scripture on to firmer ground are well described by him. He was far, indeed, from being adverse to dogma, as one sees continually, and as is shown by a general expression at p. 98 : 'I like distinct colours, black and white ; I like decision.'

Good sense and thoroughness such as his might have been easily led to see that an independent work in regard of Holy Scripture like that which he undertook, must be very far from possible for ordinary people, and that, whatever might be his own success, the majority must ever say with the Ethiopian eunuch : 'How can I understand except some man should guide me?' Would that good guides were more numerous, and that the Prayer Book was oftener suggested as the surest guide of all. His early training must be held accountable for many of his speculations and for some fanciful imperfections of creed which he expressed from time to time, but never on the subject of the Blessed Trinity.

He writes variously on the subject of baptism. He seems uncertain about its exact position to the very last. He says, and he seems to unsay upon this subject, even in his final pamphlet, *Reflections in Palestine*, in which he sums up so many things in entire agreement with the Church's creed. But, while evidently convinced of its supreme importance, he owns to wanting clear light about it, such light as the baptismal service and the Church catechism would have thrown upon it if he had referred to them, which he never seems to have done. He is troubled about belief in the candidate. He does not seem to have known that the Church demands repentance and *faith* in those who come to be baptized, and that she can do no more nor can anyone else. General Gordon's view of baptism conducted on the Church's terms seems to be entirely sound, but he insists on discussing a baptism in which her terms are wanting, which is surely a needless form of worry which might have been easily avoided. 'Baptism,' he says, 'raises man from the dead,' &c. And he adds soon afterwards, 'Baptism does not make a man a Christian. He who is not a Christian before, is not made a Christian by that rite.' His meaning appears to be, 'He who is not a *believer* before ;' but he keeps up the confusion, and never seems to have got rid of it. 'A believer is in baptism raised from the dead, has sin remitted, and does on his emerging from the water receive

the indwelling of the Holy Ghost in his body.' And then he defends infant baptism on account of the parents bringing the child in faith. This agrees of course with the Church Service and Catechism. But then he adds, 'He is not a Christian because he has been baptized.' 'If an unbaptized believer, shall not his non-baptism be counted baptism?' Such a postscript seems strangely out of place when such a transformation has just been stated by him as the result of baptism. And he repeats himself in this contradictory manner. 'Baptism,' he says, 'does not make a man a Christian any more than circumcision made a Jew.' 'Baptism is nothing, unbaptism is nothing, but faith which worketh by love.' And then we find expressions which the Church would endorse, such as 'Believers go into the font as sons of Adam and emerge as sons of God,' which agrees with the view of the Catechism and baptismal service that *repentance and faith* are required of persons to be baptized, or that, to use General Gordon's words, they should be 'believers.' The Prayer Book, of which he knew apparently far too little as a whole, would have vastly cleared his mind if those who should have done so had guided him to it. It is no wonder that he adds, 'There is much haziness as to the new birth, whether it is an entirely new formation, or whether it is the resurrection, or a resuscitation of an existing formation. It has troubled me for years to know what baptism meant.' He confuses baptism with the Apostolic laying on of hands and the gift of the Holy Spirit in confirmation. We have been obliged, in order to do justice to General Gordon, to consult his *Reflections in Palestine* rather than the *Letters to his Sister* for his views on baptism.

He was a communicant as often as possible from Easter Day 1854. He writes (p. 215), 'I cannot tell you how important I think it. The Communion is the peace offering. It ought to be taken very often.' And he adds at p. 218 of the *Letters*, 'I like Queen Elizabeth's lines on the sacrament :—

"Christ is the Word that spake it,
He took the bread and brake it,
And what that Word doth make it,
I do receive and take it."

In his *Reflections in Palestine* he enters into the mystical import of the Eucharist very gravely and thoughtfully. On the subject of the two sacraments he is more explicit there than in the *Letters to Miss Gordon*.

These letters deal chiefly with his steady spiritual growth,

his constant increase in faith, humility, and self-mortification, his attainments in the knowledge of God, and his consequent new feelings towards Him. He says at p. 89 :—

‘It is difficult to talk on worldly subjects to people who do not trace *everything* to God. We glide into discussing the ways and means, and we ourselves forget how futile those ways and means are ; hence the necessity of being more alone. If we want martyrdom, state this doctrine and people will cease to regard us except as fanatics ; it is so very hurtful to our pride, to have Him intruded into our affairs.’

‘To be like Christ—what a deal it means, and how very feebly the mass of the world realizes it.’

And at p. 280 :—

‘God requires *everything* from us, and not till we give up every thought or wish for anything but Himself will He disclose Himself to us fully. Say we have one hundred things. If we give up ninety-nine and three-quarters to Him, yet we shall not realize more than a very small portion of His Presence. One might expect that by giving up so nearly all, one would be greatly blessed with His fulness ; but no, *everything* must be given up, and I believe it is that little quarter we retain which prevents us reaping our reward. If you look at it, you will see it is right, for the retention of the quarter means God *and* some creature comfort, *not God alone*. It is asking to serve God along with idols, even if it be only a *little one*. Any particle of self must be enmity to God, and unrest.’

‘I once thought it possible to bargain with Christ ; to say, I will give up half my desire of the world, and gain, in the gap, a corresponding measure of Christ. It was no good, I lost the half, but did not get the measure filled. Then I tried to give up a little more, but with the same result. Now, I think, God has shown me that it is not the least use trying these subtle bargains ; that the giving up little by little is more wearisome and trying than *one* surrender, and *that* I trust He will give me power to make.’

Seventeen years earlier he writes on the subject in a more qualifying manner. His later standard was a higher one, he was farther on the road towards the perfection at which he steadily aimed. How different from the view of the modern Christian is the next extract, written as far back as 1867. It has an exaggerated sound in days when ‘pious worldliness’ is the highest aim of most, when self-sacrifice is voted foolishness, when the prudence is praised which avoids anything involving worldly loss, when to mortify the flesh, with other such apostolic requirements, is counted as superstition. One has to suppose that the modern Christian must hold that because Christ suffered for us, and apostles, prophets, martyrs suffered, therefore we need not suffer. They lost this world for another ;

but we, in happier days, can possess both worlds! Such a change in the requirements of Christ's religion can scarcely be possible; and General Gordon's testimony, of which we quote a few out of many expressions, is the clearest that we can recall in our generation, that the demand upon Christians in the nineteenth century is, and must be, the same as in the first.

'We are placed upon earth,' he writes, 'in order to suffer like our Lord, not to enjoy life, except in doing His will. He will give us this frame of mind. It is not attained at once, but is a growth, the slower the more sure, and the sturdier. It is meant when our Lord says we must forsake *all* that we have in order to be His disciples; and it is only when we do so that we realize that we have given up nothing in comparison with what He has given us in certain possession' (p. 15).

And at p. 19: 'If we aspire to walk in the power of the new life we must cast away all hindrances. . . . Let us have the heavier apparent Cross (which is in reality the lightest one if we could see it) and the higher aspiration. . . . It is, as self is given up, so a man is holy.' And at p. 21: 'It is through crosses that we live: let us have few crosses and we shall starve and be cold; let us have plenty of crosses and we shall thrive. The secret of holiness and happiness is the indwelling of God.' Writing upon Easter Day, 1881, and speaking of the reunion of our Lord's soul and body, he adds (p. 219):—

'In our measure we have to bear the proportion of suffering which falls to us in virtue of our position as members of Christ's Body. The full suffering—the cup to the dregs—which He as our Head endured, must be allotted out to each member of His Body, according to the position of those members in relation to the Head.'

At p. 27: 'A suffering head implies suffering members.' And at p. 191: 'All cannot be bodily crucified; all must undergo a moral crucifixion, if they will taste of resurrection joys, in this earth.'

This question of suffering always interests him, and he regards it from many points. Writing from Jerusalem that he was giving himself with great patience to the study of the stars, he says (p. 315): 'Those worlds were made without the least effort, but our salvation took a weary life of hardship and very great suffering.' And he adds:—

'One thing I like to dwell on is the transcendent value of man. It would have cost no trouble for our Lord to have made another creation in our place. His taking our nature, He being God, shows that that nature was such as could hold Him and be a fit habitation

for His Godhead. Now, God could never take a wholly unlike or uncostly nature to be one with Him for ever.'

It is impossible, of course, to do justice by dislocated quotations to his directness and thoroughness. He repeats frequently practical remarks like the following at p. 227 :—

'One may seek for holiness for itself; but that is not the proper motive, it must be sought for simply in Him. . . . To seek holiness, truth, purity, for themselves, may be from unworthy motives, and will not be allowed to, indeed cannot, succeed. . . . It evidently is the complete absorption of self in Christ, by which one feeling, one body, one soul, one essence, exist between us and Christ. . . . We become Levites; others may not reach this; they have their portion, even as the other tribes of Israel had portions, in the Holy Land. The Levites had no portion in the land; they had the Lord only; consequently, in having Him they had all things, far beyond what the other tribes had.'

And at p. 278 :—

'I truly believe that there is no limit to the intimacy I may reach with Him, if I give up all resting on creatures; and I say it is, even humanly speaking, reasonable to seek this union. It is like this: I have a firm belief that I cannot possibly get any happiness apart from God, that I might as well seek for water from a stone as try to do so. I quite agree that *appearances* are against it, and that it does seem as though I could get happiness from other sources; but I have my past experience and God's word against such a delusion. I have come to the belief that it is only by such union that happiness can be attained. I like this thought, for it is clear and distinct. . . . As God is the source of all good and all happiness, *He is Himself* sufficient to satisfy all our longings, and to fill up the gap which the loss of the world leaves.'

He accepts in the spirit of a child, and literally, that which most of us think they may take figuratively; he favours no compromise, nor schemes of a partial service. In consequence, he continually reverts to his weariness in the effort to overcome, for it was no child's play.

'I do earnestly desire,' he writes at p. 202, 'a speedy death. I am weary of the continued conflict with my atrocious self. When He does smite, His arrows are almost too sharp for one to bear, I will not say *too* sharp, for He tempers His wind to the shorn lamb, but it is a wearisome life, and I am tired. Read the third chapter of Job; it expresses the bitterness of my heart at this moment; yet all this I have brought upon myself by the prayer, That I may know *myself*. What a fearful desire! That His will may be done. What a wish!'

To this depression there soon succeeded a brighter strain. He writes at p. 223 :—

'I believe the pilgrimage to Mauritius will be blessed to me, for I was hanging about Jordan, *i.e.* wishing for death, and not caring to conquer the promised land, or to drive out the enemies. I scarcely cared whether they were there or not; I wanted the land without the conflict. . . . I reason this way; to attain the closest union with Christ is certainly to follow Him and forsake all position, rank, and honour of this world; all these things belong to Satan's kingdom and are drawbacks. Now I do not think a young Christian ought to enter upon this line, for he scarcely knows the cost; but I think when Christ gives a man, even to a very small degree, maturity in knowledge of Himself, then, after long and due consideration and prayer, this man may endeavour to cast off Satan's gifts. The query is and must be always, Could you find Christ sufficient if you did so? *I think so now*, but certainly could not have thought so a little time ago; there was the will, but the flesh was weak.'

In the simplest way he tells, at p. 199, of other causes of weariness:—

'I only wish you to know, *how worn I am through having to lean on God alone*. This seems odd, but it is so diametrically opposed to our flesh to do so, and it is very trying. . . . We may talk as we like, but our flesh needs *substance* and not *promises*, and I do not believe the flesh will ever agree to accept aught else, and, therefore, is doomed to anxiety and suffering. After my spirit I prefer the promise; after my flesh I prefer the 1,000 soldiers; not having them, my spirit lords it over the flesh and conquers, but the flesh suffers all the same. . . . When you are as dependent on God as I am, you will feel worn and tired of the servitude.

In connexion with such expressions of feeling we must notice those of a later date, which speak of contentment and satisfaction with trial and suffering. At p. 332 he writes:—

'What comforts me is the thought that we are being shaped here below into stones for the heavenly temple—that to be made like Him is the object of our earthly existence. He is the shaper and carpenter of the heavenly temple. *He* must *work* us into shape; our part is to be still in His hands; every vexation is a little chip; also we must not be in a hurry to go out of the quarry, for there is a certain place for each stone, and we must wait till the building is ready for that stone; it would put out the building if we were taken pell-mell. This also is a comfort in respect to ambition, for the things of this world are only important as tools to shape us into form.'

By those who feel that exceptional men are a difficulty, and that all men should be classified and ticketed, General Gordon has been described as a fatalist. But while he accepts the word in a certain sense, he safeguards it carefully. He says at p. 386:—

'It is a delightful thing to be a fatalist, not as that word is generally employed, but to accept that, *when things happen*, and *not*

before, God has for some wise reason so ordained them ; *all* things, not only the great things, but all the circumstances of life—that is what to me is meant by the words “Ye are dead.” We have nothing further to do when the scroll of events is unrolled than to accept them as being for the best ; but, *before it is unrolled* it is another matter, for you would not say, “I sat still and let things happen.” With this belief all I can say is, that amidst troubles and worries no one can have peace till he thus stays upon God—that gives a super-human strength.’

His piety had nothing of the element of superstition in it. His trust in God never hindered him from the use of lawful and appointed means. A devout trust was united in him to a perfect contentedness to fail or be disappointed, and a conviction that all would turn out for the best if he had done his part. A friend is mentioned at p. 403 to whom, when finally leaving for Kartoum, General Gordon said on parting, ‘Everyone has to fail, or we should have too high a belief in own own powers. As yet I have been successful ; I have still to fail. I wish for humility, for God’s guidance, and for resignation to God’s will.’ His fatalism seems simply to have been of the healthy and manly sort, which is acknowledged by St. Paul—‘It is God that worketh in us, both to will and to do of His good pleasure.’

Some persons have thought him a species of idolater of Holy Scripture. Each of us has an idol, and most of us many idols, of a more or less fatal sort. In his strong devotion to these little known and considered Scriptures, he seems to us to lay himself open on one occasion only, in a remark at p. 233, to any charge of exaggeration in respect of them. There he says rather emphatically :—

‘My belief is, that whenever we are in doubt about anything, we should place the matter before God by prayer, then take the Bible, wherever we may be reading, and having our attention fixed on the subject of our prayer, seek to get the answer, and take it in just the same way as if we heard God’s voice.’

This remark, which is very unlike the usual tone of his mind, he seems to contradict in almost the next sentence of the same letter, as if he had been merely thinking aloud, and not committing himself to a conclusion. For he adds—

‘I have read the Scriptures and have got pearls from them, but as though from deduction or analogy, and not as directly from God, not as though He spoke or wrote to us.’

The sentences must be taken together, and we shall then have reason to doubt his placing any reliance on his suggestion

that Scripture may be treated and consulted, as he mentions, after the fashion of an oracle.

Of his clear, strong, practical belief in God's government and providence, men have heard much. He made no distinctions, but saw God's hand as clearly in the fall of a sparrow as in that of a dynasty. In a day like this, when with a greatly diminished faith from that of our fathers, men are forgetting God, when the customs with which more Christian ages naturally acknowledged God and Christ in daily life are being weakened or abandoned, when the bonds of marriage are treated as if they are divine bonds no longer, when Christian institutions and education are being generally secularized, and the democratic States throughout Europe are hastening to dissociate themselves from religion and the Church—we may well note the mind of this able man of affairs, who saw God as his superior, and the one only power to be seriously reckoned with in everything which he undertook. He writes at p. 96 :—

‘Imagine the intricacy of the government of the world, the detail required for each person, each work, each rag of humanity, and judge of His wisdom who can never make the least mistake, and who is still and tranquil in the turmoil of it all. Exist in the world, do your part, but do not entangle yourself with it, so that when you leave it you will have no wrench ; that is true life. It is quite impossible anyone can be happy, or even tranquil, unless he accepts that God rules every little item of our daily life, permitting evil and turning it to our good.’

‘He is the GOVERNOUR-GENERAL,’ he writes at p. 168, ‘and I am only His useless agent, by whom He deigns to work His will. I am only a straw, yet God gave the men in Darfour courage under me.’

‘Belief,’ he says at p. 107, ‘makes man of no account at all ; unbelief engenders pride, for it gives him attributes of independence. *He* will do something *himself* ; *he* will give something to God ; God and *he* will work together ; *he* is necessary to God for this or that work. So speaks the flesh, which cannot know God.’

‘A man’ (p. 117) ‘glories in some act he has performed. I say he has nothing to do with it ; that God used him, as we use any instrument ; that God could have worked with the smallest insect as well as with him, in spite of his pride and cleverness.’

How entirely such language is in harmony with our Lord's words to the Pharisees on his memorable entry in triumph into Jerusalem : ‘I tell you that if these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out,’ words which Keble enforces in his Palm Sunday poem, but of their meaning how few take note ! And at p. 247 :—

'The whole of religion consists in looking at God as the true Ruler, and above the agents He uses. No one can be at rest who regards the latter. We are as much worshippers of gold, silver, and "power" gods as the heathen. Though we do not acknowledge it, the flesh will always look to agents.'

At p. 112 :—

'The *sound* people !—what satisfaction does their religion give them? Their Father in heaven—what a distance they keep from Him! No nearness of acquaintance, if they disavow His working in *every* event of this life. God is not in all their thoughts.'

And at p. 92 :—

'I remember that God has at all times worked by weak and small means. All history shows this to be His mode, and so I believe, if He will, He may work by me. . . . Kings and Chronicles are full of the deliverances He wrought against all human calculations, when trusted in alone, and of the calamities that fell on those who mixed their trust in Him with a trust in other gods.'

At p. 150 he writes :—

'My opinion is that the Brussels Conference is doomed to fail. It is too mighty for God to use in His work. He never has done any of His great works by great men. . . . His honour is engaged to work with petty men and means.'

And at p. 160 :—

'God is a jealous God, and will not give His glory to another. He will certainly make men feel that Hé, and not their gods, is the Ruler. "Thou shalt have no other gods before Me." All this points to the absolute rule God has over all events, good or evil. "Your own reason," "your judgment," are gods to us. Lean not on your own understanding, *i.e.* be a fool, in the world's language.'

It is the combination of wisdom and untiring energy with humility born of faith in General Gordon's character which so rivets our attention and respect. 'Strait is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life' meant everything to him. With singular earnestness he gave up all that was a hindrance when he knew it to be one.

'Scarcely a quiet day,' he says at p. 220, 'elapses without something being brought out which I had thought did not exist. I used to wander, as it were, through my heart, finding nice walks and splendid palaces in which I reposed. Then came the downfall of my Egyptian palace; it was mouldy, faded, and despicable; motives were discovered to be wholly earthly, and I turned from the ruins with disgust. Then I wandered into the last-visit-to-China palace, and it was splendid. However, only two or three days ago that appeared tattered and mildewed, so I have no pleasure in that ruin. Then

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came the smoking, which I enjoyed. To-day I have smitten that immense serpent. . . . I suppose this clearing out of oneself will go on, for as goodness is unfathomable so is evil. . . . Sometimes one was wont to think that really one was fairly free of the flesh, but alas! one seems scarcely to have begun. We have, as it were, been white-washing the exterior and leaving the drains alone. . . . All, all, all, or nothing, is what He will have. . . . The things of the exterior world have but very little to do with one when occupied with the drains of the heart. I like to tell you my experiences, humiliating as they are, for it is inevitable that you also have to go through them, now you have begun.'

The extracts we have made are insufficient to do justice to his real character, long and wearisome as we fear such extracts will appear to some persons. But people cannot realize, without such self-revelation, of what material, and by what painful and patient training a man who has stood out in his generation in such strong relief is formed. They suppose that some accident or happy magic shaped him, and that it cost no effort, no suffering. They need to be told that nobility of character so perfect is not a natural growth, and that it cannot be gained without effort, self-effacement, and self-mortification. Real goodness and greatness have ever come, as in this case, out of self-denial and suffering. In trials and troubles only can the highest lessons of Providence be learnt and the highest characters formed. When that view is in some measure understood we may hope for a more heartily uttered *Deo gratias* from General Gordon's countrymen. For certainly we in no way deserved him whose life and death, but little really understood, have hardly furnished more than a passing excitement.

The result of an entire confidence in God's fatherly care and government, of a sense that all things work together for good to those who love and fear Him, brought a solid peace and comfort, of which General Gordon often and gratefully writes. Of 'finding peace' we have heard overmuch from shallow religionists in these days as an expression of a feeling of excitable and transient security, often instantaneously acquired. Of such presumption there was nothing in him, as may be well believed. Peace came to him after much fighting, much suffering and patient waiting, of which these letters are a narrative. It was no cheaply-procured peace, and was, therefore, the more highly prized.

'I think,' he writes at p. 40, 'our life is summed up in patient waiting, and in being content with the evil of the day. Night soon comes, and with it comes rest.' 'Since I had the

pearl,' he writes at p. 130, "He careth for thee," I have had much comfort and peace.' And at p. 138 he says: 'It is no vain promise, Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed upon Thee.' At p. 350:—

'I have been much comforted for myself and you in the realization that in this life the position we occupy is as nothing; each is in his right place. St. Paul was not wanted for the time he was in prison at Cæsarea. We may rest assured he was kept idle—no, not idle, but inactively employed—for some good purpose. . . . We all like activity and to be employed.'

An unaffected childlike depreciation of self is constantly met with in these letters in simple ways and words, which give the key to a heart over which he had long exercised that restraint and discipline which alone can preserve or restore the simplicity, humility, and modesty of childhood. How little parents remember its value in the training of children need not be said in a day when our Lord's answer to the question, 'Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven?' seems to be forgotten! To General Gordon the answer must have seemed decisive. 'Whosoever shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven.'

In one of his letters before leaving for his last work in the Soudan he writes, as if to sum up the whole matter: 'In all things we should be very humble, for we really know nothing of ourselves.' And again (p. 351), in connexion with the subject of charity and the avoidance of judging others, he says: 'Should God continue His mercy to me, as He gives it now, I shall be a bad companion, for I cannot without a *twinge* discuss anyone.' A man has attained an enviable height who can write calmly in this fashion after so many weary years of continuous effort.

He has some thoughtful words, at p. 52 and onwards, useful for a day like ours, in which philanthropy is very much divorced from theology, and the order of the Decalogue is generally reversed, our duty to our neighbour being much put by our preachers in advance of our duty to God, the only real motive for the inferior duty being withdrawn in this so-called *practical* preaching and work. He addresses the 'preachers,' and charges them with endeavouring to improve 'the flesh, which must die and be sown before it can be quickened,' with expecting a clean thing out of an unclean, instead of addressing themselves with spiritual light and force to the children of God, who lie misunderstood, uncared for, and largely unknown among us. We remember our Lord's charge to the twelve

when He sent them to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, 'Enquire who in it is worthy.' How many such jewels does our unspiritual philanthropy overlook and neglect among the crowded poor of our great towns?

'Explain,' he says, 'O preachers, how it is that we ask and do not get comfort. Is it not because ye speak to the flesh, which is at enmity to all that is spiritual, and must die? . . . You speak of Heaven, but belie your words by making your home here. Be as uncharitable as you like, but attend my church or chapel regularly. . . . Where would you find more hardness to a fallen one than you would in a congregation of worshippers of the Church of this day? Surely this hardness is of the devil. . . . Society (he says, p. 57) seeks to make the world a better home, and condemns those works which would incommode it; but society takes little heed of those works which do not materially interfere with its comfort and well-being. This is right so far as acts are concerned, but it should extend also to the sins of the heart. Society is the creature, and the creature knows only the flesh, which has to be restrained outwardly by the Law.'

And at pp. 66-7, speaking of the two kingdoms, of one of which Christ is King, and of the other the Devil, anti-Christ, he says:—

'The Kingdom of God is a spiritual kingdom; that of the earth is an earthly or fleshly kingdom. The people of God are united by spiritual union to their King; the people of the earth are united by fleshly ties to their king. . . . The one people look to this world as their home; their efforts are to ameliorate it, and render it more of a resting-place—thence all temperance and similar societies. If all disease, pain, sorrow, and care were removed, they would desire no other home; and even though these are not removed, yet their desire is still for this world, in which all their joys and pleasures are found. The other people look on this world as a wilderness, in which they are sojourners and pilgrims. To them the removal of all pain, disease, sorrow, and care would still make it no home. They have no abiding city here, but are strangers. "They seek a country." To the one, death is the end of all their hopes; to the other, death is the gate of everlasting life.'

That the Church (or the preachers, as General Gordon puts it) is so vigorously taking up with the work of 'society,' so largely dealing with the surface of things, or, as he says, with the improvement of the flesh to the neglect of her real spiritual work, is sufficiently serious, and he dwells upon it for many pages. 'Flesh can believe only what it sees,' he says at p. 59; 'it is therefore condemned, it cannot enter the gates of heaven, though they are never shut; for there shall in no wise enter anything that defileth.' Of St. John Baptist he says at p. 70: 'John's idea was the reform of abuses; to him the

world was capable of amelioration.' But he points to a higher ministry, his own being only transitory.

'He testified that his ministry was only a precursor to one of a higher description, the cleansing effects of which would be as superior to his as fire is to water. . . . When John ceases his preaching (which the world will bear to a certain point, and with which Pharisees will also agree as far as discussing the question of the purifying of the flesh with him), then Jesus begins. He declares that the flesh cannot inherit, but must be buried in Jordan and raised again. . . . In the power of this resurrection life we, or rather *God in us*, can do all things.'

Certainly our modern efforts are increasingly on the side of ameliorating and transforming the world, rather than performing the spiritual work for which at Pentecost the Church of Christ was qualified and endowed.

He treats occasionally of missions to the heathen, and makes comparisons of those which he has had the opportunity of observing. He contrasts the Roman Catholic missions in China with other missions there, and expresses great admiration of the unworldliness and thoroughness of the former. He tells of their missionaries as having stripped themselves of everything, having taken leave of their friends as if they were going to execution, having gone out *never* to return; while other missionaries, weighted with wives and families and a variety of self-imposed anxieties, display the burdened spirit of Martha rather than that of Mary. And he refers at p. 177 to his passage to China with twenty young missionaries, of whom he says:—

'Was not their action more Christlike than those of our persuasion who go out to the ports with 300*l.* a year for a couple or for four years, and whose bread is sure, while these Roman Catholic students went and lived as they could among the native Chinese. Why does the Romish Church thrive with so many errors in it? It is because these godly men in her, who live Christ's life, bring a blessing on the whole community. For self-devotion, for self-denial, the Roman Catholic Church is in advance of our present-day Protestantism. Actions speak loudly, and are read of all; words are as the breath of man.'

He gives his views of the present state of the world and Church in no very bright colours. Of the degradations of modern trade in England he speaks with sorrow at p. 185. 'I feel sure it is nearly over with us.' 'It is money, money, money.' Of India he writes at p. 208:—

'India is the most wretched of countries. The way Europeans live there is absurd in its luxury; they seem utterly effeminate and not to have an idea beyond the rupee. . . . I declare I think we are not far

off losing it. I should say it is the worst school for young people. Everyone is always grumbling, which amuses me. The united salaries of four judges were 22,000*l.* a year. A. B. had been five years in India, and had received in that time 37,000*l.*! It cannot last.'

The general state of the Church he describes as unsatisfactory, and considers her condition to be that of the Church of Laodicea, on too good terms with herself, lukewarm, trusting in a false security, thinking herself rich while she is poor, and wanting in power; the religious divisions and the low spirits of believers generally he considers to be the consequence of keeping in the background the fact of the actual presence of the Holy Ghost in Christ's members. 'As the Great Guide is ignored,' he says, 'men seek guidance in their own inventions.' 'We are lukewarm; we do a great deal in His name, but not in His way, or according to His will.' 'All holiness,' he adds, 'is from the Holy Ghost, working in us in union with Christ. We are the branches, Christ is the root, the Holy Ghost is the sap.' And elsewhere he puts it: 'The grand distinctive mark of the Christian religion, which causes it to differ from any other religion, is the indwelling of God in man.'

He remarks of the clergy at p. 309 :—

'It is here, I think, our clergy fail : there is too much secular work, mothers' meetings, &c. &c., and not enough study. I think that the study of Holy Scripture, the avoidance of scandal or picking to pieces, the visiting of the sick, with earnest prayer, would tend towards the perfecting of a Christian ; something is wanting if any one of these is neglected. . . . The more one dwells on eternal things, the smaller appears the behaviour of Smith or Jones, or the acts of Robinson.'

And again, pp. 325-6 :—

'I believe the deadness in some of the clergy is owing, firstly, to not reading the Scriptures ; secondly, to not meditating over them ; thirdly, to not praying sufficiently ; fourthly, to being taken up with religious secular work (Acts vi. 2-4). I wonder how it is that, when a subject of the greatest import is brought up, one sees so very little interest taken in it ; and how willingly it is allowed to drop with a sort of "Oh yes ; I know all about that." I believe the smallest word one speaks by the Spirit is all that is needed. If it does not work its way, the longest sermon will not do so. The fact is the Spirit gives life. . . . In reality, the flesh likes fuss and activity and to be of importance ; it thinks it is doing a great deal when it is really only hindering ; still this view may be distorted, and used as a temptation to do nothing. . . . Our Lord never seemed pressed, but was always calm and ready to state the greatest truths.'

The Church and the world are much confused nowadays in men's minds. There was a time when Christians aimed at *converting* a world which nowadays they seem to have decided on only *mending*. They would make a safe resting-place of that through which their Lord passed as a rejected pilgrim, while *still* rejection should be their lot, as our Lord foretold, if they are only worthy of it. And yet the Church's commission is a permanent one, and her gifts for executing it, though hidden, have not been withdrawn.

Many of the quotations which we have given will perhaps strike a cursory reader as commonplace. He may think he has heard them all before. Very likely he has, in a way ; but how often has he heard them from a man who sincerely and thoughtfully believed in them, and who meant to reduce the commonplace to practice, or, still more, had already practised it before laying it upon others? In an affair of this sort the force of the words lies in the faith and manly sincerity of the speaker. The simplest words then become weighty and powerful and instructive, in spite of their lacking eloquence and so-called originality. True originality, as Ruskin defines it (*i.e.* 'not newness, but only genuineness'), General Gordon certainly possessed ; 'the faculty of getting to the Spring of things, and working out from *that* ; the coolness, and clearness, and deliciousness of the water fresh from the fountain head, opposed to the thick, hot, unrefreshing drainage from other men's meadows.'¹

It is no new story of which these letters treat, and is not one which favours excitement. It is told to our great advantage by a man of faith, who narrates his own simple experience and efforts, his failures and successes, and illustrates his words by his life. Such are not the ordinary sermons of our day, but they are the sermons of which the Church greatly stands in need in these days of much pointless preaching, in which God seems to become less and less, and ourselves more and more, the subject-matter—days of much philanthropy and of much effort to suppress evil, but of small effort or even desire for the Presence of God, which alone can cast it out.

¹ Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, part iii. § 2, ch. iii. p. 157. 2nd edition, 1848.

ART. II.—THE NAMES OF GOD.

The Names of God in Holy Scripture: a Revelation of His Nature and Relationships. By ANDREW JUKES. (London, 1888.)

THIS is not a finished book, neither does it go deep into the critical discussion of Old Testament questions; nevertheless it is a beautiful and in many respects a valuable work. From a religious point of view there can only be one opinion as to its merits. It is in the highest degree invigorating, breathing, as it does, a spirit of deep piety and reverence. But its merits as an exegesis must by no means be overlooked. It is true it does not go into purely critical discussion, but it manifests a deep and wide acquaintance with the Scriptures. And this, if we mistake not, is of even greater value than the profoundest critical discussion. It has recently been pointed out that the real answer to some of the most vexed questions is to be found, not in distant excursions into comparative etymology and mythology, but in what many renowned critics so signally lack, an accurate and scientific knowledge of the contents of Scripture. The reader will find a good deal of this knowledge in this, as in all Mr. Jukes' works, combined with great clearness and power of exposition.

The subject is a study of the names of God—a branch of theology which has not commanded amongst ourselves the attention which its great importance merits. The author takes up in succession the Old Testament names, beginning with Elohim, and concludes with the perfect revelation, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost of the New Testament. His object is to present in a popular form, for the edification of the religious mind, the exact meaning and import of each name; and this, not from an etymological or literary point of view, but from the presupposition that each of the names is the embodiment of a special revelation. The result on a general view is very striking. It tends to draw even closer the connexion, and to unveil the unity, of the two Testaments. It is found that many of the most precious and most cherished revelations of the New Testament were foreshadowed, and existed in embryo, embedded in these names of God. Altogether our idea of God is elevated, and our knowledge of the marvels and extent of His revelation of Himself is enhanced. And it is a peculiarity of the deeply religious mind of the author

that he has brought out from these names many aspects of God, not fanciful but based on real grounds, which are inexpressibly touching.

It may be asked : What ground is there for supposing that each of these names of God is the embodiment of a special revelation ? Would it not, it might be urged, be more natural to suppose that they are appellatives, arising, according to a natural process, out of the language and modes of thought of the Hebrew people, viewed as a branch of the Shemitic race ? This, of course, is the point of view from which the naturalistic critic would regard the matter ; and if there is any truth in it, it would certainly be fallacious to attribute to the names a special significance as revelations. Rather they must be viewed as the natural product of the Hebrew people building on foundations common to them with the other branches of their race. And in order to understand them properly we must trace them back etymologically, we must distinguish the elements contained in them, and trace the formative process through which they passed till they became fixed as names of God in the books of the Bible. The idea is very plausible, but it will not stand in the light of facts. For all these names of God are new names. They are not names which were in use previously to revelation ; neither are they names which were used by the Hebrews in common with other Shemitic peoples. Rather they originated within the sphere of revelation, and are never used outside that sphere. Moreover there is this peculiarity in regard to them, that they are all of a highly artificial character. They bear the impress of being words coined or constructed for a special purpose. This is undoubtedly the case in regard to Jehovah, but it is also true of Elohim and the others. If we weigh well these facts, we shall see great reason for excluding the idea of a natural development of the names. This at least is certain, that they had an abrupt or sudden origin ; and the only question is : How are we to represent the circumstances which occasioned their introduction ? Obviously it must have been from the sudden prevalence of new ideas and new impressions which could be represented or expressed in no other way. The question as between the naturalistic critic and the supernaturalist is thus narrowed down to the further question : Whence did these new ideas and impressions come ? Was it from below or from above ? Were they the natural product of the human spirit reaching forth to higher things, or were they the result of a higher light breaking in upon men ? The abruptness with which the names came in seems incompatible

with the former supposition ; but it is no use discussing *à priori* probabilities. We must look at the facts.

If we turn to the Bible itself, we are left in no doubt. The names were in every case either given by revelation, or were invented to express impressions communicated by revelation. And it is worth while to recall to memory the Bible idea of revelation, at least in its earliest form. The Bible teaches that God stooping down to His creature presents Himself face to face with man. He presents Himself not in His own essential being, for that is too high for man to behold, but under a lower form—a form, however, which is instinct with the power and presence of God. At first God revealed Himself under the form of a living being, the angel of the Lord ; and of him it is expressly said ‘My Name,’ that is My presence, is in him. Later, God revealed Himself from the cloud, and from between the cherubim in the sanctuary. It was from these various outward forms that the revealing Word issued, which spake to man, and unveiled, so to speak, the inner mind and heart of God. Revelation was thus something very definite ; it was something objective to, or outside of, the recipient ; it was something about which there could be no mistake, and of the reality of which not only the recipient, but anyone else, could satisfy himself. Hence it was accepted by the people as undoubted fact, and their whole national life and history grew out of it.

If we bear this in mind, we shall see how the Divine names originated, and how it is that they are the embodiment of a special revelation. Whenever in these revelations an aspect or attribute of the Divine being was unveiled, which it was of the utmost importance that man should remember and have ever before him, it was embodied in a name. And it was in this way and no other that the names of God originated. The whole process is seen exemplified in the revelation to Hagar in the wilderness. When Hagar had fled from her mistress, the angel of the Lord appeared to her in the wilderness, and spoke to her in words of comfort, of promise, and of hope. That which most deeply impressed itself upon Hagar’s mind as the result of this revelation, was the all-seeing eye of God, which finds out and beholds those who seem most forsaken and desolate ; and hence she herself gave to God a new name, the name of the Seeing One, as expressive of this precious attribute. Or to take another example, where the appellatives or names do not arise out of, but are actually given by God Himself in revelation. This instance occurred at the first breach of the covenant, and the revelation was to Moses. It

is said : 'The Lord descended in the cloud, and stood with him there and proclaimed the name of the Lord. And the Lord passed by before him, and proclaimed, The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, longsuffering and abundant in goodness and truth.'¹

Thus the names of God are intimately associated with, and grow out of, the revelations which God has given of Himself. And we may here point out in passing the great weight of evidence on which the truth of these revelations rests. It is not, as many suppose, that they are accredited to us only on the authority of old tradition. On the contrary they form the pith and marrow, the whole backbone, so to speak, of Israel. It is out of them that the laws, the institutions, and even the history of the people grow. If we remove them, we remove the light which can alone explain the ideas, the customs, the history of Israel. The whole life of Israel apart from them is unintelligible ; and hence they rest not only on direct evidence, but indirectly on facts of history which none can question—facts which could not have existed but for the revelations.

It is not, however, our present business to argue for the truth of revelation ; and there is only one further remark we have to make regarding it. It is, that, whatever view we may take of the reality of these revelations, the knowledge of God which we get by them can never be brought into competition with that knowledge of God which we get by our natural faculties. The relation which subsists between the two kinds of knowledge is not, as many suppose, that revelation gives perfectly that knowledge of God which our natural faculties give more or less imperfectly. On the contrary, the two kinds of knowledge belong to totally different spheres. And as this is a point which is not only important in itself, but also has a bearing on the interpretation of the names of God, we desire to say a few words regarding it.

The Bible is very far from depreciating our natural knowledge of God. On the contrary, it magnifies it and makes constant appeals to it. The fundamental view which the Bible takes of nature is that it is a manifestation of the glory of God ; and it recognizes the fact that man from the contemplation of the works of nature can rise to the knowledge of God, its Author. The reader will recall numerous passages in which nature is appealed to as manifesting God. It is said, 'He that planted the ear, shall He not hear ? or He that made the eye, shall He not see ?' And again, 'The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth His

¹ Exodus xxxiv. 5, 6.

handiwork.' St. Paul, in fact, was speaking quite in the spirit of the elder covenant when he said, 'The invisible things of God from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead.' Indeed, our natural knowledge of God, so far from being depreciated, is presupposed throughout the Bible as the basis on which the knowledge by revelation is erected. But what is the real character and extent of this natural knowledge? It may be stated in this way. By means of our natural faculties, aided by the Spirit of God, we are enabled to rise to the highest conception of Him. We are enabled to contemplate Him as the Creator and also as the Ruler of the world. Nor only so, we can also know a great deal about Him; St. Paul specifies two points as especially made out by our natural faculties, and they are most comprehensive, viz. His eternal power and Godhead. So far our natural faculties will carry us; and no doubt it is a great way. But here it is that they stop short. And what is most remarkable is, that the point at which they stop is just the point where we are introduced to, and feel ourselves in the presence of, some of the most awful and momentous questions that can occur to a human being. For when we have come to see that there must be an intelligent Being who is the Author and Ruler of the world, we are impelled to ask further: What is His personal character? Is He a God of vengeance or of mercy? Or, is He anything to us? Will He stoop to us, or is He indifferent? Does He behold or ignore us? Will He hear us if we call upon Him? Will He enter into relations with us and be our God? Will He be a Father to us? Or is He a Stranger or an Enemy? These are questions which touch the inmost core of the human heart, and have a momentous bearing on human destiny. And yet upon one and all of them our natural knowledge of God is silent—hopelessly silent. In fact, only those who have most deeply studied this natural knowledge know how hopeless this silence really is. And probably it is just this defect, which, taken along with perplexing indications, reacts upon the knowledge itself, scattering doubt everywhere, and in the end, where there is no other support, leading to that state of mind which is called Agnosticism.

Now, it is just at the point where natural knowledge stops short that revealed knowledge comes in, and it addresses itself to the solution of those questions which natural knowledge raises but is unable to grapple with. But there is more in it than this. It is not only that revealed knowledge goes

further than natural knowledge, but that it transports us into a wholly different sphere. Natural knowledge belongs to the sphere of abstract or scientific truth ; its essence is logic or reason. It is something that can be stated in propositions and proved by inferences. Hence it is not only hard and dry, but it is dead. There is no nutriment in it. There is nothing on which the soul hungering after and reaching forth to higher things can sustain itself. Our revealed knowledge, on the other hand, is living and personal. It transports us into the sphere of personal intercourse. It puts us face to face with God, and through it we are permitted to behold God unveiling Himself, exhibiting to us, as it were, His personal character and attitude towards us. We can read in these manifestations of God His everlasting love and condescension, His righteousness, justice, and judgment on sin, and at the same time His forgivingness, His mercy, and loving-kindness. In a word, revealed knowledge belongs to the same sphere as our own spiritual life—the sphere of personal intercourse with our God and Father. And hence we see how indispensable it is to the wellbeing of mankind, and how impossible it is that it could ever be superseded by any advance in our natural knowledge. But for another reason it is well to bear in mind the different sphere in which it stands from natural knowledge. When we study the names of God, we must be careful not to take them in an abstract or scientific sense. This would be to take them out of that personal spiritual sphere to which they belong, and so to miss their true meaning and import.

We now turn to consider with Mr. Jukes the particular names of God. The first with which he deals, and which was also the first name under which God revealed Himself, is *Elohim*. It is said in the text-books to be the first and most general designation of God ; but this is to take it in an abstract or scientific sense, which is out of harmony with the genius of revelation. We may first of all notice that it contrasts with the older name of God which was common to the Hebrews with the other Shemitic peoples ; we mean the name *El*, which means to be strong, to be powerful. It is clear that *El* as a name of God was common among the ancestors of the revelation people. We gather this from the fact of its frequently occurring in the earliest names, as for instance *Mehujael*, *Methusael*. It also continued to be used as a name of God by the sacred writers, although to a great extent supplanted by the new name *Elohim*. Mr. Jukes instances two hundred and twenty-five times where it is translated God in the

Authorized Version. It also appears in the names or titles of God, El Shaddai, El Olam, El Eljon. What then is the relation in which Elohim stands to this older name? It is probable there is a connexion between the two, if not direct at least indirect. But the attempt to trace the two words back as varying forms of the same root—in other words, to assign to Elohim a natural or traditional origin—fails. There is against it, first the fact that Elohim is a new name, peculiar to the sphere of revelation; and secondly, the fact that it possesses what, for want of a better word, we may call an artificial character. There is an additional letter in Elohim which on the above theory is quite unaccounted for, which in fact cannot be explained except by a reference to the analogous custom of the time. A similar change was effected in the original name of Abraham; an additional letter was introduced; and we know that it was done on purpose in order that the name might acquire a new meaning. Analogy leads us to the conclusion that the name Elohim was similarly constructed that it also might carry a special meaning.

Mr. Jukes adopts the etymology given in Parkhurst's Lexicon, which derives the word Elohim from the Hebrew word 'Alah,' to swear. Elohim would thus describe 'One who stands in a covenant relationship which is ratified by an oath.' Parkhurst says:—

'It is a name usually given in the Hebrew Scriptures to the ever-blessed Trinity by which they represent themselves as under the obligation of an oath . . . This oath (referred to in Psalm cx. 4, "The Lord sware and will not repent") was prior to creation. Accordingly "Jehovah" is at the beginning of the creation called "Elohim" in Gen. i. 1, which implies that the Divine persons had sworn when they created; and it is evident, from Gen. iii. 4-5, that both the serpent and the woman knew "Jehovah" by this name "Elohim" before the fall.'

This etymology derives considerable support from the fact pointed out by Mr. Jukes that all throughout the Old Testament the name Elohim is constantly associated with the idea of covenant relationship, and that it means, in fact, 'One in covenant.' It may be further remarked that if we adopt it, it accounts for all the facts. We see at once why Elohim is a new name, and why it is peculiar to revelation. It also puts Elohim in the same line with the other names of God as a product of revelation. If we find that the other names and appellatives of God are specially constructed for the purpose of expressing an aspect or attribute of God, there would be something quite incongruous in assigning to Elohim,

the first and most important of all, a natural or traditional origin.

What then is the special truth regarding God embodied in this name? It reveals the infinite love and condescension of God. God, as it were, unveils or lays bare His inmost heart or essence, and thereby encourages man to draw near to Him. By this name He assures man that He is love—unfailing love. God loves man, and because of this His love He is ever ready to enter into covenant with him, to take man for His child or servant, and to be to man his Elohim. The unfailing character of this love is expressed by the fact that it leads to or ends in a covenant—a covenant confirmed by an oath. Because it is a covenant, and because it is so confirmed, man knows that it never can be broken, at least on God's part. It is thus a pledge or assurance from God that He will never leave us or forsake us. Man knows from this name that, however forsaken or afflicted he may be, he has One on whom he can trust; however much he may have been unfaithful and wandered out of the way, yet his Elohim remains faithful, He cannot deny Himself. He can therefore always return from his wanderings with the full assurance that he will be heard and received in love. We have, in truth, in Elohim a foreshadow of that fuller revelation under the Christian covenant of God as love. It is the name Elohim that points with no uncertain indication to the perfect name of Father; for in this idea of covenant relationship there is summed up a father's care and providence, together with love that never fails.

And this is the first name of God. We shall see presently that, in order that we may have a full knowledge of God, it was necessary that God should reveal other attributes or sides of His Being, attributes of a sterner and more awful character. There is thus something unspeakably blessed in the fact that Elohim should be the first name—that it should lie behind and cover the others. Man is thereby enabled to appeal as it were from judgment or justice to the everlasting covenant of love embodied in Elohim.

Mr. Jukes finds illustrations of the name Elohim taken from those parts of Scripture where this name is specially used. We can only briefly indicate what they are, and leave the reader to follow them out. The most remarkable of all is, of course, the account of creation, where the name Elohim is exclusively used. That name thus throws a beautiful light upon the great creative act, signaling it as an act of love. This lets us see what a blessing we possess in having such a

revelation. We have only to contrast this beautiful picture with the heathen systems of India or Persia to see its immense value. It would appear that man is especially liable to error in the view he takes of nature and its origin. Nor does the progress of culture mend the matter, or enable the human spirit to rise to juster or more perfect views. It would seem just the contrary. We have only to call to mind recent speculations—dark, even lurid, certainly perverted and hopeless—to see that the word of revelation is just as much needed at the present moment as it ever was. We turn with a shudder from these perversions to the clear and beautiful light which that wonderful first chapter sheds upon nature and its origin. Mr. Jukes finds in the description of the primitive state of the earth, as being ‘without form and void,’ an indication of a fall from a former state of perfection; and uses this as an illustration of the character of Elohim, who never forsakes the creature. Whether it be that the primeval void was owing to such a fall, or whether it were that it had not as yet received its form, the character of Elohim is manifested in the going forth of the Word and the Spirit, and the majestic process, step by step, by which order, beauty, and life are introduced, and finally man is created in the image of Elohim. Out of darkness light is produced; out of disorder, order; nor does the Creator cease from work till all is perfected, all is made beautiful, and everything is pronounced to be good. It may be that we have here, as Mr. Jukes thinks, an image and type of that marvellous work of regeneration and renewal by which man, though fallen, is not deserted by Elohim, but is brought back, step by step, to the perfect image of the Creator.

We have, again, in the case of the Flood an instance of the unfailing love of Elohim. Here, undoubtedly, we have a fall with ruin and disorder everywhere. Yet Elohim does not turn away. Just because of His love which brings Him into covenant with man, He cannot and will not forsake him, fallen though he be. A way of salvation must be provided, and hence Noah is elected and the ark prepared. What is most interesting in connexion with Noah is to see how closely the idea of covenant relationship is connected with Elohim. ‘And Elohim said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me, but with thee will I establish my covenant.’¹ And again, ‘And behold, I establish my covenant with you, and with your seed, and with every living creature that is with you. And this is the token of the covenant which I make between me and you. I do set my bow in the cloud, and I will remember

¹ Gen. vi. 13, 18.

my covenant which is between me and you and every living creature of all flesh that is upon the earth.' So, again, in the case of Abraham we find a similar association of the name Elohim with the covenant. Elohim makes with Abraham a covenant which is to last for ever. 'I am the Almighty God; walk before me, and be thou perfect: and I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee in all generations, to be a God to thee and to thy seed, and I will be their Elohim.'¹

We thus see how the name Elohim is associated with the everlasting covenant, and how it is a pledge of the unfailing love of God and that He will never withdraw His care and protection. In this way the name sank deep into the heart of Israel. The Israelite knew that, whatever might betide, God would be true and He would remember His covenant. Had not God remembered Abraham, and sent Lot out of the overthrow? Was not Jacob sure when dying that 'Elohim will surely visit you, and bring you out of this land'? There is a wonderful beauty in the way in which this revelation light which clings to the name Elohim is reflected in the Psalms. 'My covenant will I not break, nor alter the thing that is gone out of my lips.' And again, 'He will ever be mindful of His covenant.' And again, of David, 'My mercy will I keep with him for ever, and my covenant shall stand fast with him.' For, as David says, 'it is an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things, and sure.'

Elohim, then, is the earliest revelation of God. It expresses the attitude or aspect in which God first unveils Himself to man. And in order to understand it in all its blessedness we have only to set it over against that knowledge of God which we have by our natural faculties. We have seen that this knowledge breaks off just at the point which is of the most absorbing interest to us. It cannot tell us anything of God personally, of His character, His feelings, His attitude towards us. It cannot even tell us whether He beholds, or whether He ignores us. Those who rely solely on natural knowledge find themselves at the end of their labours in a state of utter perplexity and doubt. They would fain know more of God, but as it was in the case of the priests of Baal so it is with them. There is in natural knowledge 'no voice nor any to answer.' It is in contrast with this that all the blessedness of revelation is felt. God as it were breaks the silence; He unveils Himself; He exhibits His inmost essence and character, and that is beautiful beyond expression. He is the God of love,

¹ Gen. xvii. 1.

the God of the everlasting covenant ; of His care and protection there is no end ; neither will He leave us or forsake us.

Before passing from the name Elohim there is a point of some interest on which we should like to say a word. As is well known, the name Elohim is a plural. But though a plural it is, with very rare exceptions, always construed with the singular. This fact, in view of the subsequent revelation of the mystery of the Trinity, is most remarkable ; and naturally the old theologians saw in it a foreshadowing of, or at least a preparation for, the fuller revelation. Mr. Jukes adopts the old view and appeals in support of it to many passages which on the face of them seem to demand the idea of a plurality in God. The same God who emphatically affirms His unity, saying, 'There is no God beside me,' and 'I am God and there is none else,' says also 'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness ;' and again, 'The man is become like one of us ;' and again, at Babel, 'Go to, let us go down and confound their language.' Mr. Jukes points out that there are many other passages hidden from the English reader in which the same plurality is indicated or implied. For instance, 'Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth,' is literally 'Remember thy Creators ;' and in Proverbs we have, 'The knowledge of the Holy Ones is understanding.' Certainly it is difficult on a consideration of these passages to avoid the conclusion that, along with the unity of God, a plurality in His Being or essence is shadowed forth. And it is especially difficult for those who, on other grounds, are convinced that the Bible is a record of real revelations. And yet in modern times the idea has been set aside, almost without examination, as something fanciful and anachronistic.

The curious thing, however, is that the progress of discussion has led us back exactly to the point from which we started, with just this difference, that the plurality in God accepted formerly on faith is now presented to us as an undeniable result of knowledge. This will be seen if we look at some of the modes in which the plural in Elohim has been explained, for obviously we have here a fact which must be accounted for.

First we have the view that the plural is a survival of a previous state of things when Polytheism prevailed. Just as the Greeks and Romans spoke of 'the gods,' so the ancestors of the revelation people spoke of 'the Elohim ;' and this mode of expression, we are assured, survived when Monotheism was developed out of Polytheism. It is sufficient to say of this theory that it has not a shred of evidence to support it. Like

so many other theories of what is called criticism, it rests solely on the support of a vivid imagination. If such a revolution in religious faith took place, it must have occurred at a period so remote that all trace of it had vanished long before the revelation era began. It may therefore be dismissed as an unsupported conjecture, and all the more readily as it stands in flagrant contradiction with the whole genius of the revelation faith. Another view put forward is that the plural is used for the purpose of including with the Supreme God the higher angels or spirits who are supposed to form, as it were, His court. But the account of creation, where the plural Elohim is uniformly used, shows no trace of the co-operation of angels. The creation is the work of God by His Word and Spirit ; nor is it reconcilable with the revelation idea of God that any created being could be associated with Him. Others, again, have supposed that we have in Elohim the plural of majesty ; but as an explanation this breaks down, because, though it might very well explain some cases, it is quite inapplicable to others. Thus we come to an explanation which has recently been put forth, and is, we believe, now extensively adopted. It is a view which really carries with it great probability. It is said that in order to explain the use of the plural Elohim we must place it side by side with other similar plurals occurring in Hebrew, as, for instance, the waters, the heavens. This is what is called the quantitative plural, and it is employed for the purpose of expressing unlimited greatness. If we suppose that we have in Elohim such a plural, the explanation of its use would be this. Just as the Jew used the plural number to express the vastness of the ocean or the heavens, so he used Elohim to denote the fulness and infinity which is in God. Such is the most probable view, and by many it is held to be a sufficient explanation.

In reality, however, the matter cannot rest so. There is still something further that needs explanation, and in explaining it we are just led back to the old theological view. For the quantitative plural cannot be used unless there is a real plurality in the object to which it is applied. There is such a plurality in the waters and the heavens, and if Elohim is a case of this plural we must look for a similar plurality in God. But how are we to conceive this plurality in God ? That is the point which must be explained. God is not, like the waters and the heavens, an extended divisible entity ; consequently we cannot think the manifold in Him in the same way in which we see it to exist in them. Still that a manifold does exist in Him, and was perceived to exist by the organs of

revelation, the use of the plural bears witness. We are thus, as it were, driven to conceive it in the sense of the later revelation, which is the only way in which it can be thought. In truth, the plural Elohim, taken in connexion with what is said of the Word and the Spirit in the early writings, gives a real foundation for the doctrine of the Trinity afterwards revealed.

When we turn from the name Elohim to that of Jehovah, we are conscious of a striking change. We feel that we have in this name another side or aspect of the Infinite God unveiled and presented to us. It is not, indeed, an altogether different side, for it is grounded on the former, and blends and coalesces with it. Jehovah grows out of Elohim, and is one with it; and this unity is expressed in the compound name Jehovah-Elohim under which God is presented in the earliest writings. The ground of this new name is to be found in what had happened. Man had fallen; man had changed his attitude towards God, and this involved a new attitude towards man on the part of God. The name Jehovah embodies this new attitude. It expresses the unchanging righteousness and holiness of God. It represents God as one who loves righteousness and hates iniquity; therefore as one who must judge evil wherever it exists, and, as Mr. Jukes beautifully expresses it, 'at whatever cost whether to the creature or Creator.'

In regard to the etymology of the name Jehovah there is no room for dispute. It cannot be denied that this is a new name artificially constructed, a special product of revelation. It is a noun formed from the third person of the imperfect of Havah, to be; and the meaning is 'One who is what He is,' or 'I am that I am;' in the Vulgate 'Ego sum qui sum.' In our opinion it is quite wrong to give to this an abstract, general, or scientific import. For instance, it is said by Oehler:—

'It is not the notion of a lasting being which lies in the verb Havah, but that of a moving existence, of becoming and occurring. . . . Hence it is wrong to find in the name the abstract notion of *ὄντως ὄν*. God is rather Jahve in as far as He has entered into historical relationship to mankind, and shows Himself continually in this historical relationship as He who is what He is. While heathenism rests almost exclusively on the past revelations of divinities, this name testifies, on the one hand, that the relationship of God to the world is in a state of continual living activity; it testifies especially in reference to the people who address their God by this name that they have in their God a future.'¹

We admit that it is wrong to find in the name Jehovah the abstract notion of *ὄντως ὄν*; but it is equally wrong to find

¹ *Theology of the Old Testament*, vol. i. p. 139.

in it the expression of the historical relationship of God to the world as involving a future, however true in itself this latter point may be. To explain the name Jehovah in either of these ways is to take it out of that personal spiritual sphere of revelation into a totally different one, namely, that of abstract knowledge, and thereby quite to miss its real import. The name must express a side, or aspect, or attitude of God presented in revelation. Nor is there any difficulty in seeing what that attitude must be. In unfolding Himself as 'I am that I am,' Elohim, as it were, says: 'If man changes, yet I change not. I am, and must remain true to that which I am, and that is righteousness, holiness, truth.' It is the revelation of the attitude of God in view of the fall and sin of man. And Mr. Jukes shows in a striking way how the name and attitude of Jehovah grow out of Elohim:—

'Let me try to show more exactly what the difference between these two names is, and how the One unchanging God, who in Himself is perfect Love, may, as we apprehend Him, appear in very different aspects or characters, either as Love or Truth as Elohim or Jehovah. St. John tells us "God is love." This is what He absolutely is. But in the expression of love we may see that love is righteous also. As to His Being, God is Love, and "Elohim" declares this. "Jehovah" reveals Him as the Truth; and Truth is not so much the Being of God as the Expression of His Being. And as apprehended by us these appear different, though in themselves they are and must be one. Some may not yet see this. But all, I think, will see how Love must show itself in truth and righteousness. Thus the self-same Love in its Being and in its Expression may seem different. If we think of its Being, we shall see a will which cannot change, because it springs from and rests on being and relationship. If we think of its Expression, we shall see how variously it acts, and changes, or seems to change, in virtue of certain qualities or conduct in the loved one. A father's and still more a mother's unchanging love illustrates the first, a love which cannot change, spite of faults and failings in the loved one. This is love in its Being. But the Expression of this love varies in virtue of certain qualities in the beloved. If therefore a child rebels, or a friend deceives, or if a wife becomes unfaithful, there will be a breach of love. You must, much as it may pain you, part from them, and judge the evil; for if you do not, you countenance their evil doings' (p. 36).

Thus the name Jehovah is fundamentally one with Elohim. The same love which is revealed in Elohim appears in Jehovah. The only thing different is the expression of this love, and this difference arises from the changed conduct or attitude of the loved one. What the name Jehovah indicates is that the love of God must be a righteous love. Jehovah must regard the attitude and conduct of His creature. His love being righteous,

He must look for righteousness in the creature, and if the creature falls into sin, there must be a breach. Jehovah must judge and punish the evil. Yet while He judges and punishes He Himself also suffers. This latter point Mr. Jukes brings out very beautifully, and finds in it a foreshadow of the cross of Christ.

As illustrations of the name of Jehovah Mr. Jukes refers to the history of Paradise, to the judgment of the Flood, to the giving of the Law ; and especially to the pictures given in the Prophets and reflected in the Psalms. If we refer to Paradise, we see how, at the very beginning, Jehovah regards the conduct of the creature and looks for righteousness. He makes for man a beautiful Paradise, and as soon as he is placed in it puts him under law. His command is laid upon man in the words 'Thou shalt' and 'Thou shalt not ;' and there is the possibility of man not obeying, for in Paradise there is not only the tree of life, but also the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Then when man prefers the word of the serpent to the command of his Lord and falls into sin, Jehovah is revealed in judgment. He judges and punishes the sin, expelling man from Paradise. We have in the case of the Flood a similar illustration of Jehovah. Here Mr. Jukes goes somewhat into detail, showing that the interchange of the names Jehovah and Elohim, which takes place in the narrative, really has a meaning. Jehovah is used in reference to that righteousness which He expects and which He found in Noah, and also in reference to the judgment itself, because of the wickedness of man which was great upon the earth. Elohim, on the other hand, is used in reference to the salvation by the ark and the promise of the covenant. But it is in the giving of the law, and the history connected with it, that we have the fullest illustration. Here the materials are so ample that we cannot even abbreviate, and must content ourselves with two quotations in which the whole is summed up. First we see how Jehovah speaks as One who loves righteousness and requires His own image in His people. It is said : 'Hear, O Israel, Jehovah our God is One Jehovah. And thou shalt love Jehovah thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might.'¹ Then again we have the promises and the threatenings according as Israel obeys or disobeys. 'And it shall come to pass, if ye shall hearken diligently to my commandments, to love Jehovah your God, and to serve Him with all your heart, that I will give you the rain of your land in due season, that thou mayest gather in thy corn and wine and oil.'² 'But if ye will

¹ Deut. vi. 4, 5.² Deut. xi. 13.

not obey the voice of Jehovah, but rebel against His commandments, then shall the hand of Jehovah be against you, as it was against your fathers.' ¹

As a specimen of the representation of the Prophets we may quote Ezekiel : 'If a man be just, and do that which is lawful and right, and hath walked in my statutes, and kept my judgments, he is just, he shall surely live, saith the Lord Jehovah . . . but he that doeth not any of these duties . . . he shall surely die, his blood shall be upon him.' ² The whole prophetic representation of Jehovah may in fact be summed up in two sentences : 'I have loved you with an everlasting love,' and 'The soul that sinneth it shall die.' It is the same also in the Psalms.

Mr. Jukes gives the following representation of the suffering of Jehovah as foreshadowing the Cross :—

'Again and again, when Israel sinned, "the anger of Jehovah was kindled against His people, and Jehovah sold them into the hands of their enemies ;" but it is not Israel only that is "sore distressed ;" for of Jehovah also it is written, "And His soul was grieved for the misery of Israel." ³ So again the Prophet declares, "Behold, I am pressed under you, as a cart is pressed that is full of sheaves," ⁴ that is, He is pressed and burdened, and goes groaning. So again the psalmist says, "Forty years long was I grieved with this generation in the wilderness." ⁵ "In all their afflictions He was afflicted." ⁶ Who can measure the anguish of His words : "How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? How shall I deliver thee, Israel? How shall I make thee as Admah? How shall I set thee as Zeboim? My heart is turned within me, my repentings are kindled together." ⁷ We are slow to see all this ; and yet if Jesus Christ really reveals "Jehovah ;" if He is indeed the brightness of His glory and the express image of His Person ; if He is, as the Apostle says, the image of the invisible God ; then His Cross and sufferings show, not only that sin brings death and sorrow upon men, but (if we may say it) sorrow and trouble on "Jehovah." Christ's cross is the witness of "Jehovah's" cross, though by His cross He conquers all' (p. 51).

There is only one other point needed to complete the picture of Jehovah, and we refer to it briefly. It is that revelation of Him which comes out in the later Prophets, which embodies a foreshadow of the New Testament. Jehovah loves righteousness, and requires righteousness, and judges and punishes the evil. But He does not end here. That which the later Prophets reveal is that His dealings with His people

¹ 1 Sam. xii. 15.

² Ezek. xviii. 5-9.

³ Judges x. 6, 7.

⁴ Amos ii. 13.

⁵ Ps. xcv. 10.

⁶ Isa. lxxiii. 9.

⁷ Hos. xi. 8.

do not end till He makes them righteous with His own righteousness. Hence He becomes in Jeremiah 'The Lord our righteousness;' and the new covenant that He is to make with them after those days is a covenant under which He will put His law into their mind and will write it in their heart. All this, which was dark and doubtful to the Jew of old, comes out clear under the New Testament. It is the ministration of righteousness which exceeds in glory.

We have occupied so much space with the consideration of the first two names, that we are unable to follow Mr. Jukes in the others. Yet they are of great interest. Foremost among them is El Shaddai, which forms the complement of Elohim and Jehovah. El Shaddai is the Almighty God; but, as Mr. Jukes points out, God is Almighty, not under the popular view because He can do anything and everything, but Almighty by the power of His grace. El Shaddai is the shedder forth; and the name thus becomes the ground and foreshadow of the Pentecostal gift, and of the gift of the Eucharist. For it is the communication of Himself that is shadowed forth under this name. We take leave of Mr. Jukes, and can recommend his beautiful volume. The only criticism we would make is that the reader will find in it a slight admixture of the doctrine for which he is famed. But that is a small thing in view of the excellent matter with which the volume abounds.

ART. III.—CHRISTIAN BIOGRAPHY AND LITERATURE.

A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects, and Heresies: being a Continuation of the Dictionary of the Bible. Edited by WILLIAM SMITH, D.C.L., LL.D., and HENRY WACE, D.D. Four volumes. (London, 1877-1887.)

THE completion of the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* at length perfects the trilogy it forms along with the *Dictionary of the Bible* and the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*. They attest conjointly that principle of continuity which differentiates the Catholic view of Church history from the Protestant

one, and indeed from the Ultramontane. And they do it all the more effectually because they are not intentionally designed to subserve this purpose ; nay, not a few of the many contributors are obviously pledged to the opposite view, and there is, to say the least, no clear evidence of editorial correction of any such bias on their part. The usefulness of this series of volumes is indisputable, and no one who is occupied with the class of questions with which they are concerned can henceforward dispense with their aid ; while the scholar who is often so occupied must have them for his very own, and not merely consult them occasionally in some public library. Nevertheless, this usefulness has its limits. Not only have these dictionaries the fault of very unequal treatment inseparable from all literary co-operation, but the period covered by their issue has been a very active one in just the fields of learning with which they deal, so that in not a few instances the best recent scholarship has left the conclusions arrived at behind, and requiring revision to bring them up to date. A graver defect is a necessary result of the arbitrary break made at the end of the eighth century, beyond which the two latter dictionaries of the series refuse to carry us. For there is no such break in the actual current of Church history and Church life, and the student is as much concerned to know what happened in the twelfth or the fifteenth century as what happened in the seventh. As regards this last work of the series, it concerns him much more ; for the writers and great ecclesiastics of the Plantagenet era (to employ a note of time convenient for Englishmen) are incomparably more eminent and influential than all, save half-a-dozen at most, between Gregory the Great and Charlemagne. *A Dictionary of Christian Biography* where we shall look in vain for Paschasius Radbert, Rabanus Maurus, Walafrid Strabo, Photius, Scotus Erigena, Fulbert of Chartres, Notker Balbulus, Lanfranc, Gregory VII., Godfrey de Bouillon, Anselm, Becket, Abelard, Innocent III., Hugh of St. Victor, Thomas Aquinas, and a crowd of others, does but very imperfectly fulfil the promise of its title, and scholars will not have all they imperatively need till this want is supplied. A like remark applies, but to a much less serious extent, to the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* ; but even there the student whose immediate business is to trace the history of some rite or usage is apt to be baffled by the sudden interruption of the record when the era of Charlemagne is reached.

Another criticism which forces itself on the attention is that the classification of this last *Dictionary* has not been

carefully maintained. Besides the biographical articles, and those on literature, sects, and heresies, which the title-page promises, there are a great many entries which do not properly fall under any of these categories, and which should have found their place in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*. Such, for instance, are Baptism, Confession, Confirmation, Eucharist, Excommunication, Monasteries of Nitria, Patron Saints and Angels, &c. These articles are more or less avowedly addenda to the earlier dictionary, and, even on the theory of their being more literary and bibliographical than archæological, ought to have found their place therein, for it is not convenient to the student that he should have to search in different works for two such closely allied branches of a given subject, since it may be quite as much his object to ascertain what has been written elsewhere as to examine the article here supplied him. It is desirable, therefore, when the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* goes out of print, and a new edition is required, that these and similar entries in the present work should be incorporated therein, and dropped out of the next edition of the present dictionary. The space so gained is not likely to remain unoccupied for lack of claimants.

As compared with the two great contemporary dictionaries of a kindred nature—the Roman Catholic *Kirchen-Lexicon* of Wetzler and Welte, and the Protestant *Real-Encyclopædie* of Herzog and Plitt—the book before us gains or loses by comparison according to the point of view. Concerned as it is with a smaller range of topics, it is fuller within that range; the treatment is more detailed, the probability of getting some measure of information about minor personages, whose relative obscurity would lead to their omission where space is a main consideration, is greater; and of course there is special attention given to topics having some direct bearing upon English Church history, which are more cursorily handled in foreign compilations. On the other hand, those other works are far more comprehensive, they meet the needs of the general theological student much more fully, they cover a longer and wider historical area, and they are more evenly level in execution. English theological literature is still without any work, whether on the larger scale of those just named, or the much smaller one of the Abbé Glaire's *Dictionnaire Universel des Sciences Ecclésiastiques* (2 vols. royal 8vo, Paris, 1868), which will fairly meet the needs of a student who can afford to purchase but few books, and desires to find within the compass of but one, and that of moderate dimensions, the

information he is seeking upon a variety of allied topics. The French book just mentioned, for example, claims on its title-page to be a handbook to the history of religion and of the Church, ecclesiastical discipline, liturgies, dogmatic and moral theology, Biblical exegesis, canon law, hagiography, popes, councils, ancient and modern episcopal sees—this reminds us that we have not yet a dictionary of Christian geography—abbeys, religious and military orders, schisms, heresies, religious biography and bibliography. That is a sufficiently comprehensive programme, and yet it is much more nearly carried out than might be supposed. Of course the book has the defects as well as the merits of French work, and, above all, French theological work. The articles upon questions of criticism are perfunctory and inadequate, but the amount of really trustworthy information on many subjects, given in very brief form, is remarkable. It might reasonably be taken for granted, for instance, that such a book, compiled by a French Ultramontane, would ignore English theological literature as a whole, and refer to it only where it collided polemically or conferred amicably with the writings of French divines. We might thus, perhaps, look for Andrewes and for Wake; we might also expect, on historical grounds, to find Cranmer and Parker; but scarcely for more than such exceptional entries. But, in point of fact, there is a large contingent of English writers, and, what is more, equipped with a very useful bibliography of their theological publications. Nothing in the least resembling this work is procurable in English; the revised edition of Dean Hook's *Church Dictionary* and Mr. Benham's *Dictionary of Religion*, both useful in their degree, do not cover at all the same amount of ground, and are much less varied in the treatment of the far smaller group of subjects with which they deal. Here, then, is a field to be occupied. Already we have an abridged edition of the *Bible Dictionary* in Dr. William Smith's series, and there seems no reason why we should not have a book which shall present an abridgment of the two companion works, with the addition of the other subjects to be found in the Abbé Glaire's volumes, all brought down to the present day, instead of breaking off more than a thousand years ago. Competently edited, and rivalling the French compilation in plan, method, arrangement, and contents, while surpassing it in width of outlook and in accuracy and range of scholarship, it would meet a serious want, and should obtain a brilliant success, if brought, alike in compass and in cost, within the reach of those who dwell in narrow rooms, and carry but shallow purses.

In proceeding to form an impartial estimate of the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, it is necessary to take first into account the editors' exposition of its scope and aim, as set forth in the preface to the first volume, published in 1877. The two questions which will then need consideration are: How far is the plan itself to be commended as adequate in conception? and How far is the execution commensurate with the plan? We are told, in the first place, that the present work is intended to be a continuation of the *Dictionary of the Bible*, and to furnish, in biographical form, in union with the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, a complete collection of materials for the history of the Christian Church from the time of the Apostles to the age of Charlemagne, both these works being parts of one comprehensive cyclopædia of ecclesiastical history for the first eight centuries of the Christian era, and everything subsequent to Charlemagne being omitted as belonging to the domain of modern history. Abandoning the idea of producing a complete Onomasticon of the Christian world, because of the delay it must occasion, the scheme of the editors has been to take the great historical collections made since the Reformation as their starting-point, to verify, collate, and condense them into manageable compass, thus advancing the work of former scholars a step forwards, to apply correctively the resources of modern learning, and to increase the scale of treatment in respect of articles relating to England, Scotland, and Ireland. Acknowledging the inequality observable in the earlier part of vol. i. as compared with the latter, they account for it by the gradual evolution of plan, and by the long period over which the preparation of the work extended, so that in not a few cases fresh information came to light after the first portion of the work was printed. All such defects they undertake to make good in a supplement, to be published after the issue of the dictionary in a provisionally complete form.

In the main, this is a broad, scholarly, and judicious scheme, and it has, on the whole, been fairly carried out. But we take exception to the sentence in the preface which runs: 'It ceases at the age of Charlemagne, because the reign of that monarch forms a recognized link between ancient and modern times.' Now, while this statement is true in some sense of secular history, it does not hold good of ecclesiastical history. The Alcuins and Bedes of the Carolingian period do not usher in a new era; they are a flicker of the dying lamp of the elder learning, and a period of intellectual barbarism, extending over two centuries, but dimly lighted by such

scholars as some of those named above as not included within the scope of this dictionary, set in immediately after the death of the great Emperor. The new active Church life which begins the modern era may perhaps best be dated from the first prominence of Hildebrand in the sphere of ecclesiastical polity, and of Lanfranc in that of scholastic theology, both of whom almost exactly synchronize with the final breach between Oriental and Latin Christianity, just after the middle of the eleventh century ; and it is to this point, or at any rate but just short of it, that a cyclopædia of ancient Christian history and literature should come down, even on the hypothesis we have already disputed, that any such division as that between ancient and modern can be philosophically drawn at all, where the action is so continuous and the conservative elements, on the whole, so powerful throughout. In truth, the division which most accords with the facts of both secular and ecclesiastical history is to date the mediæval period from the break-up of the Western Empire in 479, and the modern from the fall of Constantinople in 1453. And we think it would have been wiser to have held back the articles we have specified as foreign to the immediate subject of this dictionary, reserving them for the promised Supplement—which might well be extended to the *Dictionary of the Bible* also—and so complement the whole series, permanently for possessors of the original issue, and provisionally in respect of future editions, to which all supplemental matter should be systematically and severally transferred upon every occasion of reprinting.

Having premised so much concerning the general scope and method of the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, we shall now turn to the question of its execution, and will endeavour to enable our readers, by means of a sufficient induction of specimen articles, to form a trustworthy estimate of its quality.

The first article to signalize is 'Abdias,' by Professor Lipsius of Jena, a scholarly and adequate analysis of the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, attributed to a legendary Bishop of Babylon, but really of Western and Latin origin at some uncertain date between the translation of Eusebius by Rufinus, about 399, and the poems of Venantius Fortunatus two hundred years later ; these limits being fixed by the obvious use made of Rufinus by the pseudo-Abdias, and of the pseudo-Abdias himself by Venantius Fortunatus. The article is dry, no doubt, but that is quite as much to be ascribed to the subject as to the writer, who is far more readable in the

extremely full and valuable article on the general subject of the apocryphal Acts, which follows close upon it. But we wish Professor Lipsius had gone somewhat more minutely into the Simon Magus legend at Rome, on which he touches, indeed, but without showing how and when the scene of the legendary contest between him and St. Peter was transferred from the East, where it was at first localised, to the West. This is a point of some historical interest, since no fewer than three of the very scanty pre-Nicene references to St. Peter in connexion with the city of Rome are concerned with that story alone, and when withdrawn, as they needs must be, seriously diminish the bulk of testimony now extant upon that matter. Provost Salmon's article on 'Julius Africanus' is excellent, omitting nothing which the reader is concerned to know, or reasonably entitled to look for in a book of reference. This scarcely holds good of the Bishop of Chester's article upon 'Alcuin,' for, sound and scholarly as it is, a student might justifiably ask for more particulars as to the educational labours of Alcuin, whose share was so large in promoting the school-system encouraged, if not actually planned, by Charlemagne. And the problem of Alcuin's relation to the *Libri Carolini* deserved more than the single sentence, in which it is just mentioned to be passed over. No doubt it is beset with polemical thorns, requiring judicious handling in a non-controversial work, but it is of sufficient literary importance to merit investigation and exposition. Canon Bright's 'St. Alexander of Alexandria' is a good example of compressing a long story into brief compass without loss of lucidity, and the difficulties of the narrative are succinctly cleared up, especially that arising from the curious statement of Eutychius as to the mode of appointing to the patriarchate of Alexandria. Under 'Ambrosiaster,' by Professor Westcott, and 'Ambrosius of Mediolanum,' by Mr. Llewelyn Davies, there is nothing said as to the authorship of the treatise *De Sacramentis*, which is simply assumed to be a work of St. Ambrose; but as its authenticity has been challenged, and its date brought down three, and even four, centuries later by able critics, the question should have been discussed in one or other of these articles, and the name of Ambrose of Cahors in the eighth century should have been given as its most probable author.¹ Indeed, its spuriousness is directly asserted further on, in the article 'Eucharist,' by Mr. E. S. Ffoulkes. The Bishop of Durham's 'St. Amphilochius' is an admirable piece of work, and the utmost is made of the relatively scanty

¹ Cf. Oudin, *Comment. de Scriptor. Eccl.* tom. i. col. 1861.

and absolutely mutilated materials which exist for giving a faithful presentment of that eminent person.

Dean Plumptre's 'Angels' is rather thin, and, what is singular in so fervid a student of Dante, makes no reference whatever to the widely-spread belief, beginning, we think, with Origen, that there was a body of angels who attempted to stand neuter when Satan rebelled and fell. The passage in the third canto of the *Inferno* is just to the point:—

'Mischiare sono a quel cattivo coro
Degli Angeli, che non furon ribelli,
Nè fur fedeli a Dio, ma per sè foro.
Cacciarli i Ciel, per non esser men belli,
Nè lo profondo Inferno gli riceve,
Ch' alcuna gloria i rei avrebber d'elli.'

'Antichrist,' by the same contributor, has the like fault of thinness, and needs to be rewritten before it can be called adequate. It is good so far as it goes, but there is not enough of it, nor is anything told us of the literary treatment of the subject later than the fifth century. The Bishop of Durham is again well to the front with a full and accurate account of St. Athanasius, and in respect of the scholarship of the subject nothing is lacking, but there is a certain coldness of tone which is a little out of keeping with the noble and inspiring topic, which might kindle almost any competent narrator into eloquence. It was a mistake to put St. Augustine into M. de Pressensé's hands. He has been painstaking, even laboured, over his subject, but the nineteen columns devoted to it fail to supply an adequate picture of the man himself or a sufficient analysis of his writings. What he has failed to do for St. Augustine has been effected for St. Basil the Great by Canon Venables, whose article is a much more thorough piece of work. There is an error in the entry 'Boniface IV.,' where it is alleged that Clinton regards the letter of Columbanus to Boniface upon the controversy of the Three Chapters as unauthentic, which is not the case. This is a matter of some importance, for the superscription of the letter in question supplies valuable evidence of the estimate in which the Roman See was held by the Celtic Church, and of the personal relations of Columbanus to the Pope of his day. It begins thus: 'Pulcherrimo omnium totius Europæ ecclesiarum capiti, Papæ prædulci;' and in the document itself occurs the sentence: 'Nos enim, ut ante dixi, devincti sumus cathedræ S. Petri, licet enim Roma est magna et vulgata, per istam cathedram tantum apud nos magna et clara. . . . Propter Christi geminos Apostolos

vos prope cælestes estis, et Roma orbis terrarum caput et ecclesiarum.' The article 'Columbanus' does not correct the error as to Clinton, for, without directly repeating it, it sends the reader back to the article 'Bonifacius IV.' by a cross-reference, thereby virtually affirming it anew. Professor Cowell's article on 'Buddha and Buddhism' has been carefully put together from the best authorities, old and new, and is a good summary of the subject. We may note in connexion with it that there is no mention under the article 'Barlaam' of the curious fact that the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat is the story of Buddha in a Christianized form. 'Charles the Great' is a useful but slightly heavy article, which might have been more picturesque with no loss to scholarly precision. The intricate problems connected with the 'Clementine Literature' are ably and adequately handled by Dr. Salmon, in one of the longer entries of the *Dictionary*. There is a compendious and accurate article on 'Confirmation' by Mr. E. S. Ffoulkes, but this is one of the entries which should be transferred to the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* on the first opportunity. Mr. Fuller's article on the 'Coptic Church' contains a mass of information, conveniently arranged, on a subject exceptionally unfamiliar to the ordinary student; but it will be the better for some re-touching in future editions, as more facts are known concerning it now, by reason of the political complications in Egypt, than were accessible at the date of the article. Canon Bright's 'Cyril of Alexandria' is one of the best among the biographical notices, and there has been no attempt to evade or gloss over the dark parts of the story, though no brief is held against the famous patriarch. 'Epiphanius of Salamis,' by Professor Lipsius, is another of the same stamp, and a valuable contribution to ecclesiastical history. 'Eschatology,' by Dean Plumptre, is on lines similar to those of the volume entitled *The Spirits in Prison*, which he published in 1884, and is a most able and temperate statement of the controversy, leaning towards the 'larger hope' in its conclusions, and specifically rejecting the Augustinian view as having shed a 'disastrous twilight' for centuries over Christian thought upon this momentous subject. The writer says, very truly, that the indulgence system, with all its vices, was only a natural development of Augustinianism, and 'it was reserved for Calvinism and popular Protestantism to reproduce all that was hardest in it without even that element of mitigation.' Mr. Ffoulkes's short but sufficient article on the theological meaning of 'Eternity' may be conveniently read.

along with this paper of Dean Plumptre's, whether for illustration or correction. Principal Reynolds, of Cheshunt College, has been intrusted with the 'Ethiopic Church,' and has produced an instructive paper upon it, but one not quite free from traces of polemical bias, as when he thinks he is making a point by remarking that in the most sacred part of an Ethiopic church there is 'the *table* of communion, not "altar" of sacrifice.' Clearly he does not know that 'table' is the term in use in all the Oriental liturgies, wherein, none the less, the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice is prominently set forth, as we showed at some length in this *Review* in a former article ('The Sacrificial Teaching of the Ancient Liturgies,' October 1880), from which we take a couple of illustrative quotations to settle the present point:—

Greek St. James.— . . . 'I am not worthy to present myself before this Thy sacred and spiritual Table, where Thine Only-Begotten Son and our Lord, Jesus Christ, is mystically set forth (*πρόκειται*) as a Sacrifice for me, a sinner marked with every stain.'

Ibid. Prayer of the Incense.— . . . 'Purify us from every spot, and cause us to stand pure before Thy holy Altar, that we may offer to Thee the sacrifice of praise.'

And that the like doctrine is held by the very Church which Principal Reynolds views as rejecting it, can be shown irrefutably from its own most ancient rite:—

Ethiopic Universal Canon.—'Jesu Christ, our King, . . . shew forth Thy Face upon this Bread and on this Cup, which we have presented on this Thy spiritual altar. Bless, hallow, and purify them, and change this Bread that it may become Thy pure Body, and that which is mingled in this Cup Thy precious Blood, and let them be for us an Oblation unto healing, and to the salvation of our soul and body. . . .'

On the general issue, Mr. Ffoulkes's article on 'Eucharist,' following close on Principal Reynolds's contribution, will serve to correct it, though Mr. Ffoulkes does not specifically deal with the sacrificial element at any length, contenting himself with a few pregnant sentences. The Bishop of Durham's 'Eusebius of Cæsarea' is well-nigh exhaustive, and occupies almost forty pages of the *Dictionary*, yet not too much for the exceeding importance of the subject in relation to ecclesiastical history. Mr. Ffoulkes has essayed the impossible when attempting to compress an article on the 'Fathers' into the brief space allowed him for the purpose. He has produced, indeed, a readable essay, but it is unavoidably sketchy, and too crowded with names in close juxtaposition to be clear reading for tiros, though it is a

sufficiently convenient summary to remind scholars of various salient facts in patrology. Tillemont and Natalis Alexander should be added to the bibliographical list at the end of the article, as more valuable aids by far than Rohrbacher and Alzog, who are recommended. The article 'God' is a weak and insufficient handling of the subject, whose literary difficulty and complexity are considerable, and needed an abler expositor than Professor Swainson. 'Apocryphal Gospels' is yet another of Professor Lipsius's profitable contributions to the *Dictionary*, and will amply repay perusal. Under 'Grace' we desiderate a larger Oriental factor in the treatment of the subject, St. Augustine's teaching being in sole possession. But while it is quite true that his minute discussion of this part of Christian theology has won for him the title of 'Doctor of Grace,' and virtual supremacy in Western Christendom as its expositor, he has never enjoyed like authority in the East, and therefore a statement of Greek teaching upon the topic is necessary for completeness of survey. No doubt the task is not easy, for the consensus of the Greek Fathers must be painfully collected from casual and incidental expressions in their writings, as there is no formal treatise on the subject by any one of them, and it does not even form a section in the *De Fide Orthodoxa* of St. John Damascene.

The famous Gregories are on the whole well treated; 'Gregory Nazianzen,' by Archdeacon Watkins, is perhaps the best. 'Gregory Thaumaturgus' and 'Gregory the Illuminator' are a little meagre, but materials are not very abundant; and under 'Gregory Nyssen' some fuller discussion of his eschatology is desirable than the few lines actually devoted to it, though they are accurate so far as they go. 'Gregory the Great' is a fairly good, but not specially brilliant, article, which is just what pains should have been taken to make it, since the great Pope is one of the few kingly figures which meet us in the field of ecclesiastical history, ranking as he does with Athanasius and Leo the Great, and surpassing Augustine in dignity of character and conduct. There is a slight mistake in this article, where doubt is thrown on Gregory's statement that the title of Universal Bishop was offered to the Roman Pope at the Council of Chalcedon. The fact was so, but the offer did not come from the Council, only from a priest and two deacons of Alexandria, petitioners against Dioscorus, who tried thus to curry favour with the Roman legates. The extremely difficult subject of 'Hippolytus Romanus' is carefully treated by Dr. Salmon, who leans to Dr. von Döllinger's theory that

Hippolytus was the earliest Anti-pope, though he does not fail to point out the great obstacle to accepting this view caused by the absence of any ancient mention of the local schism necessarily involved, if the fact be so. The article on 'Hosius of Corduba' is very full and careful, being a useful contribution to ecclesiastical history. Professor Stokes's 'Iconoclasts' is an important article, and sets the historical position clearly before the student, but there is scarcely enough said as to the unfortunate fact that the opponents of image-worship, right as they were on the principal issue at stake, were too often heterodox on crucial questions of Christian doctrine, and showed themselves occasionally as the precursors of the rationalism of a much later day. This was one main cause of their ultimate failure and the unhappy triumph of iconolatry. Professor Stokes does indeed specify the Monophysite tendencies of some Iconoclast leaders, but passes over this other count of the indictment against them, except in so far as he incidentally mentions Paulicians and Manichæans as included in their ranks. And yet it is the more needful that this should be set forth, because of the stress laid in the article on the Neo-Platonic factor in Alexandrian theology as being the primary cause of the tendency to image-worship. Something is said upon the point, however, in the article on the Empress Irene, by Mr. Hole, where, in summing up the results of the Second Council of Nice, he says, 'Thus what may be called the religious party of the day triumphed over the irreligion and lax belief in high places, but greatly through alliance with superstition in the lower orders.' There is in both articles a curious absence of two weighty facts: the care taken to pack and fetter the Nicene Council of 787, and the formal repudiation both of its decrees and of its claims to œcumenicity by the great Western Council of Frankfort in 794, composed of almost as many bishops as those assembled in the Eastern Synod (300 as compared with 375). The ground upon which the œcumenicity of the latter Synod was denied at Frankfort is of such high legal and historical importance that it should have been prominently mentioned, namely, that a true General Council must represent the West as well as the East, but that no Western representatives were present at Nice except the Pope's legates, while it was not within his competence to act for the whole Western Church or bind it by his action. And as the Fathers of Frankfort compelled the Pope to retract the approval he had given to the Nicene decrees, and to confirm their own contrary decisions, it is clear that they had facts to go upon, as distinguished from

mere theory. Professor Stanley Leathes has produced a useful article on 'Isidore of Seville,' a writer less studied than he fairly merits, even apart from his high place in Spanish Church history. 'James of Nisibis' is rather too thin an article, and Antonelli's fine edition of his treatises deserves more notice than the single line it receives. 'Jacobus Baradaeus,' by the same contributor, is better executed, and is a useful article; while 'Joannes of Antioch,' another of the series, is better still.

Under 'John the Faster' there is not enough said upon the dispute with Gregory the Great as to the title of Œcumenical Bishop; and though the defect is partly made good in the article on Gregory I., yet there is no cross-reference here, as there should be. 'Joannes Damascenus,' by Mr. Lupton, is a good article, and the bibliography has received due attention. The heading 'Joannes' is perhaps the best example to cite of the fulness of this dictionary as an Onomasticon, there being no fewer than 595 separate entries under it, some of which are subdivided further, one such instance numbering fifteen separate persons. The Jewish historian Josephus is placed much out of the chronological order, being nineteenth of his name in the place assigned him, though the second in date, his only predecessor in point of time being the St. Joseph of the Gospels. The article upon him, by Dr. Edersheim, is copious and helpful, but might have been compressed in diction with advantage. Another example of awkward arrangement is the place assigned to the Emperor Julian, as the hundred and third of those so named, whereas he should stand about eighth or ninth in order. The article itself, by the Bishop of Salisbury, is one of the fullest in the *Dictionary*, extending over more than forty pages, and is a sound, scholarly piece of work, honestly impartial in treatment. Another important historical article is Professor Bryce's 'Justinianus,' wisely entrusted to a lawyer, seeing that it is on his character as legislator that Justinian's rank in history, especially Church history, chiefly depends. Canon Scott Holland's 'Justin Martyr' also takes a good place amongst the articles, being a careful piece of analysis, with due attention paid to the critical problems with which Justin is rife. Chancellor Cazenove's article on the legend of the 'Theban Legion' is a very sound piece of work, embodying much reading which few would have thought of bringing to bear on such a subject. Mr. Gore's 'Leo I.' is a telling article, and very lucid, having regard to the extreme complexity of many of the transactions recorded in it, and the conflict in Leo's personal character is well brought out, between his high

and honourable bearing in most respects, and his unscrupulosity in behalf of the privileges of his See. The article on his successor, Leo II., usefully supplements an earlier one on Pope Honorius, by accumulating testimony, in addition to what is there adduced, with regard to the condemnation of Honorius for Monothelite heresy.¹ Mr. Ffoulkes should have added, however, when referring to the Ultramontane attempts to cover up this transaction, the falsification of the Roman Breviary in the office for June 28, the day upon which Leo II. is commemorated by a special office. Until after the middle of the sixteenth century a clause in one of the lessons for the feast, after a mention of the Sixth General Council, ran thus :

‘In qua synodo condemnati sunt Syrus, Sergius, Honorius, Pyrrhus, Paulus, et Petrus, necnon et Macarius cum discipulo suo Stephano, sed et Polychronius novus et Simon, quia unam voluntatem et operationem in Domino Jesu Christo dixerunt vel prædicarunt, aut quia denuo prædicaturi fuerint aut defensaverint.’

In the current editions, from about 1587 downwards, the clause runs thus: ‘In eo concilio Cyrus, Sergius, et Pyrrhus condemnati sunt, unam tantummodo voluntatem et operationem in Christo prædicantes;’ the mention of Honorius having been carefully cut out, and others omitted along with it, to make the motive less conspicuous. Mrs. Humphry Ward’s learned articles on the tangled and difficult subject of early Visigothic history in Spain show her talents much more happily employed than they have lately been, and her ‘Leovigild’ is one of her best contributions. The case of ‘Liberius,’ in some respects a graver fall from orthodoxy than that of Honorius, is dealt with impartially, and overwhelming reasons are adduced against the pleas with which Bishop Hefele in his *Conciliengeschichte* has endeavoured to do away with the evidence, notably that of St. Hilary. ‘Logos’ has proved too difficult a subject for Professor Swainson, whose article on the subject is weak and inadequate, while its palmary importance demands for it the full powers of a really able theologian. Indeed, the purely theological articles in this *Dictionary* do not on the whole compare favourably with the historical and literary discussions, though there are single articles which form exceptions to this rule, and are competently executed. We are not complaining on the ground of the tone of such articles as we disapprove, because not being

¹ There is a slip of the pen in this article, where it is said: ‘It is argued on this head that a general council, as well as a Pope, may err in matters *de facto*, though not in matters *de jure*.’ For the last two words read *de fide*.

Catholic enough, for while that charge is perfectly true in itself, yet it cannot be reasonably alleged against a work laying no claim to merit of the kind, and taking no measures to secure it. Our censure falls on insufficiency of survey and inadequacy of treatment from the scholar's point of view. In the article on 'Lucian of Samosata,' where the Amsterdam edition of his works in three volumes quarto, 1743, is rightly recommended as the best, it is inexactly attributed to Hemsterhuis, the actual editor being Carl Conrad Reitz, who used Hemsterhuis and Gesner as materials, and who published at Utrecht in 1746 an *Index Verborum ac Phrasium Luciani, sive Lexicon Lucianeum*, ranging with, and designed to complete, the Amsterdam edition, as the title-page expressly states. Dr. Salmon's 'Macarius Magnes' is an excellent example of minute investigation of a relatively obscure, and yet by no means unimportant, subject, just one of those where a dictionary of this kind is specially useful to scholars. Professor Stokes's 'Manichæans' is a useful compendium, but rather too much abbreviated in parts, notably when explaining the doctrinal system of those heretics, for the disastrous survival of their opinions, even to the present day, in unsuspected quarters has done so much mischief to religion that it is desirable to have a specialised account of them as a danger-signal. Mr. Ffoulkes's 'Marcellus of Ancyra' is a helpful guide through a tangled episode of Church history; and Dr. Salmon's 'Marcion' and 'Marcus the Gnostic' are equally valuable. There is, we take it, a slight misconception in Professor Stokes's remark under 'Marina (3),' that the name is 'erroneously written Margaret' in some MSS. of Usuard's *Martyrology*. The fact is that Marina is the saint known as Margaret in the West, and that this latter name is not in the Eastern menologies, unless as an epithet of one of the Pelagias. And there is no 'Margaret' in the *Dictionary* itself. There should have been two such entries, the legendary martyr of Antioch, and the historical one of Carthage in 304. Dr. Cazenove's 'Martin of Tours' has a sensible discussion of the miraculous element in this and kindred biographies, which makes some amends for the absence of such an article on 'Miracles' as would have fitly been included in the present work, but which is lacking. 'Mithras' is somewhat thin, and there is not enough said upon the sacrificial Mithraic group, and its possible connexion with the *taurobolium* of the rites of Cybele. On the other hand, Dr. Badger's 'Muhammad' goes into considerable detail, and is a convenient summary of a very large subject, but some retouchings would improve it. 'Nero' is a respect-

able article, but not of special mark, and the arguments against accepting the theory that the number of the beast is to be sought in the words Νέων Καισάρ ought to have been given as well as the theory itself. In Professor Stokes's 'Nestorianism' the historical portion is better than the doctrinal, which is practically an excerpt from Neander, and needs some amplification. As it stands, it is quite possible for a student to fail in ascertaining how Nestorianism is in conflict with the Catholic tenet of the Incarnation, or how easily it might glide into Semi-Arianism first, and thence into full-blown Photinianism. We have to complain yet again of the same learned contributor's 'Monasteries of Nitria,' as altogether too thin and perfunctory. It is not enough to be sent to Cassian, to the *Historia Lausiaca* of Palladius, and to Sulpicius Severus for details as to the mode of life and discipline observed by the ascetics of Nitria; what is wanted is a compendious summary of the information therein, the function of an article in such a dictionary as the present. The Bishop of Chester's 'Offa' is a good example of his thorough treatment of historical matters. It has been unfortunate for him and for the *Dictionary* that for the most part the biographies entrusted to him have necessarily been those of personages of very minor importance, playing their part on a very narrow stage, and thus not vying in sphere and interest with the great Fathers, Popes, and Emperors who have fallen to the lot of other contributors to record. Almost the same remark may be made in respect of Canon Raine's numerous and helpful contributions. 'Ophites' is yet another of the remarkable series of articles on early forms of Gnosticism which Dr. Salmon has written for the *Dictionary*, and those who are not versed in the subject will note with some surprise that seventeen columns are required for this single entry. Professor Westcott's 'Origenes' is a very painstaking and scholarly piece of work, failing, perhaps, to appreciate Origen fully on his better side, but honestly aiming at an impartial estimate. Mr. Dale's 'Origenistic Controversies' is a useful appendix to this article, and very carefully weighs the arguments for and against the belief that Origen was condemned by the Fifth General Council. There is, however, a serious error in the attribution of a recent book touching on the subject, written in reply to Dr. Pusey, published in 1881-2, and named *What is the Truth as to Everlasting Punishment?* to the late Rev. H. N. Oxenham. The book is, in fact, by his cousin, Mr. F. N. Oxenham, and the seriousness of the mistake lies in the circumstance that Mr. H. N. Oxenham has also contributed

to the controversy a volume entitled *Catholic Eschatology*, published in 1876, and taking a line on the whole according with that of Dr. Pusey. Dr. Gwynn's 'Pantænus' puts into brief compass, and clearly, all that is recoverable regarding one who is only a shadowy personality now, great as is the part he seems to have played in his own day. 'Papias' is an excellent article of Dr. Salmon's, and demolishes M. Renan's fine-spun theory as to the genesis of the Synoptic Gospels derived from this quarter. To the *apparatus criticus* appended to Professor Stokes's article 'Patricius' has now to be added Dr. Whitley Stokes's edition of the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, published in the Rolls Series, 1887-8. Another book which might have been cited as a literary curiosity is the *Patritiana Decas* of Philip O'Sullivan, published at Madrid in 1629, and inspired with a lively polemical hatred of the English and their Church, visible on the very title-page, which speaks 'de Anglohæresis sectis, cacopræsulibus,' and the like. The late Mr. Scudamore's 'Patron Saints and Angels' contains the most lucid account of the rise and growth of the tenet and practice of Invocation of the Saints that we have met with, but it does not bring out with sufficient clearness the precise limits of the practice as current in the fourth and fifth centuries, so that the reader can learn whether it goes beyond the form technically known as 'Comprecation,' which differs both in kind and degree from the usage current now in the Latin Church.

The article on the 'Paulicians' should have included some more direct reference, either in the text or in a foot-note, to the derivation of the Albigenses from these sectaries. A quick-witted reader may, indeed, guess so much from Albi being named as one of the places where descendants of the Paulicians were found in the Middle Ages; but an important point of the kind should not be left to be guessed at, especially when the popular notion as to the Albigenses is that they were closely akin to the seventeenth-century Puritans. This view appears in a clever, but now forgotten, historical novel, *The Albigenses*, by Charles Robert Maturin, published in 1824, wherein, but for the environment, the sectaries might pass for own brothers to Scott's Covenanters in *Old Mortality*. 'Paulus of Samosata,' by Prebendary Venables, is well done and useful, and the obscurer personality of 'Paulus Tellensis' has been most carefully elucidated by Dr. Gwynn. The paragraphs on Semi-Pelagianism in Professor Ince's otherwise useful article on 'Pelagius' need expansion, and the reader should be put more clearly in possession of the fact that Semi-Pelagianism

is in fact an invidious epithet, coined under hyper-Augustinian influence, for that which was the received doctrine of Christendom in general till Augustinianism arose, and is still the current teaching of the Eastern Church, which ranks Cassian, one of its chief exponents, amongst the Saints, a title denied him in the West for this very reason. Dr. Edersheim has worked to good purpose in his 'Philo,' which, if not an exhaustive article, will yet give all but the most exacting student all that is reasonably to be looked for in a dictionary. Professor Lipsius has carefully treated the difficult topic of the 'Pistis Sophia,' and at considerable length. Mr. Ffoulkes's 'Predestination' is one of those theological articles which help to redress the balance of the *Dictionary* in this its weakest department, and he helpfully controverts the hyper-Augustinianism of the late Dr. Mozley. The article on 'Prosper of Aquitaine,' who came nearer to absolute Calvinism than Augustine ever did, should be read in connexion with this one. Mr. Lock's 'Prudentius' seems to us to underrate his poetical merits. No doubt he is not in the first flight of Christian poetry, but he is occasionally more than happy, and deserved rather more recognition than is granted him here. There is a useful article, the result of collaboration by Mr. Scudamore and Professor Stokes, on 'Pseudepigrapha in the Fathers.' If it be practicable, a similar article on interpolations in the Fathers themselves would be a most valuable addition in any future issue of the *Dictionary*. Dr. Salmon's essay on the 'Opus Imperfectum in Matthæum,' entitled 'Pseudo-Chrysostomus,' subserves this end for one eminent Father. Chancellor Cazenove's 'Quicunque vult' is a model of temperate statement, and presents the case for the fifth-century date of the Creed in a very forcible manner. He does not refer to the suggestion of Hilary of Poitiers as its possible author, a view which has a certain plausibility, and at least merited a passing mention. 'Salvianus,' by Professor Stokes, is another of the somewhat thin articles, where the reader does not get all he is fairly entitled to learn. Yet as this defect is more noticeable in articles towards the close of the *Dictionary*, it may be no fault of the writer, but an incident due to questions of space and cost, falling within the province of the publishers to decide. Mr. Mozley's 'Seneca' is commendable, but its value to the general student would have been enhanced by more citations, exhibiting the quasi-Christian tone of thought and even of verbal expression recurrent in this writer. Something of the kind is done, so that it is not as matter of oversight that what we desiderate is absent, but we

do not think the most telling illustrations have been chosen: We could cite such passages by the dozen, and will give a few specimens of what we mean: 'Deus colitur et amatur;' 'Ipsi Deus consulit, quos esse quam honestissimos cupit, quoties illis materiam præbet aliquid animose fortiterque faciendi;' 'Subsilire in cælum, ex angulo licet;' 'Mortale est omne mortalium bonum; verum autem bonum non moritur, certum est, sempiternumque; hoc unum contingit immortale mortalibus;' 'Hæc unica salus homini, cognitio Dei.'

'Severus of Antioch' is a convenient summary, but has traces of the over-compression attributable to the exigencies of space. In the bibliography of 'Sibylline Oracles' Dr. Neale's important review of Alexandre's edition, reprinted in his *Essays in Liturgiology and Church History*, is unfortunately omitted. The article 'Silvester' goes carefully into the legends and figments which have clustered about this particular Pope's name in greater number than common, but which belong to a recurrent class of inventions for the same polemical object of pushing the claims of the Roman See, so that they can be seen here conveniently together, as typical examples of the methods employed. Dr. Salmon is well to the front again in his article on 'Simon Magus,' which is a useful supplement to that in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, and displays a most robust incredulity of Baur's hypothesis that St. Paul is the person designated as Simon in the Acts and in the Clementine Recognitions. Dr. Milligan's 'Socrates' is little more than a panegyric of that historian, merited, indeed, but not of much practical value to the student, who would be more aided by an analysis of his *Ecclesiastical History*. Mr. Barmby's series of articles on the Popes named Stephen are sound, unpretending pieces of work, helpful to the student. 'Synesius,' by the late Rev. T. R. Halcombe, is an exception to the tendency towards abridgment at this stage of the *Dictionary*, for it occupies twenty-four pages, and is a very full monograph on an interesting personality. 'Tatian the Apologist' fares nearly as well, being conceded twenty pages, entrusted to Professor Fuller. The now famous 'Didaché, or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,' has fallen to Dr. Salmon, and fortunately, as he has given us a very clear and helpful article. Funk's edition, published at Tübingen in 1887, and including the Apostolic Canons and the 'Exposition of the Two Ways,' going under the name of St. Barnabas, should now be added to the bibliography. 'Tertullian' is another subject receiving its rightful share of space, Professor Fuller having been allowed forty-six pages and a half for its treatment, and making the most of them. Dr. Gwynn's 'Thecla'

is also a copious discussion, by reason of the important bearing of the legendary Acts on early Gnosticism and on the critical questions affecting the canonical Acts. The bibliography of Prebendary Venables's useful article on 'Theodoret' does not make quite clear enough that the edition by Schulze, despite its clumsy shape and detestable paper, is the best, though so much is indirectly implied. The Bishop of Chester is in his element with such a subject as 'Theodore of Tarsus,' and gives a thoroughly sound article upon it. There is a trifling misprint in the bibliography—the imperfect edition of the *Penitential*, by Jacques Petit, was not published in 1677, but in 1679. Professor Swete's 'Theodore of Mopsuestia' is a commendable article, giving full credit to the real merits of that remarkable man, while not attempting to whitewash his theological reputation. Canon Bright's 'Theophilus of Alexandria' merits special mention, and so does Dr. Gwynn's 'Thomas Harklensis,' a very scholarly piece of criticism. Archdeacon Cheetham's historical essay on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity is very carefully done, and exhibits the phases of the controversy in lucid chronological order. 'Valentinus' is a copious article by Professor Lipsius, dealing fully with the form of Gnosticism of which Valentinus was founder; and other noticeable contributions at the very end of the work are 'Victorinus Afer,' by Mr. Gore; Pope 'Vigilius,' by Mr. Barmby; 'Vincentius Lirinensis,' by Chancellor Cazenove; and 'Wilfrid,' by Canon Raine, all deserving attention. It would have been worth while remarking, in the discussion of the famous Vincentian rule, 'Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus creditum est,' that the objection raised against it as being a mere juggle, since its conditions have never been fulfilled, breaks down before the historical and legal fact that just these three conditions, applied in another sphere, are what are required to attest English common law, as distinguished from statute law and equity, or judge-made law; and trifling or merely technical exceptions to the three conditions of immemorial usage, prevalence throughout England, and general acceptance, do not affect its validity. There is thus no antecedent impossibility in applying a rule of the sort, and it may be not unfairly observed that it is most likely to be challenged by those to whom its application would prove inconvenient.

It has been impracticable to review a work of the dimensions of this *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, containing more than four thousand pages of double columns in small type, with any pretence at exhaustiveness or even minuteness of survey. It is as much as is attainable to give a general

notion of its character, contents, and quality ; and though we have not hesitated to point out its defects wherever they have struck us, yet its merits are far in excess of these minor shortcomings, and must win for it praise, welcome, and influence wherever scholars are found interested in the groups of topics with which it deals.

ART. IV.—THE RELIGIOUS OPINIONS OF S. T. COLERIDGE.

1. *Memorials of Coleorton: being Letters from Coleridge, Wordsworth and his Sister, Southey and Sir Walter Scott, to Sir George and Lady Beaumont of Coleorton, Leicestershire, 1803–1834.* Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by WILLIAM KNIGHT, University of St. Andrews. 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1887.)
2. *Samuel Taylor Coleridge and the English Romantic School.* By ALOIS BRANDL, Professor of English Language and Literature, German University of Prague. English Edition by LADY EASTLAKE. (London, 1887.)

THE marvellous progress which the Church has made during the last fifty years has perhaps caused us to do scant justice to the merits which she possessed during the dark days of the nineteenth century which preceded the great revival. That period was one of the most brilliant periods of English literature. Why men of great literary genius come in batches—whether it is that human minds are like certain trees, which will not thrive if they are planted alone, but which help to draw one another up if they are planted together—is a question which we need not here discuss. The point we would notice is that among the great writers at the beginning of this century almost all who can be fairly credited with moral earnestness, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, were drawn, with an ever-deepening attachment as they advanced in life, to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England. We say ‘in the ordinary acceptation of the term’ because an attempt seems now to be made to credit with moral earnestness that school of writers which Southey called, point-blank, without circumlocution, the ‘Satanic School.’

But, surely, the laws of morality are eternal and immutable ; and if the dazzling brilliancy of genius may blind us to their force, it cannot suspend them. There was, however, a very different class of writers from that of the 'Satanic School ;' and in one—indeed, in more than one—of this class the publications at the head of this article have recently awakened a fresh interest. In this galaxy of talent Wordsworth, Southey, and Coleridge were stars of the first magnitude ; but there were also many minor lights. Of the great triumvirate by far the most imperfect, but at the same time the most interesting and lovable character was Samuel Taylor Coleridge. We *respect* Wordsworth, with his blameless purity of life, his noble independence, his heroic and, as the event has proved, well-grounded confidence in the verdict of posterity, in spite of the ridicule of contemporaries ; we *admire* Southey, with his equally blameless life, his indomitable perseverance, his general high-mindedness ; but we *love* Coleridge, in spite of his many shortcomings. He appeals to our sympathy and wins it, and sympathy is very near akin to love. He was a many-sided man, and it is the object of this paper to disentangle, as far as possible, Coleridge the religious thinker from Coleridge the poet, Coleridge the philosopher, Coleridge the politician, Coleridge the scholar, and Coleridge the conversationalist. Of course, this can only be done to a very limited extent ; for the various elements of this extraordinary man's character and career so run into and illustrate one another that it is very difficult to pick out one, to the ignoring of the rest, and most difficult of all to separate the element of theology which ran, as a thread, through all his life and writings. Again, it is impossible to trace the development of Coleridge's religious opinions without touching upon the circumstances of his life ; for his theology was, in a more than ordinary degree, affected by those circumstances.

To begin, then, at the beginning. Coleridge was born in 1772, in a country parsonage, his father belonging to a class which was not so rare in the eighteenth century as is commonly supposed—the class of worthy country parsons. John Coleridge, vicar of Ottery St. Mary and head-master of the King's School there, was a gentleman and a scholar, a man of childlike simplicity, rather eccentric, and very absent-minded. All these qualities he transmitted to his youngest son, who cherished his memory with fond reverence. 'Oh ! that I might so pass away,' said Coleridge thirty years after his father's death, 'if, like him, I was an Israelite without guile ! The image of my father, my revered, kind,

learned, simple-hearted father, is a religion to me.'¹ Without entering into details, it is quite obvious that there was nothing in Coleridge's home surroundings to draw him away from orthodox churchmanship. The same might be thought of his school and college training at Christ's Hospital and Jesus College, Cambridge: for the former was a markedly religious establishment, the outward observances of religion being most strictly attended to, and a full third of the seven hundred scholars being the sons of clergymen; while the latter was a distinctly clerical college, having long held a reputation for the study of divinity, and being under the direct protection of the Bishop of Ely. It was, however, at school and at college that the seeds of scepticism in Coleridge were not only sown but actually grew to maturity. Christ's Hospital was an exaggerated type of the public school of that date, with its scant and coarse food, its Spartan discipline, and its flogging system, which Mr. Boyer—or Bowyer, as Coleridge always spelt the name—carried out most conscientiously and *con amore*. The theology of the place in general, and of Mr. Boyer in particular, was of the old-fashioned, prosaic, utilitarian type—Paley being the chief authority. Chapel services were frequent, and it is not uncharitable to suppose that they were of the dull, unattractive kind usual at that period. Altogether, it was not exactly the place to suit a boy of highly-delicate and sensitive organism, dreamy, thoughtful, and imaginative beyond his years. His amazing precocity is shown by the fact that while his comrades were busy with their rough games he spent his leisure in puzzling his brain over Neo-Platonic metaphysics. Indeed, from his own account, he must have been an *enfant terrible*. 'Before my fifteenth year,' he says, 'I had bewildered myself in metaphysics and in theological controversy. Nothing else pleased me. Highly was I delighted if anyone, especially in black, would enter into conversation with me; for I soon found the means of directing it to my favourite studies.'² He was led on from Platonism—or rather Plotinism—into Pantheism, and then he began to study Voltaire's *Philosophical Dictionary*, and the result of it all was that the poor lad proclaimed himself an unbeliever. Mr. Boyer made short work of his scepticism. 'So, sirrah,' he said, 'you are an infidel, are you? Then I'll flog your infidelity out of you;' and he flogged him severely. This *argumentum ad baculum* was not effectual; but it is very characteristic of Coleridge's humble and amiable nature that,

¹ Biographical Supplement to *Biographia Literaria*, p. 325.

² *Biographia Literaria*, p. 14.

so far from resenting it, he often said in after days that it was the only just flogging he ever received ; and, cruelly as he must have suffered both in body and mind all through his school career, he distinctly states : ‘ At school I enjoyed the inestimable advantage of a very sensible, though at the same time a very severe, master, the Rev. James Bowyer.’¹ We must not pass on from his schooldays without noticing two names which had great weight with him in those early times.

‘ Bowles’ Sonnets,’ he says, ‘ were first made known to me by a schoolfellow who had been my patron and protector, Dr. Middleton, the truly learned and every way excellent Bishop of Calcutta. It was a double pleasure to me, and still remains a tender recollection, that I should have received from a friend so revered the first knowledge of a poet by whose works, year after year, I was so enthusiastically delighted and inspired.’²

If we were writing of Coleridge as a poet it would be necessary to discuss his extraordinary infatuation about the poetry of Bowles ; but so far as religion went, that poetry would do him nothing but good.

In 1791 Coleridge went to Jesus College, carrying with him, thanks in a great measure to Mr. Boyer, a large amount of scholarship, but carrying also his unsettled views, which were not settled at that seat of sound learning and religious education, but quite the reverse. There was then a certain Mr. Frend, a Fellow of the College, who exercised great influence both over Coleridge’s philosophical and also his religious opinions. He introduced him to the writings of David Hartley (who, by the way, had himself been a Fellow of Jesus College), and Coleridge was so much fascinated with his new guide that he called his eldest son Hartley after him. He was also much attracted by the writings of Godwin and Priestley. Important as these factors—Hartley, Godwin, and Priestley—were in the formation of Coleridge’s opinions at this time, it must suffice here to say that they all tended to alienate him from the faith of the Church. Other and more general causes tended to the same result. The French Revolution was at its height, and, like many other enthusiastic young men, he saw in this vast upheaval in France the dawn of a glorious era of liberty, when all abuses should be redressed, when all men should ‘ know the truth, and the truth should make them free.’ The cruelties of the Reign of Terror produced a violent reaction in the minds of many of the sympathizers with the earlier movement, but Coleridge still clung to

¹ *Biographia Literaria*, p. 6.

² *Ibid.* p. 13.

his hopeful aspirations. He became an ardent Republican, and in those days Republicanism in politics went hand-in-hand with scepticism in religion. The authorities of Jesus College were most forbearing with him. He ran away and enlisted in a Dragoon regiment, but was received back with a simple reprimand. When Mr. Frend's publications rendered it necessary for him to be deprived of his fellowship, Coleridge showed the strongest and most demonstrative sympathy with him, and this also was overlooked. And, finally, when he concocted with R. Southey, whose acquaintance he had made in one of the college vacations, and other ardent youths, his wild scheme of a 'Pantisocracy' on the banks of the Susquehanna, the Master reasoned with him most kindly, and insisted upon giving him a longer time for reconsideration than the statutes allow before removing his name from the College boards. Well might Coleridge speak in after days with regret and gratitude (but he was never wanting in grateful recognition of those who had done him service) of 'the friendly cloisters and the happy grove of quiet, ever-honoured Jesus College, Cambridge,' which he left without a degree. It was in his University days that he published his *Religious Musings*, which reflect the sentiments of the Neo-Platonists, just made known to the English public by William Taylor's translations from Plotinus. In this work Coleridge pays a tribute to his new directors, speaking of Hartley as 'He, of mortal tribe the wisest,' and of Priestley as 'a patriot, saint, and sage, who sowed religion in the same furrow with Reason and Science.' There was one other writer who fascinated Coleridge greatly at this time, and who, one would have thought, must have influenced him in the orthodox direction, viz. the pious Bishop Berkeley, of whom he afterwards showed his admiration in the same odd way in which he showed it in the case of Hartley, by calling his second son Berkeley. But the general result was that he was now an avowed Unitarian—after a very peculiar kind. His position can only be described in his own words: 'I was,' he says, 'at that time [the time when he was setting up *The Watchman*, just after he left Cambridge], though a Trinitarian (i.e. *ad normam Platonis*) in philosophy, yet a zealous Unitarian in religion.'¹ The explanation of this seems to be that he accepted the Platonic triad, but not the Christian Trinity; or, as Professor Brandl well puts it:—

'He was driven to interpret symbolically many a point in his creed which the Church holds literally. . . . The Second Person of the

¹ Gillman's *Life*, i. 76.

Trinity was no longer God except as in a pantheistic sense, every human creature is divine ; but sunk into the sublimest bearer of a divine mission. Thus Neoplatonism led to the Unitarian confession' (p. 54).

In point of fact he must have been rather an embarrassing friend to the Unitarians.

'I can truly say,' he declared in after life, 'that I never falsified the Scripture. I always told the Unitarians that their interpretations of the Scripture were intolerable upon any principles of sound criticism ; and that if they were to offer to construe the will of a neighbour as they did that of their Maker, they would be scouted out of society. I said then plainly and openly, that it was clear enough that John and Paul were not Unitarians. But at that time I had a strong sense of the repugnancy of the doctrine of vicarious atonement to the moral being, and I thought nothing could counter-balance that. "What care I," I said, "for the Platonisms of John, or the Rabbinisms of Paul? My conscience revolts!" That was the ground of my Unitarianism.'

How the Unitarians relished such very plain speaking we are not informed, but they seem to have taken him for what he was ; for he all but became a regular Unitarian minister, being only saved from it by the extreme kindness of the two brothers Wedgwood, who allowed him 150*l.* that he might devote all his time to literature. As it was, he frequently preached in Unitarian chapels, but after a fashion quite his own. The account of his first appearance in the pulpit at Bath is sufficiently ludicrous. To the dismay of the authorities he refused to don the regulation black gown, declaring that he would not 'touch a rag of the Babylonish woman' (the Church of his baptism !), and accordingly he appeared in the pulpit in a blue coat with brass buttons and a white waist-coat. Nor was the matter of his sermons less incongruous than his dress. In the morning he regaled his congregation with a *réchauffé* of a lecture he had been giving on the Corn Laws, and in the afternoon with a *réchauffé* of another lecture on the Hair Powder Tax. Indeed it is from the lectures which he delivered, and the periodicals which he edited or contributed to, more than from his poems or his sermons, that his anti-Church sentiments at this early period are known to us.²

That he was not happy in his creed we have his own express testimony :—

¹ *Table Talk*, June 23, 1834, p. 265.

² See, e.g., his *Address to the People: On the Present War*, 1795 ; *Essay on Fasts*, 1796 ; [Ironical] *Defence of the Church Establishment from its Similitude to the Grand and Simple Laws of the Planetary System*, 1796.

‘I found myself,’ he says, ‘all afloat; doubts rushed in; broke upon me from the fountains of the great deep, and fell from the windows of heaven. The fontal truths of Natural Religion, and the books of Revelation, alike contributed to the flood; and it was long ere my ark touched an Ararat and rested. . . . My head was with Spinoza, though my whole heart remained with Paul and John.’¹

Events were occurring which tended to sever his connexion (such as it was) with the Unitarians. In the first place his day-dreams of the blessings which were to follow the French Revolution were all rudely shattered. They had survived the shock which had staggered many others—the execution of the king and queen—but they could not survive the attack upon the liberties of Switzerland. Then he saw what he calls ‘the horrid delusion, the vile mockery of the whole affair,’ and he did penance for his error by the following outburst in the ‘Ode on France,’ which will be found in his *Sibylline Leaves*:

‘Forgive me, Freedom! O forgive those dreams!
I hear thy voice, I hear thy loud lament,
From bleak Helvetia’s icy cavern sent—
I hear thy groans upon her blood-stain’d streams!
Heroes, that for your peaceful country perish’d,
And ye that, fleeing, spot your mountain-snows
With bleeding wounds; forgive me that I cherish’d
One thought that ever bless’d your cruel foes!’²

Jacobinism and infidelity were very closely connected; the explosion of the one could hardly fail to shake the other. How far his acquaintance with Wordsworth, which he made about this time, affected his religious views is not very clear, but we can hardly doubt that one for whom he at once conceived and retained so enthusiastic an admiration must have influenced his faith, at least indirectly. ‘Wordsworth,’ he writes in 1797, ‘and his exquisite sister are with me.’ ‘He is one whom, God knows, I love and honour as far beyond myself, as both morally and intellectually he is above me.’ And in 1798: ‘The Giant Wordsworth—God love him! When I speak in the terms of admiration due to his intellect, I fear lest those terms should keep out of sight the amiableness of his manners.’ But was not Wordsworth himself tarred with the same brush as Coleridge? No doubt he, too, had been at first fascinated by the promises of the Revolution, but he had been very soon disillusionized; and while the illusions lasted they never carried him to the length they carried Coleridge. Circumstances have led the present writer to look very closely into the life of Wordsworth, and to read

¹ Gillman’s *Life*, p. 87.

² *Poetical Works of S. T. Coleridge*, i. 130 (Aldine edition, 1834).

a vast number of private letters written by him and 'his exquisite sister' Dorothy which have never been published; and the result has been a much higher estimate of the pious, unselfish, truly Christian and orthodox characters of both than he had before, and a strong conviction that any intimacy with two such people must have had a distinctly Christianizing tendency.¹ Coleridge's friendship with Southey might seem calculated to confirm him in his Unitarianism, for Southey's views were at that time Unitarian; but Southey, too, had an indirect share in the change. In this way. The wild scheme, which Coleridge and Southey and one or two other enthusiastic young men formed, of establishing an ideal colony on the banks of Susquehanna, led to one practical result, viz. the marriage of Coleridge with Sarah—or Sara, as he preferred to call her—Fricker, Southey himself marrying the younger sister, Edith. The marriages sprang directly out of the Pantisocratical scheme, a part of which—and the only part which was ever carried out—was that the young Pantisocrats were all to be married. The relations between Mr. and Mrs. Coleridge were not always of the happiest kind, but in these early days she had influence over him, and that influence would be exercised in an orthodox direction, for she was a quiet, humble Christian.

But, after all, the chief impulse which led Coleridge to return to the faith of his fathers came from within rather than from without, and it was partly an intellectual and partly a moral impulse. He himself tells us that he is 'one who feels the want, the necessity of religious support; who cannot afford to lose any, the smallest, buttress; who not only loves the Truth even for itself, and when it reveals itself aloof from all interest, but who loves it with an indescribable awe,' which causes him 'to creep towards the light, even though it draw him from the more nourishing warmth.' But his views changed as to how Truth was to be attained. 'I became convinced that religion, as both the corner-stone and the key-stone of morality, must have a *moral* origin; that the evidence of its doctrines could not, like the truths of abstract science, be wholly independent of the will.'² Here his Platonism came in to his aid. It is a curious fact that the same system which, as we have seen, had been a sort of half-way house in his downward course, stood him in the same stead on his return journey. From Platonism to Pantheism, and from Pantheism to denial

¹ The same impression is left by the delightful letters in the *Memoirs of Coleorton*.

² Gillman, p. 91.

of the real divinity of Christ, this was his progress on the way to Unitarianism. But Unitarianism did not satisfy his moral needs, and, on the other hand, the doctrine of the Atonement did not satisfy his intellectual faculties: how was the chasm to be bridged over? Here Platonism, or rather its twin sister, Christian mysticism, stepped in and told him in effect that spiritual things must be spiritually discerned; and he caught at the idea as a drowning man catches at a straw, and it brought him safe to land. 'Evidences of Christianity!' he exclaimed; 'I am weary of the word. Make a man feel the want of it, and you may safely trust it to its own evidence.' This has been criticized as a 'scarcely intelligible utterance,' considering that Christianity is an historical religion based on historical facts.¹ But in justice to Coleridge it should be borne in mind that he did not deny the historical facts, but merely reversed the usual order of proof; that is, instead of making the truth of Christianity depend upon the truth of the miracles and the prophecies, he believed the miracles and prophecies *because* he had been convinced of the truth of Christianity, and he was convinced of the truth of Christianity because he felt within him a need which nothing but Christianity could supply. His own soul told him that the theory of optimism was erroneous: this was *not* the best of all possible worlds; there was evil in it, there was evil in himself; he had need of an atonement, he had need of a Saviour, and that Saviour must be really divine, or He would be quite insufficient, and the atonement He made would be no atonement. Thus he was led a stage beyond Platonism; but we have his own words to show that Platonism *was* a stage in his upward journey. 'I cannot doubt,' he says, 'that the difference of my metaphysical notions from those of Unitarians in general contributed to my final reconversion to the whole truth in Christ, even as, according to his own confession, the books of certain Platonic philosophers commenced the rescue of St. Augustine's faith from the same error.' In 1805 he speaks of his 'mind wavering seven or eight years ago in its necessary passage from Unitarianism (which, as I have often said, is the religion of a man whose reason would make him an atheist, but whose heart and common sense will not permit him to be so) through Spinozism into Plato and St. John.' The fact is, Coleridge's was one of those inquiring minds which will not be satisfied without 'boulting a matter to the bran.' Having reached Unitarianism he felt that he was on a sliding scale, and could not rest there.

¹ See Bishop Fitzgerald's essay on the 'Evidences of Christianity,' in *Aids to Faith*.

'I owe,' he says, 'under God my return to the faith, to my having gone much farther than the Unitarians, and so having come round to the other side.' What he means by this is clear from a remarkably thoughtful and powerful letter which he wrote to his old friend and publisher, Joseph Cottle, in 1807, in which he shows that objections to the doctrine of the Trinity are really objections to a revelation generally. 'The Trinity has its difficulties. It would be strange if otherwise. A Revelation that revealed nothing, not within the grasp of human reason!' The objections to the doctrine of the divinity of the Saviour were really objections to the doctrine that he was a great moral teacher. For 'if Jesus Christ was merely a man he could not have been even a good man. There is no medium. The Saviour in *that case* was absolutely a *deceiver*, one transcendently *unrighteous* in advancing pretensions to miracles "by the finger of God" which he never performed.'¹ Hence he felt that if he went on logically he would be drifting on into a state where there was no belief in a revelation, no belief in Christ as a teacher at all. But his whole moral nature revolted against this.

'I was,' he says, 'for many years a Socinian, and at times almost a naturalist; but sorrow and ill health, and disappointment in the only deep wish I had ever cherished, forced me to look into myself; I read the New Testament again, and I became fully convinced that Socinianism was not only not the doctrine of the New Testament, but that it scarcely deserved the name of a religion in any sense.'²

And then follows a sentence which shows us (as indeed the whole history of his early life shows us) *how* Coleridge had drifted away from Christianity. 'I fear the mode of defending Christianity adopted by Grotius first, and latterly, among many others, by Dr. Paley, has increased the number of infidels.' It was the hard, dry, rationalizing, utilitarian spirit in which Christianity had been treated in the eighteenth century from which Coleridge's tender and imaginative spirit had recoiled, and it was through the poetical and idealizing system of the Platonists that he found his way back again.

We have seen that it was a moral rather than an intellectual impulse which drew Coleridge away from the Unitarians; but there was an intellectual element in it as well. 'He has often said,' writes his first biographer, 'that one of the effects of his preaching was that it compelled him to examine the Scriptures with greater care and industry. These additional exertions and studies assisted mainly to his final conversion

¹ Cottle's *Reminiscences*, p. 316.

² *Ibid.* p. 338.

to the whole truth.' 'He learnt,' says his daughter, 'to think better of our great Anglican divines as a body, in part from the expansion and consolidation of his views with regard to the Church, and partly from increased acquaintance with those works, and high admiration of them in their literary and theological capacity.' In plain words, his dislike of the obvious doctrines of Scripture and of the great divines of the Church of England was simply the result of ignorance. When he knew more of both his tone changed.

A visit to Germany supplied the last stage in his re-conversion :—

'While my mind was thus perplexed, by a gracious providence, for which I can never be sufficiently thankful, the generous and munificent patronage of Mr. Josiah and Mr. Thomas Wedgwood enabled me to finish my education in Germany. Instead of troubling others with my own crude notions and juvenile compositions, I was thenceforward better employed in attempting to store my own head with the wisdom of others. I made the best use of my time and means ; and there is therefore no period of my life on which I can look back with such unmingled satisfaction.'¹

This was in 1798, and he remained in Germany for nearly a year. On his return he studied deeply the German writers. The process by which his study of German philosophy helped to reconvert him to Christian orthodoxy was this : Kant, of all men in the world, became in a sense a spiritual father to him, and reason, of all words in the world, became his watch-word ! Now, 'reason' was the very basis of eighteenth century theology ; the theology against which Coleridge protested with all his heart and soul. Locke had struck the key-note in his *Reasonableness of Christianity*, and to reconcile Christianity to reason was the one great effort of the Evidential school, against which Coleridge waged an almost life-long war. But reason meant something very different in Coleridge's view from what it meant in 'the watchmaker's scheme of prudence.' It was rather what the Cambridge Platonists of the seventeenth century, whom Coleridge always admired, meant when they spoke of 'the breath of a higher, diviner reason,' 'the first participation from God,' 'the sacerdotal breastplate of the λόγικον or rationale,' 'the candle of the Lord,' 'a beam of divine light.'² Professor Brandl brings this well out in his description of Coleridge's second unfortunate attempt at conducting a periodical. Nothing illustrates better

¹ Gillman, p. 115.

² See Henry More's, John Smith's, and other Platonists' works, *passim*.

the difference between the earlier and the later Coleridge than a comparison between the ill-starred *Watchman* and the equally ill-starred *Friend*. The object of the latter was 'to aid in the formation of fixed principles in politics, morals, and religion,' and the professor sketches admirably its historical significance :—

'It was one of the first protests against the merely useful, the merely moral, which had been the fashion till now. It recommends not only prudence, but wisdom ; not only verbal truth, but veracity ; not only legality, but rectitude. It is a laudation of the long-neglected forces of the soul ; of "the mysterious mother of conscience ;" of the Kantian principle of reason in its most romantic interpretation, "the best and holiest gift of Heaven, the bond of union with the Giver"' (p. 303).

Soon after Coleridge's return to England, he took up his residence at Greta Hall, near Keswick (1800), within a walk of Wordsworth's home. The neighbourhood of Wordsworth could hardly fail to be beneficial to his religious character ; and his keen appreciation of the beauty of God's world in that lonely part led him upward to the God who made it. 'I look now,' he writes to Godwin, 'on the mountains—that visible God Almighty that looks in at all my windows.' But, having now distinctly accepted Christianity as a divine revelation, having distinctly formulated his belief, 'No Christ, no God—no Trinity, no God,' his thoughtful mind proceeded to investigate other points, as corollaries to this belief. He brings out very forcibly a doctrine which had been almost lost sight of since the days of his favourite divines of the seventeenth century, the doctrine of a visible Church. The High Churchmen of those days were vigorous defenders of the established, national Church, but few of them distinguished with sufficient clearness between the mere establishment of the Church and the Church itself. Coleridge thoroughly went with them as far as they went, but he also went much further :—

'The National Church,' he says with fine irony, 'was deemed in the dark age of Queen Elizabeth, in the unenlightened times of Burleigh, Hooker, Spenser, Shakespeare, and Bacon, a great venerable estate of the realm ; but now by all the intellect of the kingdom it has been determined to be one of the many theological sects or communities established in the realm ; yet distinguished from the rest by having its priesthood endowed, *durante bene placito*, by favour of the Legislature. . . . The Church being thus reduced to a religion, religion *in genere*, is consequently separated from the Church, and made a subject of Parliamentary determination, independently of this Church.

The poor are withdrawn from the discipline of the Church. The education of the people is withdrawn from the ministry of the Church.¹

'The Church of Christ asks of the State neither wages nor dignities. She asks only protection, and to be let alone. . . . The Church here spoken of is not *the kingdom of God which is within, and which cometh not with observation*, but is most observable—a *city built on a hill*, and not to be hid—the Church visible and militant under Christ.² . . . The Christian Church, as such, has no Nationality entrusted to its charge. It forms no counter-balance to the collective Heritage of the realm. The phrase, Church and State, has a sense and a propriety in reference to the National Church alone. The Church of Christ cannot be placed in this conjunction and *antithesis* without forfeiting the very name of Christian. The true and only contra-position of the Christian Church is to the world.³ . . . The true Church of England is the National Church or Clerisy. There exists, God be thanked ! a Catholic and Apostolic Church in England ; and I thank God also for the constitutional and ancestral Church of England.⁴ . . . The safest expression is, the Church of Christ in England, or the Catholic Church in England.⁵ . . . The Scriptures, the Spirit, and the Church are coordinate ; the indispensable conditions and the working causes of the perpetuity and continued renaissance and spiritual life of Christ still militant.⁶ . . . The Papacy elevated the Church to the virtual exclusion or suppression of the Scriptures ; the modern Church of England, since Chillingworth, has so raised up the Scriptures as to annul the Church ; both alike have quenched the Holy Spirit.⁷

It has been thought necessary to quote these passages out of many others to the same effect because, after Coleridge's death, some of his friends indignantly repudiated the idea that he in any way anticipated or helped on the great Church revival which arose shortly after his removal. It is idle to discuss what part he might have taken if he had been spared to see it : but it may be safely asserted that the friends of that movement could not have desired to see their principles on one point (and that the one which was the gist of all), better expressed than Coleridge has done. And on numberless other points it would be easy to show his anticipation of what a few years later was insisted upon by the Oxford School. But one would never know where to stop ; and, after all, it would only be like presenting a number of detached bricks as specimens of a building ; for the whole tone which pervades his later writings, especially the *Aids to Reflection*, strikes a Churchman far more forcibly than any

¹ *On the Constitution of the Church and State*, ch. vii. p. 65.

² *Ibid.* p. 126. ³ *Ibid.* p. 127. ⁴ *Ibid.* p. 136. ⁵ *Ibid.* p. 135.

⁶ *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*, p. 2. ⁷ *Lit. Rem.* iii. 93.

particular passages do. One point seems to us to be very significant, viz. the marked change in the estimate which Coleridge took of Bishop Horsley. In his earlier life he had a strong prejudice against him; in his later life he thought very highly of him, speaking of him as 'the one red leaf, the last of its clan, with relation to the learned teachers of our Church, truly *pillars* within, and not merely "buttresses" of authority without.' Now, of all men in his day, Horsley was the most distinct, as he was certainly the most able exponent of Church principles. By 'the last of his clan,' Coleridge probably referred to those great divines of the seventeenth century to whom he clung with an ever-growing attachment. Jeremy Taylor is 'this most eloquent of divines—had I said of men, Cicero would forgive me, and Demosthenes nod assent;' ¹ Leighton, 'perhaps, of all our learned Protestant theologians, best deserves the title of a spiritual divine;' ² he is 'the evangelical, the apostolical Leighton. Next to the inspired Scriptures—yea, and as the vibration of that once-struck hour remaining on the air, stands Leighton's *Commentary on the First Epistle of S. Peter*.' ³ Field is 'an excellent divine, of whose work on the Church it would be difficult to speak too highly;' ⁴ and so on.

A word seems necessary on Coleridge's relation to the Evangelicals, who were without doubt the dominant party, so far as spiritual religion was concerned, in the early part of this century. There was one side of Evangelicalism or Methodism with which he deeply sympathized. His interesting annotations on his friend Southey's *Life of Wesley* show that he disagreed with the theory that the spiritual excitement of the early Methodists was mere fanaticism; and he wrote a pamphlet entitled *Notes on a Barrister's Hints on Evangelical Preaching*, strongly protesting against the barrister's abuse of the Methodists and Evangelicals. The following, from the *Aids to Reflection*, gives a wise warning:—

'Before you give way to the emotions of distaste or ridicule, which the prejudices of the circle in which you move, or your own familiarity with the mad perversions of the doctrine by fanatics in all ages, have connected with the very words, spirit, grace, gifts, operations, and the like . . . reflect again and again, and be sure you understand the doctrine before you determine on rejecting it. . . . If you have resolved that all belief of a Divine Comforter present to our inmost being, and aiding our infirmities, is forced and fanatical; if the Scriptures promising and asserting such communion are to be

¹ *Aids to Reflection*, i. 196.

³ *Notes on English Divines*. ii. 120.

² *Ibid.* p. 113.

⁴ *Aids*, p. 241.

explained away into the action of circumstances, and the necessary movements of the vast machine, in one of the circulating chains of which the human will is a petty link, in what better light can prayer appear to you than the groans of a wounded lion in his solitary den, or the howl of a dog with his eyes on the moon?' (p. 54).

On the other hand, he clearly saw the weakness of some who were called Evangelical, as the following passages show :—

'I am far from suspecting in you any participation in the prejudices of a shrivelled, proselyting, and censorious religionist. But a numerous and stirring faction there is, in the so-called Religious Public, whose actual and actuating principle, with whatever vehemence they may disclaim it in words, is that redemption is a thing not yet effected, that there is neither sense nor force in our baptism, and that instead of the apostolic command, "Rejoice, and again I say rejoice," baptised Christians are to put on sackcloth and ashes, and try, by torturing themselves and others, to procure a rescue from the devil.'¹

And again :—

'When I hear a Bishop of the Church publicly exclaim (and not viewing it as a lesser inconvenience to be endured for the attainment of a far greater good, but as a thing desirable and to be preferred for its own sake), "No notes! no comment! Distribute the Bible and the Bible only among the poor," I should have been, had the declaration come from any other quarter, under the temptation of attributing it either to a fanatical notion of immediate illumination superseding the necessity of human teaching, or to an ignorance of difficulties which (and what more worthy?) have employed all the learning, sagacity, and unwearied labours of great and wise men and eminent servants of Christ during all the ages of Christianity.'²

Least of all had Coleridge any sympathy with the popular nostrums which in his declining years began to be recommended as substitutes for Christianity. They offended his taste no less than his piety. He regarded religion with the eye of a poet and of a philosopher. 'Religion is the poetry and philosophy of all mankind, and unites in itself whatever is most excellent in either.' This is the key-note of all his teaching, and perhaps explains the secret of his influence; for it was really the lesson which religious people in his day required to learn. But it is strange, considering the character of his works, that there should be such universal agreement about the influence which he *did* exercise. He wrote no systematic treatise on theology; nothing but a series of de-

¹ Gillman, p. 343.

² *Lay Sermon, addressed to Higher and Middle Classes.*

sultory, fragmentary remarks. But in those remarks he gave expression—and a very forcible expression—to ideas which were floating in the minds of thoughtful people. He was a powerful solvent in breaking up just those habits of mind which had led to the unsatisfactory state of things in the Church of his day. He acted as a sort of ζύμη; the leaven worked very slowly, and he died before it had penetrated through the mass. Change was in the air; and Coleridge gave a voice to the desire for change, and in more ways than one guided the direction which that change should take. It should also be remembered that one source of Coleridge's influence cannot in the nature of the case be fully realised by posterity. Suggestive as his writings were, his conversation appears to have been still more striking. Who can tell what were the effects of those conversations, or rather monologues, of the sage at Highgate, to which spot the most thoughtful men of the day were wont to make pilgrimages? The fascination which he had exercised as a talker in his youth, and which led the host of the 'Salutation and Cat' to offer him free quarters, in the confidence that his conversation would more than recoup the loss by attracting guests to his hostelry, survived to the close of life. It was no perfect character that men came to see and hear talk at the house of the good surgeon, Mr. Gillman, but a man who had contracted a fatal habit, the attempt to cure which had brought him there; a man whose domestic relations had been far from happy; a man who had never been able, partly through indolence, partly through physical infirmity, to devote himself to systematic work, even to the extent of earning his bread: but a splendid man with all his faults; 'an archangel a little damaged,' to use the words of one admirer;¹ 'this astonishing man,' according to another;² 'a sublime man, who alone in those dark days had saved his crown of spiritual manhood; a king of men,' according to a third.³

To us, as Churchmen, there is something very touching in the thought of the silver-haired sage who had sounded all the depths of philosophy, and almost boxed the theological compass, breathing in his old age an *esto perpetua* to the Church which in his hot youth he had reviled. In that Church, weary with the heat and dust of controversy, he found a safe and quiet rest for his soul. What better advice can we give to other restless and unsettled spirits than 'Follow the example of this most honest and fearless seeker after truth and *antiquam exquirite matrem*'?

¹ Charles Lamb. ² Thomas de Quincey. ³ Thomas Carlyle.

ART. V.—THE ROMAN QUESTION—
RIVINGTON AND GORE.

1. *Authority, or a Plain Reason for Joining the Church of Rome.* By LUKE RIVINGTON, M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford. (London, 1888.)
2. *Roman Catholic Claims.* By CHARLES GORE, M.A., Principal of the Pusey House ; Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln. (London, 1889).

THE Rev. Luke Rivington, after spending many years of self-denying and energetic service in the Church of England, has thought it his duty to conform to the Church of Rome. The sentiments, with which we regard many who have thus left us, were expressed almost forty years ago in a sermon preached at Oxford before the days of Mr. Rivington's connexion with that University :—

‘It may happen, and does happen, that the system in which we ourselves are—and which, we trust, is a true and living portion of Christ’s one Visible Catholic Church—may become doubted of and left by some for another system which claims that august title either as more rightly, or as exclusively. It is when those who are dear to us take this step that, however we may condemn their act, a comfortable thought is suggested about themselves which saves us from the pain of a necessarily harsh judgment respecting them, or of much necessary anxiety of fear on their own account. Those who grieve for relations or friends thus parted from their religious fellowship may first throw themselves back on the remembrance how earnestly and with what singleness of aim such were in their hitherto life striving to do God’s will ; then they may consider and apply to their case what has been said above of the infinite variety of position to each individual with respect to revealed truth as an object held before them ; how imperfectly the title and claim of the system in which they were brought up and which they have left may have been really presented to the mind of each, under the variety of teaching and reading of which each had opportunity ; further, the notion of the other possible hindrance may be applied in like manner—the hindrance from within from their subjective powers ; the consideration may be added of the natural character of their minds rendering them perhaps less competent to take in what might fairly be said in behalf of dutifully remaining where they were ; perhaps also liable (beyond their consciousness) to be unduly influenced by some of the motives and arguments by which the new system which succeeded in winning them recommended itself to their acceptance. And, to

crown all, there would come in the conclusion about involuntary errors—that none such should perish, whatever they might lose of higher amount of blessing ; that it is not the question in their case of full union with Christ or no union at all ; that a wrongly preferred system may have virtue in its Sacraments for those who in blameless ignorance wander from their Providential home, virtue to unite them in some degree at least to Him, union with Whom in any degree is safety eternal.’¹

Mr. Rivington may have rendered it somewhat more difficult for us to apply this passage to his case, inasmuch as he has published a defence of his new position, which, though able and pointed, appears to us to exhibit marks of haste, of want of judgment, and, we fear we must say, of want of knowledge. Still we must not forget that our own opinion in such matters cannot be an unbiassed one, and that we too may be in danger of doing injustice to an able adversary.

This small volume of less than 120 pages is occupied in showing the seeming weakness of the communion which he has left, and the strength of that which he has joined. We approach the subject from such different points of view that it may be well to intimate some features of such difference before we proceed to details.

We believe that we are living in a divided Christendom. So far as words go, Mr. Rivington would probably thus far be with us. But he would hardly mean the same thing, inasmuch as Christian communities outside the Roman obedience would not be considered by him a portion of that Church which Christ our Lord has founded. This, however, even in Rome itself, is a comparatively modern view. For, waiving altogether for the moment the question of Anglicanism, the Popes who summoned the Councils of Lyons and Florence (Gregory X. and Eugenius IV.) speak throughout their official documents of ‘the union of the Western and Eastern Church,’ of ‘uniting the Church of God,’² thus recognizing the Orientals as a part of that Church. And certainly those who believe in a disunited Christendom must consider it *à priori* probable

¹ *The Laws of our Knowledge of Doctrinal Truth.* A Sermon preached before the University of Oxford at St. Mary’s Church, on Sunday, November 17, 1850. By William Beadon Heathcote, B.C.L., Fellow of New College, Oxford. (Oxford: Parker, 1850.) Pp. 24, 25.

² We here avail ourselves of the language of the late Mr. H. N. Oxenham in a note appended to his translation of Dr. von Döllinger’s *Letters on the Reunion of the Churches* (London: Rivingtons, 1872), p. 151. For detailed evidence Mr. Oxenham refers to Ffoulkes’s *Christendom’s Divisions*, pt. ii. pp. 259–261, 337–340.

that different portions would have their own strong and their own weak points, their own peculiar advantages and defects. He who quits one portion for another will obtain in a measure freedom from certain evils which may have distressed and harassed him ; and yet it is quite possible—this is no mere theory, but it has been abundantly and sometimes painfully illustrated in actual life—that he may discover in after years that he would have done wisely to act upon the principle—

‘ Rather bear those ills we have
Than fly to others that we know not of.’

If the remarkable and often-quoted testimony of the ultramontane De Maistre be true, that the English Church is *very precious*, as offering the best hopes of an agency for reuniting Christendom, because she touches the sectaries on one hand and Rome on the other, then she must perforce allow within her pale a very considerable measure of liberty, which will at times be in danger of degenerating into licence. That this licence does exist at the present moment, nay, that it is somewhat extreme, and that it needs a certain degree of pruning, we willingly admit, though we trust, before we have finished, to show some countervailing evidence even here. Mr. Ffoulkes has said that, ‘as a general rule, Roman Catholics are weak where Anglicans are strongest, and strong where Anglicans fail.’¹ One result of that licence has been the curious circumstance that both Rome and Dissent have gained through recruits won from the English Church. Of the distinguished persons gained by Rome we may say something presently. It is not always equally observed that Baxter, Whitfield, and John Wesley were all nurtured in the bosom of the English Church, and set apart for the ministry by the benediction of her bishops upon their brows. That our lack of discipline, that the unsatisfactory state of our Church courts should render us humble and charitable, when we criticize the condition of other communions, may be true ; but it is possible to have too much of authority. There was a time in the Middle Ages when ecclesiastical authority held at its beck and call the repressive authority of the State. Did it succeed in eliminating error from the human mind ? We answer in the words of Cardinal Newman :—

‘The heresies of the East germinated in the West of Europe and in Catholic lecture-rooms with a mysterious vigour upon which history throws no light. . . . There will be, I say, in spite of you unbelief and immorality to the end of the world, and you must be prepared

¹ *Christendom's Divisions.*

for immorality more odious, and unbelief more astute, more subtle, more bitter, and more resentful, in proportion as it is obliged to dissemble.'¹

The nineteenth century is unlike the thirteenth ; but we are compelled to say that if ever we feel inclined to see good points in the Anglican discipline and Anglican Church courts of our time it is when we read of such a process as Mr. Ffoulkes underwent during the period of his life wherein he was a member of the Church of Rome.² And meanwhile our hopes for an improvement in the way of union among ourselves and for better discipline have been, notwithstanding some drawbacks, powerfully fostered by the general tone of the Lambeth Conference and of the Manchester Congress.

Having indicated his preference for an authority like that of Rome, rather than for the comparative freedom of the English Church, Mr. Rivington proceeds to touch upon the question of jurisdiction. And at this point we feel it to be a duty to express our deep gratitude to those divines of our own communion who have of late years turned their attention to the question of the Succession in the Church of England, such as the lamented Arthur Haddan, Dr. Littledale, Mr. Morse,³ and others. So effective has been their work that there is at length a turn of the tide, and writers like Mr. Rivington feel compelled to direct their inquiry to the question of jurisdiction rather than to that of Orders.

Nevertheless we must, in passing, place on record our sense of deep regret at the tone in which the assault on the Anglican Succession has in some quarters been carried on. Most especially are we grieved at the line which, on two separate occasions, was adopted by Cardinal Newman. In a letter addressed to Father Coleridge⁴ on August 5, 1868, he

¹ *Lectures on University Subjects*, pp. 298-9 (London : Longmans, 1859). The writer is speaking of the early part of the thirteenth century.

² *Macmillan's Magazine* for January 1882, art. 'English Church Courts and Primitive Ritual.'

³ *Apostolical Succession : a Plain Treatise on Holy Orders and Jurisdiction in the Church of England* (London : Skeffington, 1887).

⁴ See *The Month*, September and October 1868, pp. 269, 417. In a book written by a Roman Catholic, who is fiercely anti-Anglican, we find a very high-toned remonstrance issued in A.D. 1325 by Walter Reynolds, Archbishop of Canterbury. After speaking in words of much beauty on the proper preparation for the reception of the Holy Eucharist, the author proceeds [we are responsible for the italics] :—

'But alas ! the sons of feasting and of gluttony, whose god is their belly, long since introduced into the holy Church this abuse, that immediately after they have received the Lord's Body on Easter Day they have served to them unconsecrated bread and wine, and there sit down eating

appeared to admit that he could not formally disprove the validity of Anglican ordination ; but that he thought it most probably invalid, because of the conduct of so many who had received such ordination. Dr. Döllinger once remarked to a friend of the present writer, that if Dr. Newman had been as well versed in mediæval Church history as he is in early Church history he would never have joined the Church of Rome. This is probably a case in point. The Cardinal's argument would go far to invalidate the ordination of many a mediæval priest, of many a later Gallican abbé. More recently he supplied a preface to the volume by Father Hutton of the Oratory on the Anglican ministry (Lond. 1879). It struck us when we read that work that the way in which history was treated in its pages would tend, if carried out to its legitimate results, to throw doubt upon all historic investigation, and it was with sorrow, but without the slightest surprise, that we learned that Mr. Hutton had, a few years after the publication of his book, renounced his belief in Christianity.

Mr. Rivington, as is natural under the circumstances, takes up the latest fashion. 'It [the Church of England] may have its orders and valid sacraments' (p. 13); accordingly he declines to discuss these matters, but passes on to that of jurisdiction. 'The question of jurisdiction is simpler' (Preface); that is to say, that if we will interpret the words of our Lord at the Sea of Tiberias, as recorded by St. John (xxi. 15-17),

and drinking as in a tavern—a source of many disorders. Thus some push forward to receive the Eucharist, that they may get sooner to the feasting ; or, if the clerks are more generous with some, the rest threaten and murmur against them ; and, worse than this, some of the simpler sort, misled by the form of bread in what they have first received, and not knowing how to distinguish between material food and that of the soul, which is the Body of Christ, fall into dangerous errors against faith, as we have too much reason to fear.'

The editor of the book comments as follows :—

'It may seem to some who read this decree, that the men guilty of such conduct could not have had faith in the Real Presence. No doubt they did not discern the Lord's Body as it should be discerned, with their moral faculties. *But it would be most unphilosophical to conclude against a man's faith from the extravagant inconsistency of his conduct.* Do none of those who sin believe in the omnipresence of God? Or, to take a case directly in point, where scurrilous games are carried on at the wake of a corpse, does the misguided company not believe in death or judgment?' —*History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain.* By T. E. Bridgett, of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, vol. ii. pp. 42, 43 (London : C. Kegan Paul and Co., 1881).

In this instance the fault lay with the laity ; but it would be only too easy to give parallel instances among the mediæval and post-Reformation Roman clergy. This is, however, not a pleasing task, and we refrain from entering upon it unless specially challenged to undertake it.

in the Roman manner, and further will admit that the Bishop of Rome inherits every prerogative of St. Peter, we must needs grant all that follows, and accept 'the view now generally held' among Roman Catholics that the apostles, though they received their jurisdiction immediately from Christ, did not transmit it, and that the bishops and their successors receive their jurisdiction from Christ, but through Peter.¹ Of course, if these inferences can be really drawn from the concluding chapter of the Gospel according to St. John, the occupants of the sees of Jerusalem, Moscow, Constantinople, Canterbury, with all their suffragans, are usurpers; but such consequences are felt to be extravagant, and there still exist even Roman Catholics who decline to accept them, and who maintain that bishops do derive their jurisdiction immediately from Christ, though they claim for the Pope a right to restrain and even in some cases to take away this right. Even here again the Church history recorded in Holy Scripture fails to give any countenance to such a view. What jurisdiction, for example, did St. Peter exercise over St. Paul? How is it that the Apostles collectively send St. Peter and St. John to Samaria? (Acts viii. 14); and why is St. Peter, despite his primacy, which we fully admit, called upon to explain his conduct in having had familiar intercourse and partaking of food with men uncircumcised? (Acts xi. 2-17). Why, again, is he rebuked by St. Paul (Gal. ii. 11-14) when he has been acting in a manner inconsistent with his previous explanation? Gallican divines have dwelt with much force upon the relative positions of St. Peter and St. James at the Council of Jerusalem (Acts xv. 1-29), where St. James appears to sum up and express the mind of the assembly. Why, moreover, does no shadow of a hint in the direction of those claims appear in either of the two epistles bequeathed to the Church by St. Peter? And as for the *simplicity* of the question in connexion with the history of the early Church and the mediæval Church, the less said the better. The case of Liberius, Bishop of Rome, is *not* simple and easy. The case of Honorius is *not* simple and easy; nor are those three gaps on which Dr. Littledale has dwelt in the acute chapter on Jurisdiction contained in his *Words for Truth*.²

¹ [*Roman*] *Catholic Dictionary* of Messrs. Addis and Arnold (London: Kegan Paul and Co., 1884), art. 'Jurisdiction.'

² London: Kent and Co., 1888, No. ix. p. 75 *et seqq.* Although our previous references to the New Testament are familiar ones, yet we owe something to Dr. Littledale for his clear re-statements of them (*ibid.* p. 89). The reader will do well to refer to the *Words for Truth*. Among other weighty observations may be specially noticed the author's reference to

We have had hopes of finding an opportunity of discussing more in detail the historic and patristic elements which Mr. Rivington has borrowed largely (with full acknowledgment, be it said) from the larger and more elaborate volumes of Mr. Allies, and had consequently intended to reserve the whole of these topics for a separate article, which should criticise Mr. Allies rather than his follower. But at this point an early copy of the work of the Rev. Charles Gore, entitled *Roman Catholic Claims*, has reached us, and its great merits induce us to supply our readers with a brief epitome of its contents, which will in some degree anticipate what we had reserved for a future occasion.

Mr. Gore, in his preface, naturally directs attention to the way in which Mr. Rivington has quietly assumed that Sir Thomas More and St. Francis de Sales possessed all the *data* which *we* possess for discernment of the truth concerning the authority of the Roman See, Mr. Rivington asserting (*Authority*, p. 4) that 'there are no new literary discoveries of any importance about the early centuries of the Christian Church.' Mr. Gore reminds his readers that in the times of those justly-honoured defenders of Rome, the fabric of the Isidorian decretals had hardly been assailed; that the text of St. Cyprian had not been freed from interpolations; that the *Refutatio* of St. Hippolytus was unknown; that the Benedictine excision of vast quantities of spurious matter from the patristic writings had not even been commenced. He further re-states the admissions about St. Peter's primacy, which so many Anglican divines have made, and rightly questions the possibility of settling large issues, such as those between Rome and England, on a narrow foundation, instead of on a broad and general survey of the entire case.

At the commencement of his volume Mr. Gore sets forth the argument on behalf of the *via media* of Anglicanism, making full admission of that good and beneficial side of work and life to which the history of the Roman Church bears witness, but at the same time pointing out her weaknesses, as, for example, in that general ignorance of Holy Scripture which the Roman Catholic M. Henri Lasserre has of late so strikingly proclaimed and so earnestly sought to remedy by his French version of the Holy Gospels. The small amount of aid to be derived from modern Rome in *exegesis* and in the battle against rationalism is also dwelt upon. A second chapter ably describes the Anglican view concerning the unity of the Church.

the admission of Roman Catholic divines that even failure of jurisdiction does not invalidate the sacramental ordinances.

And here we come across a surely novel theory, much insisted on by Mr. Rivington, that 'to talk of a body without a head *in the same order of life* as the rest of the body, is to use words without meaning.'¹ Father Gallwey, going quite as far as Mr. Rivington, perhaps a shade further, declares that the Head, which the quasi-Gnostic heretics, as St. Paul complains, did not hold fast (Coloss. ii. 19), does not mean the Invisible Head, Christ, and that only 'a Low Churchman or Dissenter ought to say so.' Mr. Gore justly replies that in this matter 'we may safely be Low Churchmen or Dissenters in company with St. Augustine, and the Fathers, and the best Roman commentators.' To which we must add that Mr. Rivington seems to forget, not only that Holy Scripture always applies to our Lord, *and to Him only*, the title of Head of the Church (Ephes. v. 23; Coloss. i. 18), as also of Head of our race (1 Cor. xi. 3), but that theologians maintain that it is in virtue of His sacred humanity that He holds this office, and that consequently He is, thus far, a Head *in the same order of life as the rest of the body*. And if Mr. Rivington and Father Gallwey assert this to be ultra-Protestant theology, we would beg to refer them to the *Summa Theologiæ* of St. Thomas Aquinas. In the third part of that famous work the great schoolman, stating first (according to his wont) the negative proposition, which he means to answer and confute, elaborately demolishes the false declaration—*quod Christo, secundum quod est homo, non competat esse caput Ecclesiæ*²—though, of course, in arguing thus he does not forget that our Lord's personality resides in His Divinity.

¹ P. 5. The italics are Mr. Rivington's.

² *Summa Theologiæ*, pars iii. quæstio 8, art. i. Compare, also, in the same part Quæstiones 48, 49. The late Bishop Forbes of Brechin wrote a brief but beautiful comment on this point in a sermon published in 1848, entitled *Jesus our Worship* (London: Masters). As this discourse may not be very accessible we subjoin a portion of the passage. 'Moreover it is in His human nature that our blessed Lord is Head of the Church. All the intimate and endearing associations which that holy bond of union implies come from thence. It is in this that, in its highest and most mysterious sense, the Communion of Saints obtains. Through it the tabernacle of God is with men, and He dwells with them. Through it we are united to Him, in a most blessed and mysterious union, beyond what thought can conceive, or words express, for we are members of His Body, of His Flesh, and of His Bones. Through it we are in Christ, and Christ in us—Christ living in us, and there being no condemnation for them that are in Him. . . . Hence the glorious privileges of the Church of Christ; hence the mystical washing away of sin in the laver of regeneration; hence the intimate relations between the Creator and the created in the Sacrament of the Lord's Body; hence the remission of sin, the resurrection of the flesh, and everlasting life after death.'

Lack of space compels us to pass but lightly over the very able chapter of Mr. Gore on 'The Authority of the Church.' We may, however, particularly invite attention to his illustrations of the manner in which the primitive Church was compelled, with pain and toil, to seek out truth when error was abroad; how unconscious of the very existence of such a tribunal as the Papacy, as a single test of truth, were the majority of the Fathers of the first six centuries after Christ; and how utterly such a guide was lacking, not only during the subtle assaults of Gnosticism, but even under the terrible pressure of Arianism. If the Church for three hundred years had no Œcumenical councils, it may be in God's providence that she should live without them now; and of course it is quite possible, as Mr. Gore suggests, that it was not intended 'that the formulation of Œcumenical dogmas should go beyond defining the basis of the Christian faith and life, as it is given us in the Creeds.'

The chapter on 'The Bible in the Church' follows very much the lines of Dr. Pusey's Sermon on the Rule of Faith,¹ to which, indeed, our author refers his readers. There is great force in Mr. Gore's concluding pages concerning the way in which even Roman Catholics must suppose that error has long been prevalent. They must, for example, consider that Aquinas (and perhaps St. Bernard) erred in not admitting the dogma (as they now call it) of the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin, and that the whole Gallican school were in error concerning Papal infallibility, a doctrine which *Keenan's Catechism*² asserted to be 'a Protestant invention' and 'no article of the Catholic faith.' Of St. Peter's position we had already written briefly before the receipt of Mr. Gore's volume, and we must leave it for the present, just referring our readers to the pages both of Dr. Littledale and Mr. Gore. Respecting the admission by Dean Milman of the good work done by Rome during the Middle Ages, and the seeming necessity of such a power, we may observe that it has also been made by Bishop Lightfoot and, we believe, by Bishop Harold

¹ *University Sermons*, 1843-1855, No. VI., new edition, Oxford, 1879.

² This well-known book has been circulated by thousands under episcopal authority. The words quoted above are an answer to the question, 'Is the Pope himself infallible?' It has been found convenient for obvious reasons to suppress both question and answer in recent issues! See Dr. Salmon's *Infallibility of the Church*, p. 25 (London), 1888. In speaking of the same doctrine Alban Butler remarks that 'no Catholic looks upon it as an article or term of communion. . . . No such article is proposed by the Church or required of anyone' (*Account of the Life and Writings of Alban Butler*, sect. iii. p. 9, ed. 1798).

Browne. Undoubtedly we owe a great deal to Rome. There is not probably any communion that names the Name of Christ, from which there is not something to be learnt; and it would be strange indeed if that really wonderful institution, which touches the human mind at so many points, formed any exception to this rule.

On the questions concerning the nature of schism Mr. Gore writes with much calmness and equity. To his reasonings on the share of blame—known, as he truly says, only to God—which must be attributed to each side in the division between East and West, between Roman and Reformed, we will only add one piece of evidence, of which the genuineness is unquestioned.

‘We know,’ said Pope Urban VIII., when urged to excommunicate the Kings of France and Sweden about the year 1641, ‘that we may declare them excommunicate, as Pius V. declared Queen Elizabeth of England, and before him Clement VII. the King of England, Henry VIII. . . . but with what success? The whole world can tell; *we yet bewail it with tears of blood*. Wisdom doth not teach us to imitate Pius V. or Clement VII., but Paul V., who, in the beginning, being many times urged by the Spaniards to excommunicate James, King of England, never would consent to it.’¹

The chapter on Anglican ordinations adds to the evidence adduced by the writers mentioned in the earlier part of this article the remarkable concessions made by Canon Estcourt (one of the few serious reasoners against the validity of Anglican orders) as regards the form of the English Prayer-Book, and ably answers the same writer on the subject of the doctrine of intention. He further expresses his obligations to Mr. Gladstone’s paper on the ‘Elizabethan Settlement of Religion,’ of which he has made good use.²

Lastly, against defects arising out of the reaction against excessive mediævalism our author has to place the sad extravagances in which Roman Catholics still indulge. He is able to quote language from a devotional work sanctioned by Cardinal Manning, which goes dangerously near suggesting that the satisfaction made once for all on Mount Calvary is incomplete. Subsequently Mr. Gore writes as follows:—

‘Further than this, however much there may be to be regretted and reformed in the teaching and practice of the Anglican Church at the present day, I must in fairness say that there is no even

¹ Cited by Cardinal Newman in his ‘Letter to the Duke of Norfolk,’ from a Report in the State Paper Office, *Italy*, 1641–1662. The pontificate of Urban VIII. lasted from A.D. 1623 to 1644.

² *Nineteenth Century*, July 1888.

unauthorized practice of the English Church which I had not as soon be responsible for as for that withdrawal of the chalice from the laity, to which the whole authority of the Church of Rome is committed : that I have never heard a sermon in an English Church more to be regretted than one it was once my lot to hear in Strasburg Cathedral, in which Christ was preached as the revelation of Divine justice, and Mary as the revelation of Divine love : I have not read in Anglican biography anything which I should more desire to disown than Mother Margaret Mary Hallahan's description of the Pope saying Mass : "When I heard him sing Mass I cannot express what I felt : it was the God of earth prostrate in adoration before the God of heaven"! I have not been confronted in an Anglican book of devotion with any prayer more impossible to pray than

"Soul of the Virgin, illuminate me,
Body of the Virgin, guard me,
Milk of the Virgin, feed me,
Passage of the Virgin, strengthen me ;
O Mary, mother of grace, intercede for me ;
For thy servant take me ;
Make me always to trust in thee ;
From all evils protect me ;
In the hour of my death assist me ;
And prepare for me a safe way to thee ;
That with all the elect I may glorify thee ;
For ever and ever."

'Thus, all things considered, we Anglicans thank God that He has put us elsewhere than in the Roman Church, though we would fain give her an ungrudging recognition of her glories, and are very far from believing that all, even of her educated members, need be conscious of that temper in her modern theology which to us is so intolerable' (pp. 172-3).

And here, with much gratitude, we part from Mr. Gore's short but very valuable volume, though not without fear that our epitome of its contents, made under some pressure of haste, may have done injustice to the force of his arguments and the worth of his labours. The best way of correcting any such evil will consist on the part of our readers in a study of the book itself, and such a course we strongly recommend. We might have dwelt much on the *addendum to p. 18 n.*, given at the close of the Preface. And we might, with Mr. Gore's assistance, have entered upon the patristic part of Mr. Rivington's volume. But the latter task (as has already been implied) we purposely postpone, because we hope that it may some day be possible for us to discuss the history of the Council of Chalcedon. This would at once bring us across the question of Mr. Rivington's patristic references, because they are much mixed up with the assertions of Mr. Allies. Meanwhile, as

Mr. Rivington's pages show, there are grave reasons for utterly mistrusting the solidity of the whole of that ingenious fabric which Mr. Allies and his disciple have attempted to rear.

But we now pass on to certain considerations, which we had intended to bring forward, before Mr. Gore's volume came into our hands.

These topics are as follows : (1) The supposition that those who conscientiously decline to admit the Roman claims must accuse the Bishops of Rome of having been deliberate and conscious impostors. (2) The supposition that on quitting the English Church for the Roman a man escapes from all the special difficulties which affect the theology of our day. (3) The supposition that a list of eminent men who have during the last half-century become Roman Catholics is a fact which stands unbalanced, and which ought consequently to operate in one direction only.

(1.) Mr. Allies quotes, and Mr. Rivington re-quotes, the following dictum : 'Either the Popes claimed what was their right by the gift of Christ, or they were one and all impostors from the beginning' (Rivington, p. 57).

Is it really impossible, then, for holy and able men to claim more than they ought? We read in the thirteenth century that certain bishops in France demanded that persons excommunicated by them should receive immediate punishment at the hand of the State. That claim was resisted. By whom? Was it by some fierce and unbelieving despot? No; it was by King Louis IX., the canonized saint, the pattern ruler, the model of justice, 'the noblest and holiest of monarchs.'¹ Oh, but, it may be rejoined, these were bishops of particular sees which have no immunity from such error. The Bishop of Rome is in a different position; he could not possibly act in this manner.

It is, we think, in our power to test this assertion by reference to a single department of the history of ecclesiastical pretensions which, though (we grant) not precisely *in pari materia* with the doctrinal claim, yet at least serves to illustrate the point at issue. Although Mr. Rivington does not seem to us to be widely read in history, we may fairly assume that he has heard of a claim on the part of the Roman Pontiffs, which is commonly known as *the deposing power*. Now by no means do we believe that this imagined right had its origin in fraud or in ambition. The uneducated at certain periods

¹ *Histoire de Saint Louis*, par Jean, Sire de Joinville, §§ 61-4 (ed. De Wailly, Paris, 1874). Hallam justly observes that 'Joinville is a witness whom, when we listen to him, we must believe.'

do frame a most exalted notion of what education can accomplish. Even a country curate, fairly trained, may have found himself requested to draw up a will, and to pronounce an opinion concerning the value of a particular medicine (which he is begged to taste) as a specific for the illness of a parishioner, although he is conscious that his attainments in the provinces of law and medicine are of a very subordinate and humble character. And thus in the ages when the Roman primacy had developed into a supremacy, the bishop of that see found himself either directly, or else indirectly through legates or other representatives, invited to decide between rival claimants to a throne. The most obvious and famous case is that of Pippin in A.D. 749. Childeric III. had a shadowy sovereignty, which, though deprived of all real power, might easily become the focus of revolutionary movements on the part of discontented chieftains, who were in turn allying themselves with Germans, with Saxons, with Bavarians.

‘Burchard, Bishop of Würzburg,’ writes Einhard, ‘and Folrad, priest and chaplain, were sent to Rome to Pope Zachary, to consult the Pontiff concerning the kings who then existed in France, and who had only the name of kings without any royal power. Through them the Pontiff replied that it were better that he should be king who exercised the royal power; and having sanctioned this by his authority, it came to pass that Pepin was appointed king.’¹

Similar proceedings, though on a smaller scale, may be traced in other histories of mediæval times, as, for example, in Mr. Green’s *Short History of the English People*.²

But from such interference legitimately invited and applied, how easy, alas! the step to meddling where no such warrant existed; where there was either no invitation at all, or only an invitation which bore on its very face the stamp of hypocrisy. The deposing power was by the sixteenth century all but erected into an article of faith. Cruel and bitter as we must allow the conduct of Elizabeth of England to have often been, the one palliation for her cruelty is to be found in the conduct of those Pontiffs who, while the Roman Catholics in England were assuring the Queen that they acknowledged her as their sovereign both *de jure* and *de facto*, were sending emissaries armed with Bulls which denounced her as bastard and usurper, and which placed her life in constant peril of assassination. The statements of the authors of *Janus*³ on the Papal claims

¹ *Einhardii Annales Francorum, sub anno 750* (ed. Teulet, Paris, 1840, vol. i. p. 126).

² London: Macmillan and Co., 1875 (twenty-third edition).

³ *The Pope and the Council*, pp. 13, 14, 382-7. English translation. (London: Rivingtons, 1869.)

in this sphere of action can be thoroughly illustrated from the history of Elizabeth by the Roman Catholic Lingard,¹ who gives us the touching and (in this matter) anti-papal petition of those loyal Roman Catholics who subsequently vindicated their loyalty by their zeal against the Spanish Armada. The same author also notices the absurd inconsistency of Philip of Spain. For Philip had not hesitated to declare war against Pope Paul IV., and had by his general, the famous Duke of Alva, dictated the terms of peace in the Vatican. 'He ought,' says the historian, 'to have been the last to acknowledge in the Pontiff the right of disposing of the crowns of princes ;' but 'revenge and ambition taught him a different lesson ;' and he planned, with the sanction and co-operation of Pope Sixtus V., that expedition which was doomed to such a signal failure.

And now, in this year of grace 1888, how stands the Roman claim to the deposing power? Cardinal Newman has informed us in his *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk* (p. 51) that if he were a Privy Councillor or Member of Parliament, bound by his oath as such not to acknowledge the right of succession of a Prince of Wales, if he became a Catholic, and if the Pope called upon him to stand up for the Catholic Succession, he could not obey him so long as he continued in office or in his place in Parliament. Roman encyclopedists² place against the judgment of Bellarmine, Ferraris, and others in favour of this alleged right, those of Duperron, Gerson, and many more who 'do not admit that it has any root in the *depositum fidei* ;' nay, they avow 'that there is no longer any question, even at Rome, of exercising the deposing power ;' and they quote the words of the late Pope Pio Nono, who is reported to have said in a sermon that, 'No one now thinks any more of the right of deposing princes, which the Holy See formerly exercised, and the supreme Pontiff even less than anyone.'

It might be too much to expect, that a claim so solemnly exercised again and again by Bishops of Rome should be allowed by their successors to have been all along of a most questionable character. But even Mr. Rivington may be able to imagine that students of history, who have lived to witness the practical withdrawal of an alleged right, which yet they do

¹ *History of England*, vol. vi. pp. 188, 244. Sixth edit. (London : 1854.)

² See the article 'Deposing Power' in the *Dictionary* of Messrs. Addis and Arnold, the former of whom has recently left the Church of Rome.

not believe to have been made by impostors, can also suppose it possible that doctrinal claims may have been partly fostered in a like manner. Assuredly modern opponents of the Papal claims have not always attributed the rise of her power to imposture or to unworthy arts. 'Rome,' said the late Professor Hussey (in his small but able volume *against* the Supremacy), 'at this time, and for some time afterwards, had earned the precedence in honour always allowed to the Imperial See, not only by her martyred bishops and her munificence to poorer Churches, but also by her orthodoxy, and by the courage and ability with which she undertook the championship of the truth against various shapes of error.'¹ And another writer of different temperament has avowed, in his critique of J. H. Newman's *Essay on Development*, that 'The Bishop of Rome . . . had a special, most awful, most responsible stewardship entrusted to him, in the discharge of which it is mere arrogance, party spirit, and contempt of history to say he was not often in the main faithful.'²

(2.) But, says Mr. Rivington, concerning the communion which he has left, 'The Church of England is wavering even on the subject of hell' (p. 13).

Has he really studied this question in connexion with the history of the communion which he has joined? We greatly doubt it.

We have spoken of the opposite dangers, the opposite merits and demerits, of different religious bodies. Let us now add that there do occur in the history of the world, whether regarded from a political or an ecclesiastical point of view, waves of thought which affect parties the most opposite. The most acute lay supporter of Ultramontanism, Count Joseph de Maistre, was well aware of this fact. He saw that the French Revolution had rendered impossible a restoration of seventeenth and eighteenth century views concerning monarchy; and that the Reformation had acted similarly upon religion. 'Toute grande révolution agit toujours plus ou moins sur ceux mêmes qui lui résistent, et ne permet plus le rétablissement total des anciennes idées. Nous le voyons par la commotion religieuse du XVII^{ème} siècle, qui a opéré une révolution très-sensible même chez les Catholiques.'³

Some such revolution as this has, during the present cen-

¹ Hussey's *Rise of the Papal Power*, p. 11, Oxford edit., 1863.

² Rev. F. D. Maurice's Preface to *Lectures on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. xli. (London, 1846.)

³ We have, unfortunately, mislaid our reference. But the passage is quite undisputed and breathes De Maistre's style in every word.

tury, affected the questions which concern *eschatology*. If any persons imagine that Roman Catholic divinity has been untouched by it, they must, either from carelessness or from wilfulness, be singularly blind.

Speaking merely for himself, the present writer has for a quarter of a century espoused in published articles and letters what may be called, on these topics, the conservative side. He believes that Universalism, if men could on a large scale *really* convince themselves of it, would be the destruction of religion; and when told by this or that semi-supporter of it—*thorough* supporters are rare—that it has a strong case, he has been accustomed to ask, ‘Do you then believe that we are all to be forced to go to heaven, whether we like it or not?’ The perception that an affirmative reply involves the denial of our free agency, for the most part, makes men pause.¹

Greek and Roman authors, with the doubtful exception of Cicero, either deny a future life at all, or else in admitting a world to come recognize the existence both of heaven and of hell. The idea that an eternal loss militated against the mercy of the Creator never once seems to have crossed their imaginations.

But Christianity wrought an alteration here. Here and there, even in the primitive Church, some whispers of difficulty are heard, although by the close of the sixth century they seem to be generally silenced. Yet in the Middle Ages Aquinas appears to be able to claim some support from Augustine on behalf of the lawfulness of the theory of mitigation: a theory which we for our part believe to be perfectly permissible, as a pious opinion.²

Among post-Reformation divines Rodriguez and Lessius occupy conspicuous places. Both are conservative *de Æternitate Pœnarum*; and, in truth, it has been forcibly asserted that

‘to deny it is to revolutionize the Christian system, as may be seen, e.g., by applying the process of expurgation to such classical works as the *Confessions* of Augustine, the *Sermons* of Chrysostom, the

¹ This element of the case has been forcibly urged by Dr. Pusey and by Mr. Mallock, also by Professor Paget in *Oxford House Papers*.

² Mitigation means a merciful diminution of punishment. ‘Non totaliter pœna tolletur, sed, ipsâ pœnâ durante, *miseriordia operabitur eam diminuendo*’ (*Summa Theol. Suppl.* Qu. 99, artt. 2 ad 4); and he can appeal to at least one passage in Augustine which ends as follows: ‘non ut eas pœnas vel nunquam subeant, vel aliquando finiant, *sed ut eas mitiores quàm merita sunt eorum levioresque patiantur*’ (*in Psalmum lxxvii.* 8, in Augustine’s reckoning, Psalm lxxvi.).

Imitation of à-Kempis, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Dying*, or Baxter's *Saints' Everlasting Rest*.¹

Passing by some objectors among English Deists and Socinians and their opponents (as *e.g.* Dr. Horbery and others), we turn our gaze across to France. During the earlier half of the nineteenth century there appeared from the pen of a French barrister, M. Auguste Nicolas, one of the most philosophic and able expositions and defences of the solemn and awful dogma of eternal loss. But the tone of his treatment is very unlike that of earlier defenders, say of Lessius. He begins in what may almost be called an apologetic tone—apologetic, we mean, in the modern sense of the word; and he would evidently be able to enter into the meaning of Cardinal Newman's language when he says:—

'From this time [1816] I have given a full inward assent and belief to the doctrine of eternal punishment, as delivered by our Lord Himself, in as true a sense as I hold that of eternal happiness; *though I have tried in various ways to make that truth less terrible to the reason.*'²

For M. Nicolas feels compelled to declare that

'among the moderns this dogma has become the most insurmountable, I do not say to the reason of the unbeliever, *but to the faith of the Christian; and it is not uncommon to find souls who could believe all the rest of Christianity, and who are held in check in the presence of this one article of faith alone.*'³

It was no wonder; for French literature had for many years been persistently attacking it in prose and verse. Rousseau in the preceding century, and in our own Lamennais, Damiron, Reynaud, Victor Hugo, George Sand, and many more were among the assailants. Châteaubriand, Lamartine, Jules Simon, and others rejected it, though less avowedly. A writer, who shall be named presently, declares that 'the whole contemporary literature of France, so Christian in many respects, has this same tendency.'

Contemporaneously the French pulpit exhibited a change, not indeed in essence, but in mode of treatment. In the age

¹ *Saturday Review*, September 1886, p. 397. We have reason to believe that the article cited is from the pen of the lamented H. N. Oxenham. The critic seems to be partially quoting the book he is reviewing, Dr. Shedd on the *Doctrine of Endless Punishment* (London: Nisbet and Co., 1885).

² *Apologia pro Vita sua*, p. 62.

³ *Études Philosophiques sur le Christianisme*, 2nde partie, chap. viii. tome ii. pp. 470-1. (Our own copy, the 7th edition, is of 1851. Paris: Vaton.)

of Louis XIV., and during the regency of the Duke of Orleans, preachers assumed what looks like the *primâ facie* assertion of Scripture (though we by no means assert that the *primâ facie* view is always and necessarily the correct one), namely, the fewness of the saved. Massillon, in a famous discourse, *Sur les Élus*, took this view as a matter of course. But it is characteristic of this nineteenth century, that we find the great Dominican orator Lacordaire, in the same city of Paris, and in the same Cathedral of Notre Dame, taking 'the opposite side to Massillon, and devoting one of his most eloquent sermons to prove that the city of tears will be almost a desert compared with the multitudes who will fill the other cities.'¹

The change did not stop here. The Abbé Migne undertook to bring out (in A.D. 1850-60) an *Encyclopédie Théologique*, which for some 15*l.* should supply the French clergy with a survey of the whole of religious knowledge. The subject on which we are now engaged was intrusted to the Abbé le Noir. In the volume entitled *Dictionnaire des Harmonies de la Raison et de la Foi* (Paris, 1856) he devotes some columns to its treatment. Even M. Nicolas did not refrain from stating in a note 'le point le plus insaisissable du dogme de l'enfer et qui est comme le centre de son obscurité,' namely, the difficulty of reconciling it with the foreknowledge and the goodness of God, and of leaving it as a mystery by the side of that concerning our freedom and the Divine sovereignty; and Messrs. Arnold and Addis have with equal freedom left unanswered another difficulty which they proclaim.²

But M. le Noir (from whom we have borrowed our references to the French literature of the day, and the description of Lacordaire's sermon) goes much further than this. With M. Emery, M. de Pressy, and M. Carl, he maintains that '*it is reasonable to think that the condemned do not desire death, do*

¹ *Conférences de Notre-Dame*, tom. v. p. 135, &c.

² It is right to say that Father Clark, in the January to March numbers of the *Month* for 1882, has done his best, with great ability, to face these difficulties. (Dean Goulburn has done the same in his thoughtful and weighty Lectures on the same subject. London, 1875.) If we have understood aright the articles of F. Clark, and the conversation of two gifted and devoted members of the Roman Church, we should say that the discussions of the present century on this solemn theme had seriously modified the Roman theology in many quarters. F. Clark (in the March number of the *Month*, p. 307) classes with the Saints, whose filial happiness is secure, '*all* who have made their act of submission [to God] and persevere in it.' Dr. Pusey's teaching was practically identical with this. But it needs some explanation, as M. Nicolas has shown, to reconcile it with the maxim *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*.

not hate God, and do not curse Him,' restrictions which he asserts are not condemned by the Church. He argues that even if the views of Origen underwent condemnation by the fifth Œcumenical Council, *such a condemnation would not imply the formal definition, as an article of faith, of eternal punishment*, and that these infernal pains will not be eternal absolutely. He seems, moreover, to believe in 'the gradual improvement of the lost, though, like an asymptote, they may never actually reach the goodness of the blessed.'

Now we do not mean to sit in judgment upon M. le Noir, nor to discuss the lawfulness of his theories. What we are concerned with is this. Mr. Rivington declares that the English Church 'is wavering even on the subject of hell,' *and he leaves it for a communion in which, for these thirty years past, the above 'waverings' have been taught and published (we believe without the slightest rebuke) in what is put forward as a manual of orthodoxy.*¹ Such is the consistency of Rome's latest distinguished convert!

(3.) It remains to say something on the supposition that the mention of distinguished names is an argument which tells in one direction, and in one only. Let it be observed that it is on Mr. Rivington (p. 10), and not on us, that lies the responsibility for the introduction of this element into the case. Having resolved to adopt it, he naturally places first the one man of genius among Englishmen who submitted to Rome some forty-four years ago, and with that name he conjoins three others—those of Wilberforce, Manning, Coleridge—not indeed to be compared with John Henry Newman in intellectual power, but still men of weight and of high gifts, which must ever have made them ornaments of whatever communion they became members. It is undeniable, as he says, that he could have mentioned many more.

But the future ecclesiastical historian of our age will be compelled, if his work is to be anything better than a mere party pamphlet, to place on record two facts of very different character. Against the acceptance of the Roman claims during the period 1845–1889, he will notify the secession from Vaticanism of an eminent canonist like Schulte, against the genius of Newman he will place that of Ignatius von

¹ Our evidence is to be found in the *Dictionnaire* already named (pp. 1715–16), and from the companion volume, also by M. le Noir, *Dictionnaire des Droits de la Raison dans la Foi* (pp. 785, 819). All this was given more at length in the *Christian Remembrancer* for October 1864, art. 'Voices from Rome—Dr. Manning;' but it is not a case of plagiarism, nor was that article, to our knowledge, ever answered.

Döllinger as that of a recalcitrant from the latest usurpations of the Roman see: a man fully Newman's equal in all purely intellectual gifts, his superior in judicial clearness of outlook, and perhaps more than his superior in all the learning concerned with the history and claims of the Church of Rome. Nor is this all. He will remember how of three brilliant converts to Rome of an earlier date—Chillingworth, Boyle, Gibbon—one returned to the Anglican Church, while the other two became hopeless sceptics. He will ask himself whether this phenomenon has not been repeated in the nineteenth century. And, even apart from the revival of the Jansenist Church in Holland, and the Alt-Katholik movement in Germany, he will find that in England it is impossible to specify any body of men of which so large a percentage has resiled as that of those who have become Roman Catholics during the period of which we are now speaking. With sorrow our historian will notice that the divisions among them resemble that of the three above named, some returning to the fold of the Mother whom they had abandoned, the rest becoming more or less rationalistic sceptics. The names of Ffoulkes, Jephson, Hemans, Case, Renouf, Hutton, are instances in point. We say nothing of three other Roman priests who, during the last few years, have left the London Oratory. Their ecclesiastical position is, we believe, a dubious one, but the fact that some of them have broken their vows of celibacy might seem to complicate the question. It is, however, idle to pretend that those whom we have named are men of insignificant mental stature. The very reverse is the case. Mr. Ffoulkes has wrought loyally for the English Church since his return, and is a man of exceptional ability and wide learning. Mr. Renouf was, humanly speaking, sure of the highest honours at Oxford at the time he left us. The others are (or were) all of them men of distinction in some way.¹ One of them, about 1850, held converse on these topics with an intimate friend. They were unable to agree; one remained loyal to England, the other bowed to Rome. Both lived some thirty years after their sad parting. But

¹ In this connexion we cannot but be struck with the paucity of converts of any real mark during the last twenty-five or thirty years, as contrasted with the distinction of the earlier seceders, and as showing that, even with the powerful aid of these seceders, the Roman Church has not been able to secure any notable success in proselytism, if, indeed, she manages to hold her own. The subject has been discussed from this point of view in a striking article in the *Quarterly Review* for January 1888, entitled 'Roman Catholics in England,' which will amply repay perusal.

how different was the end ! The Roman Catholic found that the Vatican Council proved to him as great a difficulty as had in earlier days been the decision in the Gorham case. He died in a hesitating frame of mind, and left all his fortune to a sceptical body, the Hibbert Trustees. The other, if his flock was small, was deeply honoured, not only by that flock but by a large circle of co-religionists in many homes, and by numbers outside the pale of the communion which he adorned. At his decease might well have been uttered the words of the Roman matron of old—

‘Maternis laudor lacrymis, urbisque querelis,’¹

only that the mother was not, like Cornelia’s, an earthly matron, but ‘Jerusalem, which is the Mother of us all.’

We have no pleasure in recording these contrasts. The home of any Christian communion is, in our eyes, superior to the dreary, barren waste of scepticism. But they *are* facts, and they are surely warnings. Roman Catholics must, we presume, maintain that it would have been far better for those to whom we have referred never to have submitted to Rome. When we look at Mr. Rivington’s strange theories about the *à priori* necessity of a purely human head to the Church ; at his reticence about the discrepancies between Cardinal Manning and Mr. Mivart concerning Holy Scripture ; at his seeming ignorance of the licence allowed by Rome on questions of eschatology ; at his keen sense of *our* evils, and his apparently idealized picture of the communion which he has joined, we dread, we must own, the possibility of some future shock to his convictions which might hereafter lead him to follow the steps of a Hutton and others. Better certainly, as we have implied, even the adherence to ultramontane Christianity than that.

But for others still with us, the erratic course of men of such attainments is, we repeat, a solemn warning. ‘*Spartam nactus es ; hanc exorna !*’ is a *dictum* that involves more than merely patriotic aspirations.

‘God chooses for thee : seal His choice,
Nor from thy Mother’s shadow stray ;
For sure thine holy Mother’s shade
Rests yet upon thine ancient home ;
No voice from Heaven hath clearly said,
“Let us depart ;” then fear to roam.’²

¹ Propertius, lib. iv., Elegia xi., lin. 57 (Defuncta Cornelia Paulum alloquitur).

² Keble, *Lyra Innocentium*.

ART. VI.—THE QUIGNON BREVIARY.

Breviarium Romanum a Francisco Cardinali Quignonio editum et recognitum, iuxta editionem Venetiis A.D. 1535 impressam curante JOHANNE WICKHAM LEGG, Societatis Antiquariorum atque Collegii Regalis Medicorum Londinensium Socio, in Nosocomio Sancti Bartholomæi olim Prælectore. (Cantabrigiæ, typis atque impensis Academicæ, 1888.)

THE Breviary of Cardinal Quignon, whatever opinion may be held of its liturgical merits, will always keep a place of lasting importance in the history of Liturgy. And to English Churchmen its interest is increased fourfold by the influence which it had on the development of the Mattins and Evensong of the Book of Common Prayer, an influence which may be overrated or underrated, but which unquestionably exists. In the opinion of a liturgical scholar like Dr. Neale

‘It is more than the basis of the English Prayer Book. Were we to class all offices into families Quignon’s would not stand with the Breviary, but would take its place with our own service, and, therefore, it is of the greatest importance that we should be thoroughly acquainted with the Spanish ecclesiastic’s reform, in order that we may thoroughly appreciate our own.’¹

It is important, in the first place, to understand that there are two texts or recensions of Cardinal Quignon’s Breviary, and that these two texts differ from one another in their construction and details. The first text is that which has now been reprinted by the Cambridge University Press. It appeared in at least eight editions during the years 1535 and 1536. The second text was much longer lived, and appeared in numerous editions between 1536 and 1566. Both appeared with a brief from Paul III., allowing the recitation of the offices contained in them in place of the old Roman Breviary, and they thus possess whatever authority may be given by a papal letter.

The first text represents the utmost limit attained by the party of reform within the Church of Rome. It had become plain that some reform of the Breviary must be undertaken.

¹ *Ecclesiologist*, 1856, vol. xvii. p. 49. Mr. Beresford Hope pointed out to us shortly before his death that H. S. L. are the second consonants of John MaSon Neale.

The results of the Franciscan Reform at the end of the thirteenth century had at last become intolerable. Rudolf of Tongern tells us that the Franciscan friars had succeeded in turning the Liturgy of the Church of Rome into the Liturgy of a clique; that in his time the calendar was already overburdened with Franciscan and local Roman saints that were not Gregorian; and that in consequence the ferial Psalms and offices were rarely, and Holy Scripture never, read ('*sacram scripturam omnimode in officio negligunt*').¹ Thus a few of the same Psalms were said over and over again as the proper Psalms of Saints' days, instead of the whole of the Psalter being gone through once a week; and in like manner as soon as one book of the Bible was begun it was interrupted by the occurrence of the legends of the saints.

To this pass had the Franciscan system arrived at the end of the fourteenth century when Rudolf wrote; but the state of affairs had grown so much worse in Leo X.'s time that a reform of the Breviary was determined upon by those in authority at Rome. This revision was, in the first place, entrusted to Ferreri, the title-page of whose *Hymni Novi Ecclesiastici* contains an announcement of a new Breviary, 'Breviarium Ecclesiasticum ab eodem Zach. Pont. longe brevis et facilius redditum, et ab omni errore purgatum propediem exhibit.' But the death of the author almost before the book of hymns was published hindered effectually the fulfilment of the promise of the new Breviary. Then came the sack of Rome and the imprisonment of Clement VII. in the castle of St. Angelo. Now Quignon's connexion with the reform of the Breviary is very likely due to this imprisonment. He was confessor to Charles V., and was employed by the emperor in negotiating with Clement VII. the terms of enlargement. In this office he gave such satisfaction to the Pope that he was made cardinal priest of the Sessorian Basilica (*Santa Croce in Gerusalemme*), and was also entrusted with the reform of the Breviary. Others, however, besides Ferreri and Quignon, had been thought of by Clement VII. for this liturgical work. He had given in 1529 a commission² to John Peter Carafa, Bishop of Theate (the modern Chieti), afterwards Paul IV., and the members of the new congregation, called Theatines, to revise the Missal, the Breviary, and the office of the B.V.M. They seem to have completed this revision,

¹ Radulphi decani Tungrensis *De Canonum Observantia* prop. xxii., apud Hittorp (*De Divinis Eccles. Officiis*).

² Joseph Silos, *Historiarum Clericorum Regularium*, pars prior, lib. iii. p. 95. (Romæ, 1650.) The text of the brief is given.

though no record of it is now known to exist, and it is said to have been done in a more conservative fashion than that which Quignon chose. They, however, expunged the apocryphal histories, and refused to allow lessons from Origen and Eusebius, or any authors suspected of heresy; now Quignon borrows freely in his legends of the saints from Eusebius. They also simplified the rubrics. For some reason or other, perhaps the unstable character of the Pope, their labours did not meet with approval, and it may be noticed that Paul IV. was the first of the Popes who refused to issue licenses to ecclesiastics to recite the Breviary of Quignon.

Thus was the Spanish Quignon, general of the Franciscans in the sixteenth century, appointed to review the work of the English Haymo, General of the Franciscans in the thirteenth century. In the preface to the Breviary, Quignon tells us that he was helped by certain of his chaplains, learned men. But he does not give their names. Diego a Neyla, later on a canon of Salamanca, is said by Genesius Sepulveda¹ to have been the chief worker, helped, it is said, by Sepulveda himself, and one Gaspar de Castro. It would thus seem that this revision of the Breviary was altogether a Spanish undertaking, and its Spanish origin is seen in the Spanish saints who had not before been admitted into the Roman calendar.

Before the new Breviary could be published, Clement VII. died, and a new Pope, Paul III., was elected in October 1534. He continued his predecessor's support to Quignon, for the brief allowing the recitation of the new Breviary is dated February 5, 1535. It is addressed to the printers, and allows all secular clerks and priests to recite Quignon's Breviary in place of the old, provided a special license were had from the Apostolic See, which should be granted by the Court of *Segnatura*, and without fee.

At first the licence to recite this Breviary was granted only from Rome. Later on, leave was given by papal legates and nuncios. Last of all, there were some bulls and Papal indulgences containing clauses allowing whosoever would to use the new Breviary.² St. Francis Xavier was granted this permission on account of his multifarious occupations; yet his biographer relates with pride that he continued to the end

¹ Jo. Genesii Sepulvedæ Cordubensis *Epistolarum Libri Septem* (Salmanticae, 1557), Epist. ciii.

² 'Initio Romam mittebant pro literis Pontificiis, ut hæc sibi liceret; mox per legatos et nuncios apostolicos ceptum est dispensari, extremo loco ad Bullas et indulgentias Pontificias res delata est. Quarum una est clausula, ut vocant, quod possit quis tali novo Breviario uti' (MS. Vatican Library, *Cod. Vatic.* 4878, cap. xi. fol. 22 recto).

to recite the old and longer office.¹ But he could have had no very great objection to the book, for in a letter to St. Ignatius Loyola he asks for a license to recite this new Breviary, which he might at pleasure give to six clerks as a sort of inducement to them to go with him into the Indies.² The shortness and simplicity of this first text made it at once extremely popular, of which the best evidence is the number of editions that it very soon ran through. Between the February of 1535 and the July of 1536 there appeared at least eight editions, two probably at Rome, one at Venice, one at Lyons, three or more at Paris, one at Antwerp. The variations of four of these editions are represented in the Cambridge reprint.

But it was not well received everywhere. On the 27th of the July following the publication of the first edition, the doctors of the Sorbonne met, and they heard the reasons why the new Breviary should not be accepted; they approved of these reasons, and agreed that they should be sent to the Pope 'cum omni humilitate et modestia.'³ Their reasons for rejecting the new Breviary were chiefly these: it was unlike any other Breviary; it contained no office of the B.V.M., no antiphons, responds, little chapters, nor homilies; and the distribution of the Psalter and of Holy Scripture was new. This remonstrance seems to have caused the Pope and Quignon to prepare without delay another recension, with which they made such good speed that the brief allowing the second text is dated just a twelvemonth afterwards, in the July of the following year, 1536.

In the preface to this second text, Quignon sets out by saying that the first text had been accepted and approved by many learned men, but yet it was not the promulgation of a law, rather a sort of public deliberation. Of this recension the Sorbonne seems to have taken no notice for a time; but in 1552 it had approved of this second text,⁴ and again, it is said, indirectly in 1574, a few years after its use had been abolished by Pius V.⁵

This second text is the one best known to liturgical

¹ Orazio Torsellino, *De Vita B. Francisci Xaverii*, Colon. Agripp. 1621, lib. vi. cap. v. p. 520.

² Petrus Possinus, *S. Francisci Xaveri . . . Epistolarum Libri Septem*, Romæ, 1667, lib. i. Ep. vi. p. 35.

³ Caroli Duplessi d'Argentré *Collectio Judiciorum*, Lut. Paris. 1728, t. ii. p. 121. The reasons are on pp. 122-126.

⁴ Some editions printed at Lyons by Thibaud Payen bear a license, dated March 4, 1552, from 'Matthieu Ory, Docteur en Théologie et Inquisiteur Général de la foi, avec aussi l'approbation de la Sorbone.'

⁵ Richard Simon, *Lettres choisies*, Amsterdam, 1700, p. 187, Lettre xxv.

scholars, and was reprinted a very great number of times. Dr. Neale speaks of seventeen editions, Guéranger of thirty ; but double this number can be collected without very great trouble by anyone who will search the libraries even as he journeys from London to Rome. The last seem to have been printed in 1566, but even this year brought forth four editions, two at Paris, one at Antwerp, and one at Pesaro. This last is noteworthy from its form. As a rule a Quignon is a *totum*, but this Pisauran edition is in two parts, a *pars hyemalis* and a *pars æstivalis*. The title-page is dated 1564, the colophon 1566. We have seen two or three other editions in two parts, but we have yet to meet with an edition in four parts, a form Azevedo declares to be common.¹ Mr. Blew (whose library contains all liturgical curiosities) has a most rare Quignonian *Diurnale*, that is, a book of lauds and day hours without Mattins, in 16mo., printed at Venice by Junta about 1542.

To John de Arze, a professor of theology and priest at Palencia, in Spain, we owe an important part of our knowledge of the history of Quignon's Breviary. He drew up a memorandum which was presented to the Council of Trent in August 1551, and which has been preserved in the Vatican Library (*Cod. Vatican.* 4878 ; also a duplicate, 5302, but less clearly written). It has this title, *De novo Breviario tollendo Consultatio*.² It is a vigorous attack upon the new Breviary, but it gives also abundance of information as to its progress in Spain. In that country its use spread widely. The name of Roman Breviary encouraged the clergy to recite it in choir, in public, and in private. Several dioceses in Spain adopted Quignon—as Saragossa, Palencia, and Taragona, and others, even when the bishop was unwilling. The clergy of these dioceses were broken up into three, or even four, parties : some reciting Quignon, others the new diocesan Breviary, others the old diocesan Breviary, while the remainder betook themselves to the old Roman Breviary. 'Qui omnes inter se sæpe dissident, rixantur, mutuo convitiantur, pugnis interdum nedum convitiis decertant : et ex ecclesiastica concordia fit cruenta pugna, intra ecclesiæ septa, chorique cancellos, pastorum ecclesiasticis id spectantibus.' In Holy Week things would seem to have come to a crisis. The faithful were

¹ Emmanuel de Azevedo, *Exercitationes Liturgicæ*, Romæ, 1750, p. 35, Exercit. ix.

² Faustinus Arevalus has printed some parts of this important MS. in his *Hymnodia Hispanica* (Romæ, 1786, p. 423). A learned friend tells us that it has been printed by Roskovány, *Cælibatus et Breviarium*, Pestini, 1861, t. v. p. 635.

shocked at the disappearance of the *Tenebræ* service, and, shaking off the dust of their feet against the clergy, betook themselves to the monks. Arze further tells us that the Hieronymites and Franciscan friars had taken to Quignon; the latter were forbidden its use in a general assembly on the authority of Michel Antonius. Even some ancient monasteries are said to have adopted the new Breviary. A very learned and accurate writer in the *Tablet* of May 12, 1888, tells us that Quignon found its way into an ancient monastery like St. Bertin's.

Was the Quignonian Breviary adopted in whole, or were only its lessons taken over? At Orleans, for example, the Breviary published in 1542 shows many marks of Quignon's influence, but it is not wholly Quignon. The distribution of the Psalter is Gregorian, and there are antiphons and responds. But several of the lessons are direct from Quignon, as the lessons for St. Thomas the Apostle, St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Sylvester, and St. Prisca. The preface on the verso of the title-page quotes from Quignon; it announces that there has been cut off 'quod piorum ac doctorum aures offendere poterat.' In like manner, the monks at Milan, called the *Humiliati*, adopted, with licence of Paul III., in 1548 an entirely new Breviary.¹ The old Benedictine distribution was broken up, and a new-fangled Psalter, based upon the month, not the week, devised. The histories of the Saints were, in many instances, taken word for word from the second text of Quignon; and the same taking over of the *legenda* may be seen in some of the old Roman Breviaries printed at Venice by Junta after 1560, where it is openly said that the lessons come from the Breviary of Paul III. In all these it may be noticed that it was not the main feature of a Breviary—the distribution of the Psalter—that was adopted, but a secondary character, a detail, the history or *legenda* of the Saints. In the other breviaries, at present unknown to us, in which Quignon is said to have been adopted, it is possible that, as in these, only the lessons have been borrowed and not the whole of the Breviary. On the other hand, the fact asserted by Arze that there were no Holy Week *Tenebræ* in the new Spanish Breviaries certainly points to an adoption of the Quignonian distribution of the Psalter.

¹ Prefixed to the editions of 1548 and 1751. This latter is only for the use of the *moniales*. It seems possible that, if Quignon had held its ground, this *Breviarium Humiliatorum* might have been put forward as the pattern of a reformed Breviary for regulars, just as Quignon might have been held out as a pattern to seculars.

The objections to Quignon, which have been urged from the time of Dominico Soto to the present, are shortly these : instead of allowing us to recite a few well-known Psalms over and over again, Quignon compels us to go over the whole Psalter once a week ; so that the Breviary becomes a study, not a prayer. Further, the responds to the lessons which Quignon abolished were great aids to prayer, while Quignon's lessons as they stand are mere exercises of the intellect.

In the acts of the Council of Trent there does not appear any record that the Fathers distinctly condemned Quignon's Breviary. Dominico Soto says they heard of its extension into churches in Spain 'non sine mœrore et scandalo.'¹ At all events, Paul IV., three years after his election in 1555, refused any further licenses for its recitation ; and finally, in 1568, Pius V., by the bull *Quod a nobis*, abolished the use of Quignon altogether. Doubtless this was a great blow, for after this date we find no more editions printed. Its use, however, must have persisted in some dioceses, for provincial councils, held after the publication of the bull of Pius V., condemn its use. Such a one may be met with at Rouen as late as 1581.² A writer in the *Journal des Sçavans* has asserted that Quignon was reprinted in 1596, but the proof of this is wanting.³ It is often said that the Breviary devised by Colbert, Louis XIV.'s great minister, and which may have been printed about 1679, was a reprint of Quignon. It is hard to believe that those who say this can ever have had the two books together in their hands, and still harder to explain the assertion that the French Breviaries of the last century are identical with that of Quignon.

From very early times the Divine service in the West has consisted mainly of the recitation of the Psalms and the reading of the Holy Scriptures. The Psalter was read through once a week, the chief part of the Bible once a year. By the time that the Reformation had begun, we have seen that these two practices had become much obscured, if not altogether lost, and the revision carried out by Quignon aimed at

¹ Dominicus Soto, *De Iustitia et Iure*, Antverpiæ, 1567, lib. x. art. 4, quæst. v. p. 338 verso.

² Ph. Labbé and Gabr. Cossart, *Sacrosancta Concilia*, Lut. Paris. 1672, t. xv. p. 824.

³ Hyppolite Helyot, *Supplément du Journal des Sçavans* du dernier juin, 1708, p. 230. He repeats this statement on p. 235, so that it is not likely to be a printer's error for 1566. He also speaks of an edition of the first text printed by Julian Lunel in 1535, 8vo., which has hitherto eluded observation. It was in the library of the Minimes of the Place Royale.

bringing back both. If we look over his Breviary we see that it may easily be divided—indeed, he tells us as much in his preface (p. xxi)—into three parts: the Psalter, the *Dominicale*, which contains the first, second, and third lessons taken from the Old and New Testament, and the *Sanctorale*, which contains the third lessons for Saints' Days, many of which are from ecclesiastical writers. Imbedded in the *Dominicale* and *Sanctorale* are a number of collects and hymns, all taken from the old Breviary; and it may be well to observe here that there is but little in this reformed Breviary that is new. Quignon has merely distributed old material, without much taste or judgment. Even in the new histories of the Saints, the part which Quignon and his chaplains put together specially for the work, the matter has been taken over without any great amount of winnowing; Platina, for instance, being often followed word for word, even where his historical statements have been much doubted; and the choice of the authors laid under contribution has not been always judicious or admirable from an orthodox or critical point of view. Some, too, of the finest hymns in the old Breviary have been sacrificed, in order that only the Sunday hymn *Nocte surgentes* may be said at Mattins every day in the week. The loss of liturgical beauty caused by the destruction of antiphons, chapters, and responds will also be understood by anyone moderately acquainted with the old Breviary, though it was the price that had to be paid for the simplification of the Divine service, a price, however, not thought too great by Cardinal Thomasius, one of the greatest liturgical scholars that the Church of Rome has produced.¹ In his scheme for reform, liturgical forms were altogether abolished, and there was nothing left but the Psalms and chapters from the Bible.

To begin with the Psalter. The redistribution of this was no doubt one of the most daring acts of Quignon's revision. Yet some rearrangement of the Gregorian Psalter has always been felt necessary by those whose endeavour has been to secure the recitation of all the Psalms during the week. This may be seen in the French revisions of the Breviary at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries. It was thought that it was impossible to retain the *Beati immaculati* as the daily Psalm for Prime, Terce, Sext, and None, if the Psalter were to be recited once a week. Further, the Gregorian followed the Hebrew arrangement of

¹ See the tract *De Privato Ecclesiasticorum Officiorum Breviario extra Chorum*, in Vezzosi's edition of the Cardinal's works (*Opera omnia*, Romæ, 1754, t. vii. p. 62).

the Psalms ; for, roughly speaking and with large exceptions, the Psalms before *Dixit Dominus* (cx.) were given to Mattins, and those after, to Vespers, and they were recited in the order in which they stand in the Bible.¹ Eighteen Psalms were said at Mattins on Sundays, twelve on weekdays, and nine on festivals. Quignon gave up this, and, choosing the Psalms mainly according to their length, arranged them in threes, so that three Psalms should be recited at each of the canonical hours, the shorter ones at the Little Hours, Vespers, and Compline, and the longer ones at Mattins ; at Lauds two Psalms and the canticle for the day from the old Breviary were said. In justification of this great change it may be said that there are precedents for three Psalms only at Mattins, followed by three lessons, of which the best known are the Mattins of the Roman Breviary during Easter and Whitsun weeks, and in the national rites during the whole Paschal season—precedents which come down from the antiquity to which it was Quignon's desire to return. At Mattins the number of verses in the three Psalms averages 100, varying from 80 on Monday to 117 on Thursday. On Sunday the Psalms are taken from the Gregorian distribution for the more part, though diminished of course in number. On the other days of the week an attempt has been made to keep for Mattins and Vespers some of the old Psalms, an attempt which is most apparent in the Vespers of Friday and Saturday. The Psalm *Deus, Deus meus* (xxii.) is said at Mattins on Friday, and the Psalms generally on that day seem to have been chosen for their foreshadowing of the Passion ; but it does not seem that much heed has been taken of the Betrayal on Wednesday or of the Eucharist on Thursday.

It should be noted that there are no proper Psalms, and it has been made a reproach to this Breviary that if Christmas Day fall on a Wednesday or a Friday the same Psalms are to be recited as on Ash Wednesday or Good Friday. And the same Psalms are said on fast days like Maundy Thursday, and great festivals like Holy Thursday and Corpus Christi.

The Canticles at Lauds preserve their old order in the week ; and the Gospel Canticles are said at the same Hours as in the old Breviary. The *Te Deum* is directed to be said every day after the third lesson at Mattins, weekdays as well as festivals, except in Advent and Lent. The special festival character of the *Te Deum* is thus lost. It is to be said if a

¹ Thomasius retained the Gregorian distribution in his scheme for a working Breviary, and proper Psalms were only allowed at Christmas, Easter, and such-like days.

Saint's day should be kept in Advent or Lent. The Athanasian Creed is recited at Prime on Sundays. In the rubric of the Second Text it is directed to be said every Sunday, even if the Sunday be a feast day or in an octave.

In the Psalter of the First Text it may be noticed that there are absolutely no antiphons to the Psalms or Canticles throughout the book. This was one of the objections raised by the Sorbonne. Accordingly, in the Psalter of the Second Text we find antiphons to the Psalms of the Little Hours, and all three Psalms were to be said under this one antiphon. The antiphons are short, usually from a verse of one of the three Psalms that are to follow ; but Quignon does not seem to have followed the old Breviary in choosing these. At Mattins, Lauds, and Vespers the Psalms and Canticles are all said together under one antiphon, which is usually borrowed from some corresponding part of the old service. At Compline the Psalms and *Nunc dimittis* are all said together under *Salva nos*, the old antiphon for *Nunc dimittis*, the hymn *Te lucis ante terminum* being said at the beginning of Compline. It may be convenient to remark here that the hymns in Quignon, whether in the First or the Second Text, are all said at the beginning of the Canonical Hour, as they were in the old Breviary at the Little Hours.

The distribution of the Psalter appears to be the same in all the editions of Quignon, whether they be of the First or of the Second Text. Several of the Antwerp editions after 1560 have arguments to the Psalms taken from Ludolf the Carthusian.

As the Psalter contains the Psalms arranged for the week, so the *Dominicale* contains the first, second, and many of the third lessons arranged for the year. The old Breviary contained lessons which varied in number according to the day : on Sundays and festivals nine, on weekdays and in the Paschal season three. True to his scheme of making the service for all days alike, Quignon reduced the lessons for any day in the year to three in number, making, however, each lesson about equal in length to the three contained in each nocturn according to the old Breviary : the first and second nocturn of which contained each three lessons, usually taken from the Old or New Testament, or from the life of the Saint commemorated on that day ; the third nocturn three lessons from the writings of the Fathers. In the First Text, Quignon arranged his lessons on the following plan : the first lesson from the Old Testament, the second from the New Testament, the third from the Epistles or the Acts, except on a Saint's day, when the

lesson was to be found in the *Sanctorale*. In the First Text the *Dominicale* contained all the first, second, and third lessons for every day in the year except Saints' days and the immovable festivals, the third lessons for which were to be found in the *Sanctorale*. The first lessons begin with Isaiah in Advent, and this book is read daily for seven weeks, no special provision being made for Christmas and the Epiphany. On these great festivals are read the lessons for the day of the week in which they chance to fall, the first or second 'week after Advent.' The first lessons begin again in Septuagesima with Genesis, and continue with this book without a break all through Lent, including Ash Wednesday and Holy Week up to Easter Day. On Good Friday the first lesson sets forth the embalming of Jacob and his burial in Canaan, as a meditation suitable for the day. Indeed, the first lessons of Holy Week seem to have been determined by a desire to finish Genesis, so that Exodus might be begun at Easter, and the doings of the Pharaoh who knew not Joseph read as an edifying first lesson on Easter Day. The same mechanical recitation of the portion that happens to fall to the day may be noticed in the first and second lessons for Ascension Day, Whitsunday, Trinity Sunday, and Corpus Christi. These feasts have assigned to them merely the chapter from Exodus or Deuteronomy, Corinthians or the Acts, that happens to be in reading. There are positively no proper first and second lessons in the First Text, if we except the second lessons for Passiontide and for the Easter Week itself. It may be that Quignon has seen so great an abuse of proper Psalms and proper lessons in the old system that in his revision the pendulum swung back, excusably perhaps, to the other extreme.

But Quignon did not throw away every shred of tradition in the arrangement of the new Lectionary. The old Breviary, as we all know, began the Book of Isaiah in Advent, and that of Genesis in Septuagesima. Accordingly, in Quignon, Isaiah is begun with Advent, and continued till the end of the third week after the fourth Sunday in Advent, Quignon's weeks *post Adventum*.¹ In the *Dominicæ vagantes* the five weeks, which may fall, whole or in part, after the Epiphany or before Advent,

¹ The *Sundays after Advent* and the *Dominicæ vagantes* have been thought inventions of Quignon's own. We understand, however, that evidence has lately been found of an earlier origin. Colbert adopts the *Dominicæ vagantes* in his arrangement of the year. With this expression we may compare the 'odde wandering dayes' of Edmund Spenser.—General Argument of *The Shepheardes Calender*, Globe ed. 1869, p. 445.

Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the lesser Prophets are read, but only in part. From Septuagesima to Easter Even, Genesis ; from Easter Day to Whitsun Eve, Exodus to end of chap. xxxiv. ; from Whitsunday to the Saturday before the ninth Sunday after Pentecost, Deuteronomy are read without break. Joshua and the First Book of Samuel, with two chapters from the Second, a few chapters from Proverbs, Daniel, and Job, fill up the rest of the ferial season. The points wherein Quignon has followed the old Breviary in the distribution of the first lessons, are the retention of Isaiah in Advent, the beginning of Genesis at Septuagesima, and the reading of the Kings after Trinity ; in the third lessons the Pauline Epistles are begun directly after the Epiphany ; and at the end of May the Epistles of SS. John, James, and Jude are read. In the old Breviary these Epistles were read before the Ascension. In the Second Text, however, there are no unoccupied days in January, and only a few chapters from SS. James and John are read in May and the beginning of June.

In the Second Text many changes were introduced into the Lectionary of the First. Portions of Isaiah were read up to the Thursday after the Third Sunday in Advent, and then followed a chapter or two out of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and a few of the minor prophets, including Baruch, up to the end of the Fourth Week. Proper lessons, both for Christmas and Epiphany, are provided in the Second Text, as well as for Ash Wednesday, Passiontide, Ascension Day, Whitsunday, Trinity Sunday, and Corpus Christi. A few chapters from Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Wisdom are read in the three 'weeks after Advent,' and sixteen chapters of Ecclesiasticus during the 'Vagantes.' Genesis is read from Septuagesima to the Octave of Corpus Christi, with interruptions at Passiontide. After this day Exodus is read until the eve of the Ninth Sunday after Pentecost. Then parts of the Kings are read up to the Tuesday after the Twenty-second Sunday after Pentecost ; and during the rest of the Christian year chapters from Daniel, Tobit, Judith, Esther, and Job.

The second lessons appear to be the same in both Texts. The Gospel of St. Luke begins with Advent, and runs without break to the end of the twenty-first chapter at the end of the 'Third Week after Advent.' The Epistles to the Galatians, the Ephesians, the Thessalonians, to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, are read during the 'Vagantes.' With Septuagesima begins the Gospel of St. John, which continues to the Saturday before the Third Sunday in Lent, ending with the twenty-sixth chapter. Then are read the Epistles of St. John and St. James,

ending on the eve of Passion Sunday. Passiontide is taken up with the account of the Passion according to the four Gospels, and Easter Week with the Gospels of the Resurrection. On Low Sunday the Epistle to the Romans begins, passing into the first to the Corinthians, which ends on Whitsun Eve. At Pentecost the Acts begin, followed by the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, the Gospel of St. Matthew to the end of chapter xxv., the Epistles of St. Jude, to the Hebrews, to the Philippians, the Gospel of Mark to the end of the thirteenth chapter, the Epistles to the Colossians and of St. Peter, ending with two chapters from the Revelation.

In the First Text the idea that nothing but the Holy Scriptures should be read in the lessons is seen at its highest. The first and second lessons are all from the Holy Scriptures, not even admitting selections from the Deuterocanonical Books. The third lessons are all from the Epistles and the Acts, except on Saints' days, when Quignon as a rule gives a lesson taken from Platina, Eusebius, St. Jerome, or some other ecclesiastical writer ; and on Easter Day and Trinity Sunday, when he has recourse to the old Breviary for the third lesson. And there are even third lessons for festivals or fasts, which still increase the amount of the Holy Scriptures read. The third lessons for the last three days of Holy Week, for Holy Thursday, Whitsunday, Corpus Christi, and many immovable feasts, such as Christmas Day, the Epiphany, Candlemas, the Visitation, and All Saints, are selections from Holy Scripture, while the third lesson for the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, the Conversion of St. Paul, and several other Saints, are based upon the Gospel narrative, and contain many sentences in the very words of the Scripture itself.

In the lessons of the Second Text the amount of the Holy Scriptures was much less. Among the first lessons may now be found readings from the Apocrypha, and in the third lessons (perhaps in deference to the complaints of the Sorbonne) Quignon has returned in so many instances to the old Breviary system of reading a homily from a Father in the Third Nocturn that the third lessons from the Epistles set in the Calendar can have been but seldom read. For instance, besides the Saints' days, in the Second Text all Sundays, all days within Octaves, and the week-days in Advent and Lent, have readings from the Fathers as third lessons.

The sources of the third lessons for Saints' days which are not taken from the Bible, are to some extent indicated in the Index on p. 203 of the Cambridge edition. The differences between the Saints'-day lessons in the First and

Second Texts vary from an entire rewriting to a few verbal changes for improvement of style. The lessons for Hilary (Jan. 31), Urban (May 25), and Zephirinus (Aug. 26), are almost rewritten. In some of the lessons of the Second Text a tendency is shown to assert the miraculous where the First Text had left the matter open. In the lesson for St. Francis¹ (Oct. 3) it is said of the seraph with the stigmata in the First Text *apparuisse memoratur*; in the Second Text, *apparuit*; so of the burial of St. Catherine by angels (Nov. 25) the First Text reads *conditum esse traditur*; the second, *conditum est*. But the tendency of the Second Text has not always been in this direction. Where the honour of St. James, the patron of Spain, was concerned, it might have been thought that not a jot of the claims made for him by his clients would be abated; yet in the Second Text the details of the early journey into Spain are omitted; and it is only said that Isidore has asserted that he made a journey thither. And the quasi-miraculous climbing of the Temple stairs at the Presentation of the B.V.M. (Nov. 21) has been left out of the Second Text.

In the First Text the lesson for the Conception of the B.V.M. is said to be taken from the sermons of St. Augustine. In the Second it has been taken from the office 'Sicut lilium,' composed by Leonard Nogarol, a lesson made up of short texts from certain of the Fathers, including St. Dominic and St. Thomas. Quignon has merely transcribed this lesson into his Second Text. For this he has been called 'homo impudentissimus,' because the lesson attributes to St. Thomas a belief in the Immaculate Conception. It has been said that the lesson only appears after the death of Quignon in 1540; but this is not the case. It is found in all that we have examined of the editions of the Second Text before 1540; but Quignon is hardly to be called 'homo impudentissimus' for adopting a lesson which he found beforehand in the old Breviary.

The Saints in the Calendar are nearly all from times before the eighth century. SS. Bonaventure, Bernard, Clara, Dominic, Francis of Assisi, Thomas of Aquinum, and Thomas of Canterbury, are the only mediæval Saints commemorated in the First Text. SS. Bernardin of Sienna, Elizabeth of Hungary,

¹ The language of the Renaissance writers of some of Quignon's lessons would shock a mediæval purist. For instance, St. Antony or Padua (June 13) hears of the martyrdom 'quorundam monachorum ex ordine sancti Francisci,' and St. Thomas Aquinas (March 7) is 'monachus prædicatorum.'

Peter Martyr, are added in the Second Text ; the calendar of which also contains the names of certain Saints, to whom no special third lesson is appointed, as SS. George, Louis king of France, Giles, Thecla, Ursula and her companions, with several popes. In both texts St. Perpetua disappears altogether before St. Thomas of Aquinum, and it would seem to be almost the first instance in which the calendar of a Roman Breviary thus degrades St. Perpetua. In the early calendars she retains the first place with a commemoration of St. Thomas ; in the Pian Breviary, St. Thomas takes the first place with a commemoration of St. Perpetua. It has been often foretold that if new Saints be admitted to the Calendar they will eject the old, and this is a notable instance ; for great as St. Thomas may be in the history of philosophy, St. Perpetua is still one of the very few Saints that have the honour of being named in the Canon of the Mass.

Nearly every one of the early popes, from Linus, Cletus, and Clement, down to Sylvester, is commemorated, even including Marcellinus (April 26), in whose lesson we read that he committed idolatry in the reign of Diocletian. It is said that this is the first mention in a Roman Breviary of what is called 'the fable of Sinuessa,'¹ and this again is due to Quignon's close following of Platina's *Lives*, which are the source, not only of the lesson for Marcellinus, but of those for all the popes commemorated by Quignon. Out of the 143 immovable feasts of the First Text there are thirty-one popes who have days and lessons assigned to them ; that is, more than a fifth of the whole. There is much the same number in the Second Text, but some of the names have been changed, and some have no particular lessons. Quignon has thus maintained the right of his compilation to the name of a Roman Breviary, and he has also admitted several of the Saints that Rudolf of Tongern complains are local Roman Saints and not Gregorian, and are yet to be found in the new Romano-Franciscan Calendars.

In other matters Quignon has done better ; for example. St. Justin Martyr appears on April 13, while the ordinary Roman Calendar had to wait for our own day to give this Father a special office.

It may be well to note, before leaving the subject of the *Sanctorale*, that Quignon begins the lessons with January, not, as in the older Breviaries, with a day close to St. Andrew ; Christmas and Epiphany also are in the *Sanctorale*, not in the

¹ Hefele (*Conciliengeschichte*, Freiburg, 1873, 2te Auflage, Bd. i. S. 143) uses a stronger expression : 'eine Lüge.'

Dominicale. St. Stephen and the attendant feasts may be found in the *Sanctorale* of some Breviaries ; but it is probably a novelty of Quignon's to set Christmas itself amongst the Saints' days. In the *Breviarium Humiliatorum*, which is a sort of cousin to Quignon, Christmas and Epiphany are also in the *Sanctorale*.

In the arrangement of Mattins and Lauds, Quignon made considerable changes ; but with the other Hours, especially in the Little Hours, the changes are not so very prominent. In the First Text the Hours all begin with *Pater noster* ; in the Second the *Ave Maria* down to *peccatoribus* is added. It is just possible that this may be the first appearance of the *Ave Maria* in this place in a Breviary calling itself Roman, and if this be the case it was likely enough added to make up in some way for Quignon's abolition of the Little Office of the B.V.M.

A very noteworthy variation from the old order may be found in the appearance of the *Confiteor* at the beginning of Mattins, and its omission from Prime and Compline. It may be also that this is the first appearance in a Roman Breviary of the *Confiteor* exactly word for word in its present form, though a *Confiteor* very nearly the same may be found in Roman Breviaries printed before the date of the First Text,¹ and in a manuscript *Ordo Romanus*.²

After the *Confiteor* at Mattins comes the *Domine labia* with the *Gloria Patri*, as in the older service ; then the Invitatory³ with the *Venite* in the 'Itala' version as in the old books ; then the old Breviary Hymn ; after this the three Quignonian Psalms of the day ; then *Pater noster*, and the three lessons of the day, each preceded by a benediction, as in the old books. After the lessons, the *Te Deum*, unless it be Advent or Lent (when *Miserere* is said in place of the *Te Deum*). Lauds is

¹ *Breviarium Romanum*, Venetiis, Junta, 1534.

² *Ordo Romanus* XIV. in Mabillon's *Museum Italicum*, Lut. Paris. 1724, tom. ii. p. 329.

³ Dr. Neale says of the Advent Invitatory of Quignon : 'How unfavourable a contrast with the Roman' (*Essays on Liturgiology*, London, 1863, p. 8). It is hardly fair to Quignon to accuse him of innovation when he has retained an old feature which the modern Roman has dropped ; for, to tell the truth, Quignon has merely taken over this Invitatory from the old Roman Breviary, where it was the Invitatory for the Third Sunday in Advent. Dr. Neale adds : 'But Quignon, true to his Scriptural principle, continually inserted texts in this position which were not in the least calculated for it.' This is quite a false criticism of Quignon. Out of forty-one Invitatories there are only six which cannot be found in the Roman Breviary before Quignon, and these new Invitatories are not 'texts.'

said much like the Little Hours, but with no hymn, and a Collect at the end of *Benedictus*. After the Collect a commemoration of the B.V.M. and All Saints, taken from the old book, and the service ends with *Fidelium animæ*.

The Little Hours begin with *Deus in adiutorium*, the old hymn, then the three Psalms and the Collect of the day, ending with *Fidelium*. At Prime, however, *Credo* is said before the special Collect for Prime. On all Sundays *Quicumque vult* takes the place of *Credo*. Vespers and Compline are arranged like the Little Hours, and, like them, the hymn comes at the beginning before the Psalms. *Visita* is the Collect for Compline, from the old Breviary, and if Quignon had had good judgment we think he would have here brought back the old *Illumina* (*Lighten our darkness*) instead of the monastic *Visita*, considering the purpose for which he was compiling the office. At the end of Compline there is *Salve Regina*, to which in the Second Text *Regina cæli* is added for Easter. Of which Zaccaria says (and his statement has been copied over and over again) that these antiphons were borrowed from Quignon and put into the Roman Breviary by Pius V.¹ But in the early printed Roman Breviaries all four, or even five, antiphons will be found at the end of the Compline of the B.V.M. There is a *Breviarium de Camera*, printed in 1500, which has the four antiphons in this place, and another *secundum ritum Romanæ curiæ*, 1479, with *Regina cæli* after the Compline of the B.V.M. Even before the invention of printing *Salve Regina* would seem to have been associated with the idea of evening and of Compline. Dante makes the souls sing together the *Salve Regina* and *Te lucis ante*.²

Quignon abolished two very important features in the old Breviary—the frequent recitation of the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and that of the dead. Instead of the former, on all Saturdays with some few exceptions, the ordinary office was celebrated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, with a special invitatory, hymn, third lesson, and Collect. For the dead, in the First Text, a special office was to be said only once in the year, on November 2; but in the Second Text a few Fridays in Lent were added to All Souls' Day. From these changes a tendency to a diminution of the *cultus* of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of the commemoration of the departed may perhaps be suspected; and this suspicion, to-

¹ F. A. Zaccaria, *Onomasticon Rituale*, Faventiae, 1787, p. 24 *sub voce* Antiphona. Cf. Ferdinand Probst, *Brevier und Breviergebet*, Tübingen, 1868, p. 134.

² *Purgatorio*, vii. 82, and viii. 13.

gether with the absence of any readings from the Apocrypha in the First Text, may have led to the accusation of a Protestant tendency that we see every now and then formulated against Quignon's book. All contemporary writers are, however, unanimous in acquitting the Cardinal himself of any such leanings.

The system of versicle and response, which is much developed in the old Breviary, is hardly seen at all in either text of Quignon. In neither are there responds after the lessons, nor *preces* before the Collect on weekdays, not even at Prime or Compline. *Preces* are indeed to be found in the Litany for Ash Wednesday and the Fridays in Lent which in the First Text is printed with the Ash Wednesday service, and in the Second Text at the end of the book. Elsewhere the system of verse and respond is represented mainly by short instances, as the *Deus in adiutorium* before the Hours, or the *Domine exaudi* before the Collect. The Blessings before the lessons have been preserved in both texts.

What was Quignon's motive in abolishing so much of the shorter variable parts of the Breviary, such as responds, antiphons, little chapters, and the like? A learned and accomplished writer in the *Tablet* (May 12, 1888, p. 762) remarks that 'Quignon saw with a just historical instinct what indeed is clear enough on a moment's reflection on the case, that antiphons, responsories, versicles, and hymns were originally incidents of choral and public recitation of the Divine Office, where choir answers choir and voice.' We believe ourselves that a desire to simplify the office and to lessen the amount of variables was certainly another motive, while it would seem from Quignon's own words that the main reason was to remove all that hindered the reading of Holy Scripture: 'Omissis antiphonis, capitulis, et responsoriis, ac multis hymnis, cæterisque id genus *Scripturæ Sacræ lectionem impediētibz*' (Preface, p. xxi). It does not seem quite clear how antiphons and hymns, except by taking up time, could hinder the reading of Holy Scripture; but responds and versicles certainly interrupted the continuous reading of the lessons. This is a fault from which the modern Breviary is not free, a fact which we learn on the good authority of a Roman Catholic priest, who, as he discusses the reform of Quignon in the *Tablet* for June 9, 1888, tells us that he has said his office for forty years:—

'Nor did I wish we had Cardinal Quignon's Breviary for its simplicity, but because it goes through the whole Psalter, giving different Psalms for every day instead of the few which we repeat over and

over again day after day, and because it has *consecutive readings of Holy Scripture, instead of fractional portions interrupted by incongruous responds*; as for example this very day we read a bit of the history of the idol Dagon, and at the words "and only the stump of Dagon remained in his place," we add, "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter into the joy of thy Lord,"¹ by way of respond, fetched from the other end of the Breviary' (p. 932).

To return to the arguments of the reviewer in the *Tablet*: If a solitary priest recited the Breviary in private there could be no voice raised against voice and no answer to the *Versus*, and accordingly no antiphons or responds were retained by Quignon. If this be acknowledged as the main reason of abolition, the motive for keeping the metrical hymns does not seem plain, and yet a number of such may be found in both texts. And in connexion with this it should be noticed that in Cardinal Thomasius's scheme for the recitation of the Divine Office, either in private or in confraternity chapels and country churches, the antiphons and responds are left out, because they presuppose a choir of singers,² as the reviewer in the *Tablet* tells us; yet in this cardinal's scheme no trace of metrical hymns appears.

Quignon altogether abolished only the hymns at Lauds, and no special hymns for Mattins were retained on weekdays. All the hymns in Quignon are taken from the old Breviary, not one from the *Novi Hymni Ecclesiastici* of Ferreri, which were allowed, by the brief of Clement VII., to be said *etiam in divinis* and to be used by any priest. Most of Quignon's hymns from the old Breviary are for the same season and hour. Mattins and Lauds being considered as one hour, Quignon has thought himself at liberty to choose either of the old hymns of the night offices for his Mattin office; for example, in Advent *Vox clara*, and at Easter *Aurora lucis*, the old hymns for Lauds, are said at Quignon's Mattins; and *O Lux beata*, the Saturday hymn at Vespers, has been taken for the ordinary Vesper hymn. The arrangement of the Lenten

¹ This 'incongruous respond' may occur when a feast of a confessor not a bishop (*e.g.* St. Francis Caracciolo, June 4) falls upon the Monday in the octave of Corpus Christi. A friend points out what he considers a still more curious respond in the First Nocturn of Corpus Christi, which is not an accident but an incident, and therefore less excusable: 'Immobilit hædum, etc. Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus.'

² 'Hinc videtur ipsum privatum officium revocandum esse ad pristinam normam constantem ex Psalmis et lectionibus sacræ Scripturæ, remotis antiphonis, et responsoriis; quæ, ut eorundem nomina demonstrant, cœtum canentium requirunt' (Thomasius, *Opera omnia*, Romæ, 1754, ed. Vezzosi, t. vii. p. 65).

hymns in the two texts may be noticed. In the old Breviary the Lenten hymns did not begin till the first Sunday; in both texts of Quignon they begin on Ash Wednesday, but the First Text has a different hymn and a different arrangement from the Second. The First Text recites *Audi benigne conditor*, an old Vesper hymn, at Mattins; but *Aures ad nostras* at Vespers, as in the old book. The Second Text throws away *Aures ad nostras* altogether, and recites *Audi benigne* at Vespers and *Ex more docti mystico* at Mattins, as in the old book. In neither text was there a change of hymns until Passion-tide, and all metrical hymns were discontinued during the last three days of Holy Week, in accordance with ancient custom. But a departure from tradition may be noticed at Easter. During the Octave no hymns were sung in the old service; but Quignon introduces *Aurora lucis* into the Mattins of Easter Day and *Ad cœnam agni* at Vespers.

There is little to be said about the Collects of Quignon. There are but two in the First Text which cannot be found in the Breviary of 1534, and these two can be found in earlier books. And the Collects seem to be assigned to the old days and seasons; though in the First Text the Collect for the Saturday in Whitsun Week is said also on the Thursday, yet in the Second Text a return to the Sunday Collect is ordered, as in the old Breviary. Wonderful to relate, all Collects were left out in Cardinal Thomasius's scheme for a popular Breviary; he says they were anciently reserved to priests to recite, not even a deacon being allowed to say them.

The first allusion to a likeness of the Anglican Liturgy to Quignon's revision that we have yet met with is in the *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica* of Schultingius,¹ published in 1599. Doubtless there are others earlier, but they are yet to be discovered. In modern times attention was drawn to Quignon by a writer of one of the Oxford Tracts, No. 75 (probably Cardinal Newman), in 1836. Afterwards Sir William Palmer, in the later editions of *Origines Liturgicæ* (not in the first or third, but certainly in the fourth, edition—that of 1845), printed extracts from the prefaces of the Prayer-Book and of Quignon's Breviary in parallel columns. Since that time the connexion of Quignon with the Book of Common Prayer has often been noticed.

The most striking proof of the connexion of Quignon with the Book of Common Prayer is to be found in the

¹ In a marginal note of p. 101 in t. i. pars 1, cap. xxxviii.: 'Hæ etiam rationes valent ad Anglicalvinistarum formulam quæ similis est huic' (*i.e.* Quignoniano Breviario).

prefaces of the two books. The compilers of Edward's First Book must have had, it would seem, the preface to Quignon's First Text before them when they wrote the preface, which in our present book is the introduction 'concerning the Services of the Church.' They begin to translate Quignon's preface as soon as he has given his three reasons for the institution of the Canonical Hours, and they then continue the paraphrase until he begins to speak of the command laid on him by Clement VII. We place the two documents side by side, leaving out nothing of either.

*Preface to Edward VI's Prayer-
Book of 1549.*

'There was never any thing by the wit of man so well devised, or so surely established, which (in continuance of time) hath not been corrupted: as (among other things) it may plainly appear by the common prayers in the Church, commonly called divine service: the first original and ground whereof if a man would search out by the ancient fathers, he shall find that the same was not ordained, but of a good purpose, and for a great advancement of godliness: for they so ordered the matter, that all the whole Bible (or the greatest part thereof) should be read over once in the year, intending thereby, that the Clergy, and specially such as were Ministers of the congregation, should (by often reading and meditation of God's word) be stirred up to godliness themselves, and be more able also to exhort other by wholesome doctrine, and to confute them that were adversaries to the truth. And further, that the people (by daily hearing of holy scripture read in the Church) should continually profit more and more in the knowledge of God, and be the more inflamed with the love of his true religion. But these many years passed,

Quignon's Preface, First Text.
(P. xx.)

'Et profecto si quis modum precandi olim a maioribus traditum diligenter consyderet, horum omnium ab ipsis habitam esse rationem manifesto deprehendet.

Sed factum est nescio quo pacto

this godly and decent order of the ancient fathers hath been so altered, broken, and neglected, by planting in uncertain stories, Legends, Responds, Verses, vain repetitions, Commemorations, and Synodals, that commonly when any book of the Bible was begun, before three or four chapters were read out, all the rest were unread. And in this sort, the book of *Esaie* was begun in Advent, and the book of *Genesis* in Septuagesima : but they were only begun, and never read through. After a like sort were other books of holy scripture used.

‘And moreover, whereas S. Paul would have such language spoken to the people in the Church, as they might understand, and have profit by hearing the same ; the service in this Church of England (these many years) hath been read in Latin to the people, which they understood not ; so that they have heard with their ears only, and their hearts, spirit, and mind, have not been edified thereby.

‘And furthermore, notwithstanding that the ancient fathers had divided the *Psalms* into seven portions, whereof every one was called a nocturn ; now of late time a few of them have been daily said (and oft repeated) and the rest utterly omitted.

‘Moreover, the number and hardness of the rules called the *Pie*, and the manifold changings of the service, was the cause, that to turn the book only was so hard and intricate a matter, that many times there was more business to find out what should be

hominum negligentia, ut paulatim a sanctissimis illis veterum patrum institutis discederetur.

Nam primum libri sacræ scripturæ, qui statis anni temporibus erant perlegendi, vixdum incœpti a precantibus prætermittuntur. Ut exemplo esse possunt liber Genesis, qui incipitur in septuagesima, et liber Isaïæ, qui in adventu, quorum vix singula capitula perlegimus, ac eodem modo cætera veteris testamenti volumina degustamus magis, quam legimus, nec secus accidit in evangelia, et reliquam scripturam novi testamenti, quorum in loco successerunt alia, nec utilitate cum his, nec gravitate comparanda, quæ quotidie agitatione linguæ magis quam intentione mentis inculcantur.

‘*Deinde psalmorum plerisque, qui singulis hebdomadæ diebus erant destinati, reiectis, pauci quidam toto fere anno repetuntur. Tum historiæ sanctorum tam inculte et tam negligenti iudicio scriptæ leguntur, ut nec auctoritatem habere videantur nec gravitatem.*

‘*Accedit tam perplexus ordo, tamque difficilis precandi ratio, ut interdum paulo minor opera in inquirendo ponatur quam cum inveneris in legendo.*’

read, than to read it when it was found out.'

At this point the parallelism of the two documents ceases for a time, but there are one or two passages later which seem to be connected with each other; for example:—

(P. xxi.)

'For this cause be cut off Anthems, Responds, Invitatories, and such like things as did break the continual course of the reading of the scripture. Yet because there is no remedy but that of necessity there must be some rules: therefore certain rules are here set forth, which as they be few in number, so they be plain and easy to be understood.'

'Omissis antiphonis, capitulis, et responsoriis, ac multis hymnis, cæterisque id genus rebus scripturæ sacræ lectionem impediētib.

'Fieri non potuit, ut regulas omnino vitaremus, quarum tam plenum erat prius breviarium, ut vix ætas hominis ad earum rationem perdiscendam sufficeret, sed nos tam raras et perspicuas regulas disposuimus, ut eas cuivis facile sit intelligere.'

The rest of the paragraph that follows after 'understood' may very well be compared with the paragraphs *Quod pertinet* on p. xxi and *Discrimen igitur* on p. xxiii and the following page; but the verbal likeness is not so great as in those which have gone before. Attention does not seem to have been as yet drawn to the subjoined paragraph from the Book of 1549, which was first omitted in 1662, and of which the resemblance to the end of the Preface in both Texts of Quignon is very great.

Edward VI.'s First Book.¹

'And if any would judge this way more painful, because that all things must be read upon the book, whereas before, by the reason of so often repetition, they could say many things by heart: if those men will weigh their labour, with the profit in knowledge, which daily they shall obtain by reading upon the book, they will not refuse the pain, in consideration of the great profit that shall ensue thereof.'

Quignon, p. xxv.

'Si cui autem laboriosum in hoc breviario videbitur pleraque omnia ex libro legi, cum multa in alio quæ propter frequentem repetitionem ediscuntur, memoriter pronuntientur, compenset cum hoc labore cognitionem Scripturæ Sacræ, quæ sic in dies augebit, et intentionem animi quam Deus ante omnia in precantibus requirit (hanc enim maiorem legentibus, quam memoriter proferentibus adesse necesse est) et huiusmodi laborem non

¹ Our references to Edward VI.'s First Book are taken from Mr. Parker's reprint (Oxford, 1877).

modo fructuosum, sed etiam salutarem iudicabit.'

It seems impossible to resist the conclusion that the English is a translation of the Latin. Even the Preface of the Second Text, where the resemblance is much less, suggested a comparison to Cardinal Newman and Sir William Palmer. In the First Text the likeness is much greater. Those who think that the Common Prayer itself has no relation to Quignon's Breviary acknowledge, perhaps with reluctance, the connexion of the two prefaces.

In many points the aims of the two books seem to have been alike. Both wished to make the Sunday and Saints' day service identical in structure with the weekday service. Both wished to reduce to a minimum the variable parts of the service, to cut off all antiphons, little chapters, and responds, and to make the rules for recitation as few and as simple as possible. Both, too, aimed at and secured the recitation of the whole of the Psalter, in one case every week, in the other every month, though the attempt to ensure the reading of the greater part of the Bible during the year was not so entirely successful in Quignon as in the English Book. They endeavoured to secure this point by omitting the large amount of variables in the old service, especially the responds, which interfered very much with the continuous reading of the Scripture. A great motive in the English Book for the omission of variables was no doubt simplification. The variables were cut off because they hindered a ready understanding of the service, tending to cumber the common prayer, in which it was hoped that persons without any liturgical education would be induced to join were it only simple enough.

This was also clearly the intention of the Venerable Cardinal Thomasius.¹ His scheme for a popular Breviary was far simpler even than the Anglican Mattins and Evensong; and yet it was the work of a better ritualist and scholar than Quignon. It consisted solely of the Psalms, lessons from the Old and New Testament, and the Lord's Prayer, which was said in the place of the Collect, as in ancient times it was said at the Lateran. There was absolutely nothing left but the Psalms, Canticles, and Holy Scripture; not a Collect, homily, legend, respond, or anthem survived. The Psalter daily used was the Gregorian, and no proper Psalms were allowed, save on great festivals like Easter and Christmas. The Scripture Canticles remained from the old Breviary. Three lessons were daily

¹ *De privato ecclesiasticorum officiorum breviario extra chorum* in Thomasius' *Opera Omnia*, t. vii. p. 62, ed. Vezzosi.

read from Holy Scripture—the first two usually from the Old Testament, except at Easter ; the third from the Gospel. The seven epistles to the Churches in the Revelation were read as lessons throughout the week at Vespers.

It will be seen that as a thorough reformer Cardinal Thomasius leaves Cardinal Quignon far behind. The form of Cardinal Thomasius's scheme would have satisfied a Puritan, except so far that it was a form at all. And yet the scheme itself is thoroughly ancient and Gelasian in tone,¹ composed by one whose name is known to every liturgical scholar, and whose piety is attested by the process of canonization, the first stage of which has been reached at Rome. It is a pity that an ideal of this kind had not been present to the minds of those who are responsible for the most unfortunate of modern ecclesiastical Acts, the 'Shortened Services Act.'

One feature which both Quignon and Thomasius have thrown away has been most happily retained in the English Book ; we mean the *preces* which follow the Creed and precede the saying of the Collect for the day. There appears some evidence that the desire of the compilers of the Prayer-Book was not to destroy liturgical forms, but to simplify them. The *preces* are the same all the year round, unlike the ever-varying responds to the lessons ; and an unlearned congregation can therefore readily join in them. In one fragment of the *preces*, the second Common Prayer has followed both Texts of Quignon by suppressing *The Lord be with you* with its respond immediately before the Collects.

If we begin to examine details we shall find further points of resemblance. In Quignon's Calendar there is a reference for the third lesson of every day, whether it be a Saint's day or unoccupied ; and this may have been developed in the Anglican Calendar into its *Table of Lessons*, both first and second. The source of the Anglican lessons also seems to have been suggested by Quignon, the first lesson being taken from the Old Testament, the second from the New Testament, while the third lessons taken on unoccupied days from the Epistles and Acts seem to have suggested the second lessons at Evensong, which, before the revision of the Lectionary, came mainly from the Epistles. In the same way both books read only one or two chapters of the Apocalypse.

¹ In Blanchini's edition of Thomasius (p. 463) the plan is said to have been laid before the S. Congregation of Rites at Rome ; but whether it received praise or blame is not said.

The presence of the Confession and Absolution at the beginning of the Morning and Evening Prayer of Edward's Second Book has been thought to be a borrowing from Quignon, as in both Texts Quignon directs the *Confiteor* and Absolution to be said before Mattins.

The daily recitation of the *Te Deum*, except in Lent, was ordered in Edward's First Book. This may very likely be a borrowing from Quignon; for in the old Breviary the *Te Deum* is a distinct note of a festival, and was not said in the ferial office, into which Quignon appears to have introduced it in accordance with his scheme for equalizing festival and week day.

We know that *Quicumque vult* was anciently recited on all Sundays at Prime, and the *Credo* was also recited afterwards in the *preces*. In Quignon *Quicumque* is said instead of *Credo* on Sundays; and a writer in the *London Diocesan Magazine* (July 1888, p. 78) suggests, with much likelihood, that this rubric of Quignon may have been the source of the Anglican substitution of the Athanasian for the Apostles' Creed on certain festivals.

In the Second Text of Quignon there is a direction to use the service of the Circumcision over again before the Epiphany, and this may have suggested the rubric in the Prayer-Book that the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel of the Circumcision are to be used every day until the Epiphany.

It has been sometimes said that the frequent joining together of three Psalms in the Mattins and Evensong of the Common Prayer-Book is a survival of the Quignonian distribution, which gave three Psalms to each canonical hour. To support this, it is said, the proper Psalms are all linked in threes, except those for Evensong on Good Friday and Whitsunday. The Psalms in the offices of the Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge for the commemoration of benefactors are often in threes; so was the daily office of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in 1552. But a closer examination of the Psalms appointed for daily recitation does not bear out this theory. Omitting Psalm cxix., the Psalms arranged in threes at Mattins and Evensong do not equal those disposed differently, and apparent opportunities for bracketing together three Psalms seem to have been lost. For example, on the 16th or the 23rd day what would have been easier than to have read three Psalms at Mattins and three Psalms at Evensong had there been any wish to do so? And on the 19th the *Venite* might have been put aside as the Invitatory, and thus six Psalms would have been left to be equally divided for

morning and evening, instead of three for the morning and four for the evening. There hardly seems evidence that the compilers of Edward's First Book deliberately chose three Psalms in preference to any other number. It may be that an idea common to both Quignon and the Prayer-Book was that the Psalms of each office were to be about equal in length, and thus the number three is prominent in both.

An interesting study could be made, if time and space allowed, as to the influence of Quignon's reform upon the revision of the Breviary made by Pius V., especially upon the new *Legenda* of the Saints which were then written ; upon the French revision of the Breviary, especially upon the private Breviary of Colbert ; and upon schemes for further reform of the Breviary for recitation in private or in small parish churches, like that we have mentioned of the Venerable Cardinal Thomasius. A prolonged examination of these would afford most interesting matter to the student of Liturgies, and would not be without value for the right understanding of the Book of Common Prayer.

ART. VII.—DOROTHY OSBORNE'S LETTERS.

Letters from Dorothy Osborne to Sir William Temple, 1652-54.

Edited by EDWARD ABBOTT PARRY, Barrister-at-Law.
Fourth edition. Printed for Griffith, Farran, Okeden and Welsh, successors to Newbery and Harris, at the sign of the Bible and Sun. (London, and Sydney, New South Wales, 1888.)

IN a paper printed in Carlyle's *Miscellaneous Essays*, that acrid and somewhat affected writer complains in characteristic terms about the obscurity of Civil War documents :—

'We had long heard,' he says, 'of Dulness, and thought we knew it a little ; but here first *is* the right dead Dulness, Dulness its very self ! Ditch-water, fetid bilge-water, ponds of it and oceans of it ; wide-spread genuine Dulness, without parallel in this world : such is the element in which that history of our Heroic Seventeenth Century as yet rots and swims ! The hapless inquirer swashes to and fro, in the sorrow of his heart : if in an acre of stagnant water he can pick up half a peascod, let him thank his stars !' (vol. vi. p. 143, ed. 1869).

From this terrific indictment Carlyle exempts the account given by Sir Simon D'Ewes of a Suffolk election to the Long Parliament, as presenting 'the express image of Old Ipswich and Old England' on that windy day, October 19, 1640, when the aforesaid election was held, and he urges in his picturesque fashion that such 'a little fact, if we meditate it, and picture in any measure the general humour and condition of the England that then was, will spread itself into great expanse in our imagination.'

It is on like grounds that we commend the perusal of these *Letters*, written by Mistress Dorothy Osborne in the years of grace 1653, 1654 to William Temple. They have not, indeed, to do with those stormy days, pregnant with mighty issues for the Stuart dynasty and for Europe, when amidst fierce tumult Cavalier and Puritan were striving for the mastery. The iron hand of the Protector, in the cant phrase of the day, 'had subdued the foes of the Houses and of the Word,' and sternly repressed all overt rebellion. The Royalist gentry, broken and scattered, with maimed fortunes and diminished honour, sullenly submitted to the rule of the Huntingdonshire farmer-squire, and we would fain have a glimpse of their home life in that ill-omened period. The broad division into roystering Cavaliers and sour-visaged Puritans is of course a misleading generalization and caricature; and in these letters we have just such an insight as we long for into the daily lives of our cultured, well-bred ancestors. It is the picture of a genuine English home, and a peep into the heart and life of a genuine, well-bred English maiden.

We question whether a more singular destiny ever awaited a young lady's love-letters than that which has befallen the delightful collection now before us. Their authenticity is beyond dispute. They were left by Sir William Temple to his granddaughter, Mrs. Temple, who died childless in 1722, and who bequeathed them to her only nephew, the Rev. Nicholas Bacon, of Coddendam Vicarage, Suffolk. Mr. Bacon was the last lineal descendant of Sir William and Dorothy Temple, and at his death in 1796 the vicarage of Coddendam, with its furniture and contents, passed to his sister-in-law and her husband, the parents of the Rev. Robert Longe, their present owner. We may note in passing that there was only an interval of four years between the death of Mr. Bacon in 1796 and the birth, in 1800, of the Rev. R. Longe, by whom the cabinet in which the letters were placed has been chivalrously guarded, and through whose kindness we are now permitted

to enjoy them. Thus for two centuries they have been stored in the quiet oblivion of a country village, subject only to very occasional perusal. Fifty years ago a lofty historian, the Right Hon. Thomas Peregrine Courtenay, intent upon the stately negotiations and protocols through which Sir William Temple won his laurels in the arena of diplomacy, glanced at them with half-apologetic, half-contemptuous acknowledgment, and even deigned to devote a few pages of his Appendix to some extracts which he feared were sadly beneath 'the dignity of history,' an expression for which he was adequately chastised by Macaulay. It is half-a-century later before the entire correspondence sees the light, and we cannot but unfeignedly rejoice that they have not been published prematurely. The volume is emphatically *felix opportunitate emissionis*. For years its contents have been the study of one who has lavished pains to elucidate every allusion in them; and Mr. Parry, their present editor, reaps all the benefit of the care and industry thus ungrudgingly bestowed. The task so admirably begun has been well completed. Each letter is accompanied by a terse but lucid explanation of all that needs to be explained about the facts or persons referred to. As we read them it occurs to us what a subject they would have afforded for dainty comment by Thackeray's kindly satire. How genially he would have moralized in his own half-earnest, half-mocking style over these remnants of a buried love that perished two centuries ago. They bear the stamp of no ordinary mind, and their publication would have been amply justified if they had been written by anyone less notable than the wife of William Temple and the intimate friend of our English Mary Stuart.

Let us introduce the principal actors in this domestic drama. Sir Peter Osborne, the father of Dorothy, a staunch loyalist and gentleman of ample estate, held the castle of Guernsey for the king during the Civil Wars, and maintained his position without thought of surrender, although he and his garrison were reduced to a single biscuit a day, besides herbs and limpets, and had to warm themselves by pulling up the castle floors and using them for fuel. It is mournfully characteristic of those evil days that this gallant officer was both maligned and deprived of help by Carteret, the royalist governor of Jersey, was induced to hold out against the enemy by delusive promises of succour which were impossible of fulfilment, and was most ungratefully superseded in his command by those whom he had served through terrible privations which carried him, after a few years of suffering, to his

grave. During the siege of his castle Lady Osborne and her daughter went to live at St. Malo, whence they despatched such succour to Guernsey as could be secured ; but the elder lady succumbed to the unwonted exertions and privations thus imposed on her, and Dorothy returned to Chicksands, her ancestral home, with her invalided father, who was now broken alike in health and fortune ; his income reduced from 4,000*l.* to 400*l.* a year, and himself almost completely confined by sickness to his chamber. It was under these circumstances that the letters before us were written. Seriously straitened in resources, the loyal upholders of a fallen cause, the Osbornes still held their high social position amongst the great county families around them, and Dorothy's attractions, personal and mental, commanded a host of 'servants,' as it was the fashion of that time to call avowed suitors. Amongst these there figured Henry Cromwell, second son of the Protector, then at the zenith of his power ; but Dorothy's preference was for William Temple, son of the Irish Master of the Rolls.

Macaulay has related the incident which first inspired the heart of Temple with tenderness for Mistress Dorothy. The story of their love is sufficiently romantic. Sir John Temple had another alliance in view for his son, and thought Dorothy's portion of 4,000*l.* far below what he should aspire to. Her own brother was equally averse to the match. William Temple, in his judgment, had neither the fixed principles nor the sufficient fortune he desired in his sister's husband. The poor girl, in close and most trying attendance on her sick father, was distracted between the urgent importunity of her lover and her brother's angry antagonism, whose wrath broke out anew at every fresh rejection of a more eligible suitor. The situation was aggravated by the genuine affection of Dorothy for her brother. Their quarrels and reconciliations are described with all the vivacity of the maiden's graphic pen.

We must premise a few remarks upon the diction in vogue when these letters were composed. Despite the deep intimacy between the correspondents, they all commence with the formal 'Sir,' and the conclusion is commonly 'I am, yours.' In an early letter Dorothy entreats Temple not to speak of 'love,' and to be content with the less ardent term friendship. But this coyness wears off in time. A somewhat frequent use of expletives such as 'Lord' and 'I'll swear' indicate that such expressions were not then deemed unsuited to a lady's lips. Besides these we might possibly recall a word or two that modern taste would reject, and the idiom is of course that which was current in that age ; but there is not a thought

which the most refined gentlewoman of our own day need blush to have harboured. Mistress Dorothy's gradual and largely unconscious revelation of herself is very winning. Here are some early details of temperament and character :—

'Tis not that I am sad (for as long as you and the rest of my friends are well), I thank God I have no occasion to be so, but I never appear to be very merry, and if I had all that I could wish for in the world, I do not think it would make any visible change in my humour. . . . You have reason to think your father kind, and I have reason to think him very civil ; all his scruples are very just ones, but such as time and a little good fortune (if we were either of us lucky to it) might satisfy. He may be confident I can never think of disposing of myself without my father's consent ; and though he has left it more in my power than almost anybody leaves a daughter, yet I were certainly the worst-natured person in the world if his kindness were not a greater tie upon me than any advantage he could have reserved. Besides that, 'tis my duty, from which nothing can ever tempt me, nor could you like it in me if I should do otherwise, 'twould make me unworthy of your esteem ; but if ever that may be obtained, or I left free, and you in the same condition, all the advantages of fortune or person imaginable met together in one man should not be preferred before you. I think I cannot leave you better than with this assurance' (pp. 72-3).

This extract is essentially characteristic of the writer. Throughout her letters there is no trifling with deep feeling, no spurious sentiment, no false affectation of indifference. Her nature was essentially transparent. 'I cannot,' she says, 'disguise my humour.' Her very playfulness is so essentially the mark of an earnest and resolute mind that we are amazed to find Lord Macaulay's critical acumen so much at fault as to describe her correspondence as 'engaging namby-pamby.' It would be hard, we imagine, to find a young woman who, under trying conditions, showed less vacillation or displayed a clearer understanding of the course which duty and self-respect required. Macaulay's phrase may have been suggested by the naïve and essentially feminine coquetry with which Dorothy occasionally rallies her lover, whose own mood seems to have alternated between a provoking negligence of her small commissions and a too-obtrusive and ill-timed urgency. But if she sportingly feigns indifference, the disguise is intentionally transparent, and nothing can be prettier or more maidenly than the tenderness with which she gives expression to her regard. At times, with arch demureness, she professes a willingness to find a rich heiress for Temple, and presently she gives an unexpected and sprightly turn to her sentence which reveals how true a heart is beating beneath the mask

she for a moment has assumed. She bears herself throughout with unfailing dignity, and at times with a sweet, stately English grace that is irresistible.

If we follow Carlyle's suggestion, by meditation upon many 'a little fact' scattered through these pages, we can in some measure picture the condition of the England that then was. Communication is tedious and uncertain, and the letters have to be brought by special messengers from London and left at some address agreed upon between the lovers. Domestic comfort and refinement are only partially prevalent, even in the homes of the upper ten, and rich men are spoken of as taking their brides to houses little better than barns. The spleen is the most fashionable of disorders, for which the accepted specific is copious draughts of salts, and crowds frequent Epsom, not to attend its race-meetings, but to drink of its saline springs. The taste for *bric-à-brac* takes the form of collecting seals, which are prized in proportion to their size and the quaintness of the device engraved upon them. The field of fiction is occupied by ponderous romances, mostly translated from the French. They consist mainly of a string of tales, spread over several volumes, and rival the earlier English novels in prolixity. They are as yet the exclusive property of the few, and are passed from hand to hand for perusal. London society was as full of engagements as could be crushed into the space of every twenty-four hours. 'We go abroad all day, and play all night, and say our prayers when we have time.' And amongst the lions of a day when spirit-rapping and clairvoyance are as yet unheard of is William Lilly, the astrologer; but he does not number Mistress Dorothy among his dupes.

'I confess I always thought him an impostor, but I could never have imagined him so simple as we found him. . . . He asked us more questions than we did him, and caught at everything we said without discerning that we abused him, and said things purposely to confound him; which we did so perfectly that we made him contradict himself the strongest that ever you saw' (p. 300).

The allusions to contemporary politics are so few and guarded as to suggest the need of caution under the existing *régime*; but Dorothy cannot refrain from a pertinent query on the dissolution of the Long Parliament:—

'If Mr. Pim were alive again, I wonder what he would think of these proceedings, and whether this would appear so great a breach of the Privilege of Parliament as the demanding of 5 members? But I shall talk treason by and by, if I do not look to myself' (p. 80).

Oliver Cromwell rules by the fiat of the saints and his own good sword ; but the Protector, almost omnipotent abroad, has but unwilling submission at home. Plots smoulder, scandals are rife, and beneath the iron Puritan despotism the passion and play of human frailty wears but a thin disguise.

It is more interesting to pass from generalities to particulars. We will let Dorothy describe in her own language what country life in England was in the year of grace 1653.

' You ask me how I pass my time here. I can give you a perfect account, not only of what I do for the present, but of what I am likely to do this seven years if I stay here so long. I rise in the morning reasonably early, and before I am ready I go round the house till I am weary of that, and then into the garden till it grows too hot for me. About ten o'clock I think of making me ready, and when that's done I go into my father's chamber, from whence to dinner, where my cousin Molle and I sit in great state in a room, and at a table that would hold a great many more. After dinner we sit and talk till Mr. B. comes in question, and then I am gone. The rest of the day is spent in reading or working, and about six or seven o'clock I walk out into a common that lies hard by the house, where a great many young wenches keep sheep and cows, and sit in the shade singing of ballads. I go to them, and compare their voices and beauties to some ancient shepherdesses that I have read of, and find a vast difference there ; but, trust me, I think these are as innocent as those could be. I talk to them, and find they want nothing to make them the happiest people in the world but the knowledge that they are so. Most commonly, when we are in the midst of our discourse, one looks about her, and spies her cows going into the corn, and then away they all run as if they had wings at their heels. I, that am not so nimble, stay behind ; and when I see them driving home their cattle, I think 'tis time for me to return too. When I have supped I go into the garden, and so to the side of a small river that runs by it, when I sit down and wish you were with me (you had best say this is not kind neither). In earnest, 'tis a pleasant place, and would be much more so to me if I had your company. I sit there sometimes till I am lost with thinking ; and were it not for some cruel thoughts of the crossness of our fortunes that will not let me sleep there, I should forget that there were such a thing to be done as going to bed' (pp. 100-1).

The pen which could compose so sweet a pastoral was not at fault when very different scenes were to be described. When to truth of nature and sobriety of thought there is added a singular clearness of vision, we are sure that the writer will grasp the essential features of each scene in turn, and will present us with a lifelike picture. A few rapid touches in bold outline sketch out a Puritan sermon at Westminster Abbey.

Amongst the popular preachers of the day, one Stephen Marshall was so far prominent as frequently to preach 'by command' before Parliament at Westminster. That he was a leading spirit among the Westminster divines and a controversialist of no mean repute, may be judged from the fact that his initials stand first in the name 'Smectymnuus,' given in the uncouth phraseology of the time to a famous treatise¹ upon Church government. The style of this doughty champion of Presbyterianism may be gathered from the title of a letter of his published ten years before, for the necessary vindication of him and his ministry, 'against that altogether groundless, most unjust and ungodly aspersion cast upon him by certain malignants in the City, and lately printed at Oxford in their *Mendacium Aulicum*, otherwise called *Mercurius Aulicus*, and sent abroad to his eternal infamy,' &c.—but we must stop before half the prolix title is quoted. Suffice it to say that Smectymnuus elicited a reply from Bishop Hall, and that the great author of the 'Areopagitica' himself mingled in the fray and broke more than one lance in the quarrel. Mr. Parry tells us that such sermons of Marshall's as are still extant abound in prosy, long-winded, dogmatic absurdities, overloaded with periphrastic illustrations in scriptural language. We wonder how many of the audience in the glorious Abbey, so singularly identified with English royalty, listened with such critical ears as Mistress Dorothy, whilst the self-satisfied rhetorician thundered out his platitudes. Hers probably was not the only demure countenance and quiet demeanour beneath which lay concealed the scornful contempt expressed as follows:—

'God forgive me, I was near laughing yesterday where I should not. Would you believe, I had the grace to go hear a sermon upon a week day? In earnest, 'tis true; a Mr. Marshall was the man that preached, but never anybody was so defeated. He is so famed that I expected rare things of him, and seriously I listened to him as if he had been St. Paul; and what do you think he told us? Why, that if there were no kings, no queens, no lords, no ladies, nor gentlemen, nor gentlewomen, in the world, it would be no loss to God Almighty at all. This we had over some forty times, which made me remember it whether I would or not. The rest was much at this rate, interlarded with the prettiest odd phrases, that I had the most ado to look soberly enough for the place I was in that ever I had in my life. He does not preach so always, sure? If he does, I cannot believe his sermons will do much towards bringing anybody to heaven more than by exercising their patience. Yet, I'll say that for him, he stood stoutly for tithes, though, in my opinion, few deserve them less than he; and it may be he would be better without them' (pp. 190-1).

¹ The joint work of five Puritan divines.

A passing glimpse at the behaviour in church, which even so devout a worshipper did not deem unseemly, is afforded by her incidentally mentioning that she had occasion at St. Gregory's 'to look up in the gallery where B. sat, to answer a very civil salute given me from thence by Mr. Freeman, and saw B. in a great whisper with another that sat next him, and pointing to me.'

It was naturally to be expected that the severity of Puritan manners would result in a marked reaction such as set in at the Restoration, and the Letters abound with incidental allusions that show how utterly hollow under the Protectorate was the affectation of superior piety. Scandals were too prevalent, and if the repression of popular pastimes were neither so stern nor so sweeping as has been supposed, the licence of the time was more unblushing for lack of a recognised standard of high breeding. Such testimony as that contained in the following brief extract is unexceptionable, as being intended only for Temple's own perusal, and as evincing no censorious spirit.

'Tis strange to see the folly that possesses the young people of this age, and the liberty they take to themselves. I have the charity to believe they appear very much worse than they are, and that the want of a Court to govern themselves by is in great part the cause of their ruin ; though that was no perfect school of virtue, yet Vice there wore her mask, and appeared so unlike herself that she gave no scandal. Such as were really discreet as they seemed to be gave good example, and the eminency of their condition made others strive to imitate them, or at least, they durst not own a contrary course. All who had good principles and inclinations were encouraged in these, and such as had neither were forced to put on a handsome disguise that they might not be out of countenance at themselves' (pp. 235-6).

We have said but little about the progress of the romance to which we are indebted for these vivid sketches of life under the Commonwealth. We should have liked to be favoured with an occasional glimpse at Temple's replies, but these are not, so far as we know, in existence, and they could hardly have added any further beauty to the portrait of herself which Dorothy unconsciously draws. We hope, despite the unflattering character ascribed to him by his enemies, and in part adopted by the lady's brother, that Temple was not unworthy at this period of the true heart she had so unreservedly given him. There are traces of anxiety perhaps in some of her more serious observations. 'I am not of my brother's opinion that you have no religion in you. In earnest, I never took

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anything he ever said half so ill, as nothing, sure, is so great an injury. It must suppose one to be a devil in human shape.' Rivals described him as 'the proudest, imperious, insulting, ill-natured man that ever was.' The stars in their courses seemed to present every obstacle to their union. Dorothy's own lack of fortune, the claims of her sick father, the opposition of Sir John Temple, the want of any such employment as might ensure a modest income to her lover, and, hardest of all to bear, the alternate entreaties and angry remonstrances of her brother, all these embittered her life at Chicksands, but all failed to shake her constancy. How resolutely, and at what cost of sorrow, she remained faithful is illustrated by her account of a battle royal with her brother, in which we may well believe that the lady came off victorious.

'I could tell you such a story ('tis too long to be written) as would make you see (what I never discovered in myself before) that I am a valiant lady. In earnest, we have had such a skirmish, and upon so foolish an occasion, as I cannot tell which is strangest. The Emperor¹ and his proposals began it; I talk'd merrily on't till I saw my brother put on his sober face, and could hardly then believe he was in earnest. It seems he was, for when I had spoke freely my meaning, it wrought so with him as to fetch up all that lay on his stomach. All the people that I had ever in my life refused were brought again upon the stage, like Richard the III.'s ghosts, to reproach me withal; and all the kindness his discoveries could make I had for you was laid to my charge. My best qualities (if I have any that are good) served but for aggravations of my fault, and I was allowed to have wit and understanding and discretion in other things, that it might appear I had none in this. Well, 'twas a pretty lecture, and I grew warm with it after a while; in short, we came so near an absolute falling out, that 'twas time to give over, and we said so much then that we have hardly spoken a word together since. But 'tis wonderful to see what curtsies and legs pass between us; and as before we were thought the kindest brother and sister, we are certainly the most complimentary couple in England. 'Tis a strange change, and I am very sorry for it, but I'll swear I know not how to help it. I look upon 't as one of my great misfortunes, and I must bear it, as that which is not my first nor likely to be my last' (pp. 112-114).

A far heavier grief was indeed in store for her at no distant date. How the misunderstanding arose between them Mr. Parry cannot clearly explain.

'Alone,' says the editor, 'in the old house with her dying father, and with her brother pouring his unkind gossip into her unwilling

¹ The nickname of one of Dorothy's suitors.

ear, whilst the sad, long year draws slowly to its close, and there is no sign of better fortune for the lovers—can we wonder that Dorothy . . . lost faith and hope?' (p. 198).

A sense of despair settled upon her, and her marriage to Temple seemed so impossible that she determined to abandon further thought of it, and to release Temple from his plighted troth. This unhappy episode is comprised in a separate chapter of the correspondence, whose mournful tone contrasts sadly with the buoyancy hitherto so bravely sustained.

In estimating the character of these letters it must be borne in mind that the writer is twenty-six years old, for some time motherless, and almost alone save for the companionship of her father, a confirmed valetudinarian. She has few of the literary resources, on which to form her style, such as now abound in every country house. She is reduced to despair by the fierce opposition of a brother whom she loves fondly—only less fondly than the lover whose passionate reproaches and violent expressions of grief are wounding her to the quick. She has fallen into such utter despair of a favourable issue to her love that she is determined to set Temple free from his plighted troth. It is under these conditions that the letters gathered into a chapter entitled 'Despondency' were penned, and we confidently ask whether, for felicity of expression, for simple dignity of thought, for genuine piety and pathos and resignation, it were easy to surpass them. Let the reader determine from the following, which, although we quote it *in extenso*, is hardly more striking than others written at this same unhappy crisis:—

'SIR,—That which I writ by your boy was in so much haste and distraction as I cannot be satisfied with it, nor believe it has expressed my thoughts as I meant them. No, I find it is not easily done at more leisure, and I am yet to seek what to say that is not too little nor too much. I would fain let you see that I am extremely sensible of your affliction, that I would lay down my life to redeem you from it, but that's a mean expression; my life is of so little value that I will not mention it. No; let it be rather what, in earnest, if I can tell anything I have left that is considerable enough to expose for it, it must be that small reputation I have amongst my friends; that's all my wealth, and that I could part with to restore you to that quiet you lived in when I first knew you. But, on the other side, I would not give you hopes of that I cannot do. If I loved you less I would allow you to be the same person to me, and I would be the same to you as heretofore. But to deal freely with you, that were to betray myself, and I find that my passion would quickly be my master again if I gave it any liberty. I am not secure that it would not make me do the most extravagant things in the world, and I shall be forced to

keep a continual war alive with it as long as there are any remainders of it left—I think I might as well have said as long as I lived. Why should you give yourself over so unreasonably to it? Good God! no woman breathing can deserve half the trouble you give yourself. If I were yours from this minute I could not recompense what you have suffered from the violence of your passion, though I were all that you can imagine me, when, God knows, I am an inconsiderable person, born to a thousand misfortunes, which have taken away all sense of anything else from me, and left me a walking misery only. I do from my soul forgive you all the injuries your passion has done me, though, let me tell you, I was much more at my ease whilst I was angry. Scorn and despite would have cured me in some reasonable time, which I despair of now. However, I am not displeased with it, and, if it may be of any advantage to you, I shall not consider myself in it; but let me beg, then, that you will leave off these dismal thoughts. I tremble at the desperate things you say in your letter: for the love of God, consider seriously with yourself what can enter into comparison with the saving of your soul. Are a thousand women, or ten thousand worlds, worth it? No, you cannot have so little reason left as you pretend, nor so little religion. For God's sake, let us not neglect what can only make us happy for trifles. If God had seen it fit to satisfy our desires we should have had them, and everything would not have transpired thus to have crossed them. Since He has decreed it otherwise (at least as far as we are able to judge by events) we must submit, and not by striving make an innocent passion a sin, and show a childish stubbornness.

I would say a thousand things more to this purpose if I were not in haste to send this away, that it may come to you at least as soon as the other. Adieu' (p. 215).

Our readers will see that there is no need to fall back upon the historical interest of these letters, or upon their value as illustrations of the times, in order to enlist their sympathy and admiration. The dark cloud which had so long overshadowed Dorothy's love, and which deepens with its pathetic tones the richness of her utterance, was eventually dispersed, and the concluding letters show the exuberant affection of a loving nature that feels it can now safely give itself without reserve. We had marked many other passages for quotation, but we trust enough has been said to induce the reader to gather for himself further honey from the hive so richly stored. The true depth of a woman's nature is never more clearly displayed than in the letters designed only for the eye of the man whom she loves with all her heart. True love inevitably and unconsciously lays bare the inmost thoughts and intents of its subject. Tested by so trying a standard Dorothy Osborne comes out nobly. The marked characteristic of these letters is a sustained dignity of thought wedded

very commonly to a singular felicity of expression—this latter, be it remembered, being no mean indication of character. *Le style c'est la femme*. The world is richer for this example of a pure-minded woman who knew how to bear herself modestly and Christianly in evil days.

ART. VIII.—RENAN'S HISTORY OF ISRAEL.

Histoire du Peuple d'Israel. Par ERNEST RENAN. Tome premier. (Paris, 1887.)

History of the People of Israel. By ERNEST RENAN. Vol. I. (London, 1888.)

M. RENAN is giving us in this book a history of Israel purged from all taint of the supernatural. Providential he admits that history to be, meaning by the word that it has 'its appointed place on a *plan* exalted above the chops and changes of daily life' (preface, p. x). A miraculous character he denies it, for 'everything in the progress of humanity issues from one single principle, at once natural and ideal.' Three miraculous histories (those of Judea, Greece, and Rome), or none, such is the alternative he offers us. The Jewish history, though it claims a monopoly of miracles, is to his mind not a whit more extraordinary than the Greek. Nay, the greatest of historical miracles is Greece herself. The simultaneous appearance in the Greek race of all which constitutes the honour and ornament of human genius impresses him far more than the passage of the Red Sea and the Jordan. We note the unfair comparison between the perfected work of the one race, and episodes in the history of the other, and wonder whether, in M. Renan's opinion, Israel's gifts to humanity equal those of Greece. He does not leave us in doubt. 'Philosophy and science are the two *capital* creations of humanity' (p. 12), and these do not spring from the fount of Israel. It was Greece who 'founded, in the fullest sense of the word, rational and progressive humanity' (p. vii). 'The very centre of the divine egg within which life began to palpitate was Greece' (p. xi). 'Christianity is less certain of duration than Hellenism' (p. ix). 'Human progress consists in executing the designs of Greece' (p. xi). 'The Jewish and Christian histories, though they have

been the delight of eighteen centuries, are now half-vanquished by Greek rationalism' (*ibid.*). 'The Greek history is in some respects a finer history than the Jewish' (p. xv). Though he does not regret 'the Nazarite vow which attached him early in life to the Jewish and Christian problem,' he reckons that man to be supremely happy who, after sixty years of study, shall write the history of the genius of Greece (pp. x, xi).

We cannot wonder that M. Renan should reckon the influence of Greece on the development of humanity to be of higher order and value than that of Israel. Israel is the universal and unrivalled teacher of religion and morals ; in the intellectual sphere she takes a subordinate place. On the other hand, as M. Renan himself says, 'Greece had only one thing wanting in the circle of her moral and intellectual activity, but this was an important void ; she despised the humble, and she did not feel the need of a just God. Her philosophers were . . . tolerant towards the iniquities of this world' (p. vii). It is no libel on M. Renan to say he has much closer affinities with the philosophers of Greece than with the prophets of Israel. His judgments and estimates of men and things are conceived from the intellectual point of view. He leaves out of his consideration moral and religious principles—or rather, he repudiates them. God is everywhere, say the Hebrew prophets ; through Him everything lives, whatever happens is His work. Semitic philosophy, says M. Renan, 'exaggerated beyond measure the intentional intervention of superior forces in the current of human affairs' (p. 42). But 'Greek philosophers saw to perfection as far back as 500 B.C.' (p. 23), and M. Renan sees, too, that no signs have been discovered in nature of any intelligent agent superior to man. 'The summits of Olympus and of Sinai are deserts' (p. xxvii). 'Righteousness,' say the Hebrew prophets, 'establishes a nation and a man ; as for the transgressors, they shall perish for ever.' 'Truth beareth away the victory,' was the wise saying put in the mouth of the Jew Zerubbabel by the author of the first book of Esdras. Put beside these such *unmoral*, such cynical, remarks as—'A great man owes as much to his defects as to his good qualities' (p. xv) ; 'The Jewish intellect derived its strength from its least sympathetic characteristics, from its fanaticism, and from its exclusive tendencies' (*ibid.*) ; 'The French royalty, the Catholic unity of the Middle Ages, Protestantism, and the Revolution were brought into being by all kinds of crimes and errors' (*ibid.*). That evil has a certain power for destruction of evil, and even of good, is to be freely admitted ; that great and good causes

were (seemingly at least) advanced by great crimes cannot be denied. But there is something more than this here. Equal moment is assigned to powers of good and evil. Evil is reckoned to have a creative force, and to be a source of strength. In this depreciation of the strength of goodness M. Renan can find support in Greek philosophy; he can find nothing but opposition in the Old Testament teaching.

We have described M. Renan's position at some length because it gives us a key to the methods and conclusions of his book. He has written a history of Israel from the Greek point of view. His studies have been on the Jew, but his sympathies are with the Greek. He does not write his history *con amore*. He has only a historical interest in the nation and the religious movement he chronicles. The downfall of theology does not, as he says, imply the downfall of the history of theology. But the man who holds that 'all religions are vain' (p. 50), that 'in the infinite there is room for everyone to fashion his own romance' (p. xxv), who reckons 'Christian theology with its Bible to have been for the last three centuries the worst enemy of science' (p. 50) (science, be it remembered, is one of the capital creations of humanity), cannot have sufficient enthusiasm for, or interior knowledge of, his subject to treat it with success. After all, theology and religion are the main elements of the history of Israel. Jewish and Christian theology is, according to M. Renan, the Semitic conception of the Supreme Deity—a conception comparatively noble, very superior to the Aryan, but infinitely removed from scientific fact (p. 33). Religion is the offspring of man's superstitious fears in the days of his childhood. The adage, 'Primus in orbe deos fecit timor,' is admirably true (p. 24). The ideal historian should not be a partisan, we admit, but he should not be a partisan against his own subject. He should be able to sympathize a little with its heroes in their vicissitudes. He should have some little respect for the results which they achieved. It seems to us a pity that 'the Nazarenes' vow' withdrew M. Renan from a more congenial work. He would have been much happier, he would have been more successful, in writing a history of Greece.

And if M. Renan was unfortunate in the choice of a subject, his misfortunes were intensified by the character of the material with which he had to deal. For the history of Israel there is only one substantial authority—the Old Testament itself. That book stands alone amongst books, the only authority for the events it relates. Its narratives may be illustrated by ancient monuments, its chronology verified or

corrected by the Assyrian Eponyms, its accounts of the Creation and the Flood profitably compared with the Babylonian mythology, its institutions traced to the influence and example of Egypt. Notwithstanding, it contains the only chronicle of the substantial events of Israel's history. The period of the fall of the northern kingdom is the earliest and the only period of Old Testament history on which the secular records give considerable information.

M. Renan must needs derive the materials of his history from the Old Testament, and he has a most difficult task before him. It is possible to regard Israel in two different ways. She is either a nation by herself, holy and separate, God's peculiar people, the recipient of His teaching, the medium of His revelation; or she is one of the nations, and as one of them, with her own characteristics no doubt, but not essentially different from them. Israel's own historians, who, it will be remembered, are reckoned by the Jewish people amongst the prophets, regard her exclusively from the former, M. Renan exclusively from the latter point of view. He has thus to compile his history without miracle, without God, from narratives in which miracles are the framework of the narrative, and in which God is everywhere.

Israel's divine vocation is a fact which so fills the minds of the Old Testament writers that there is room for nothing else. The material causes which brought about the rise and fall of kingdoms are passed over unnoticed. Their one idea is that God ruleth in the kingdom of men and giveth it to whomsoever He will. This 'Theocratic Pragmatism' of the prophetic historians destroys to a considerable extent the value of their history from a scientific point of view. The Old Testament is not a scientific history; and what is more, a scientific history cannot be made out of it. The silences of Israel's history are eloquent to the theologian, but they are simply provoking to the scientific historian. It has been said that 'Israel has throughout no history except in as far as it is the organ of revelation.'¹ How imperfect, how misleading, how chaotic must its history be in the eyes of one who disbelieves in all revelation; and yet from it all his materials have to be derived.

To do M. Renan justice, he grapples with his difficulties boldly. The historical untrustworthiness of the Old Testament is to him a demonstrated fact. 'There are no (material) facts . . . in the history of Israel up to the time of David' (p. xvi). The statement is sweeping enough. He clears away

¹ Oehler's *O. T. Theology*, vol. i. p. 99.

the old building to its foundations before he begins to build afresh, and he makes no attempt to build on the old lines or to modify the old plans. He throws away most of the old materials as rubbish, and combines the small remainder of truth in a fashion of his own. The Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel are tales, legends, romances, similar to the Homeric poems, the Arab tales of the ante-Islam period, and the Arthurian romances of the middle ages. It is possible, nevertheless, to learn a good deal about this legendary period, for 'legends are marvellously instructive as regards the colour of the periods to which they belong and the habits of the time' (p. xvi).

There are, M. Renan thinks, two special features, one a help, one a hindrance, in the historical problem he has to solve. The special help is that patriarchal life survives in its main features to our own day among Arab tribes. The hindrance is, 'The ancient texts seem expressly designed to lead us astray. The old epic tales, trustworthy in their way, the theocratic after-touches, and the sacerdotal revisions are often to be met with, one upon another, in the same paragraph; and it needs a very practised eye to detect them' (p. xxi). 'In the historical parts of the Bible the scissors of the compilers have been plied so capriciously that it is often impossible to make any attempt to sort the different authorities' (*ibid.*). M. Renan, it should be noted, agrees generally with the conclusions arrived at by the school of Reuss, of whom Kuenen and Wellhausen are best known in England, on the composition of the Old Testament. He reserves the discussion of those conclusions to his second volume, and they need not be examined by us here.

In his use of the critical conclusions he assumes, M. Renan is independent and interesting. His hand is free either to reject, or to insist on as typical and customary, every incident in the narratives of the earlier Old Testament history. Nothing is authentic and genuine in these narratives, but much is true to life. He decides for us what is true and what is false. He is far from rejecting everything. On the contrary, the colour of the (legendary) narratives is truth itself (p. 96). Any detail of the narrative is sufficient evidence on which to found a custom. For example, he tells us that when twins were born the midwife took care to tie a bit of red string round the arm of the firstborn (p. 16); and that Bethel was regarded as the foot of a vast staircase or pyramid with steps which ascended from earth to heaven (p. 99). More than this, the narrators, one and all, pictured patriarchal life

and thought with remarkable accuracy. The present Deity we find in the pages of Genesis existed, not indeed in reality, but in the patriarchal imaginations (pp. 23, 25, 27). God's voice was not heard by them, but they fancied they heard it (p. 49). 'Thou God seest me' is a true expression of the patriarchal belief.

But though M. Renan insists upon the details as certain and typical, though the beliefs of the patriarchs are correctly described, the patriarchs themselves are mythical personages, and all those acts which show God's love and embody His revelation to man, are figments of the prophetic imagination. The Father of the faithful is the imaginary ancestor of the Semitic tribes (p. 22), and the history of Jacob is a 'master-piece of ethnographical psychology' (p. 21 *n*). Moses is completely buried by the legends which have grown up over him (p. 135). The Levites were Egyptians by race, they were called sons of the ark (Heb. Aron) because they bore it; and after a while the ark was personified into Aaron, the brother of the legend-buried Moses (pp. 127, 153). The name of Joshua can only be used in an historical narrative with the utmost precaution (p. 155), and the life of Samuel is known to us by little else than legendary documents (p. 308). David was an unscrupulous bandit whom the opinion of humanity has crowned with every kind of halo (pp. 331, 362).

And so we see in Israel's earlier history every fact is doubtful, every person is mythical, but every detail is certain. M. Renan takes us by the hand and places us before the cherished picture—the picture of the Divine dealings with the race—the heirloom of many generations, the treasure of every Christian family—and, with a cold smile on his face, he brands it as a palpable forgery. But console yourself, he goes on to say: the colouring is perfect, the details are true, the framing is beyond all price. You have not in the books of the Old Testament a record of God's dealings with the race. As a matter of fact, God, if there be a God, never interferes in human affairs. You have, however, an exact picture of the patriarch's conceptions of the imaginary dealings with them of their imaginary God. You will find, scattered here and there, fragments of historical truth, which it is possible to piece together into a rational and scientific history of Israel, and you have a mine of archæological lore.

Now, have we here a theory which has even the remotest pretence to verisimilitude? We must bear in mind how the patriarchal history is supposed to have been framed. M. Renan finds at least three original versions of the Pentateuch (p. xxii).

Those versions were based in part on ancient documents, and embodied the traditions of many minds and of many ages. The old epic tales, trustworthy in their way, were subjected to 'theocratic after-touches and sacerdotal revisions,' and the manipulators and revisers were not single individuals but many. And yet—marvellous result!—this composition of heterogeneous materials is a perfect whole, and it needs the critic's practised eye to discern the joinings (p. xxi). This work of many ages and many minds has a unity of its own. This mosaic of narratives which have no substantial foundation of fact describes with essential truth patriarchal life and patriarchal thought (p. 12). A task beyond the powers of a single mind with all the resources of civilization at his command, was, it appears, accomplished, without thought or concert or effort, by a number of men who had no libraries or even books to consult. As a narrative of God's dealings with men, Genesis is found to be worthless; to the scientific historian it is full of value. M. Renan, to whom all religions are vain, but to whom the history of religion is full of interest (pp. xxvi, xxvii), is fortunate beyond all reasonable expectation. What is valuable in his eyes is true, what is worthless is false. Can it be that his wishes and prejudices have determined his conclusions?

The Hebrew prophets and M. Renan are, we see, diametrically opposed in fundamental ideas, methods, aims, and results, but we must guard ourselves from being supposed to admit there is anything in the view the prophets take of history contrary to, or inconsistent with, the view of the scientific historian. They are 'provokingly incomplete' as we have said, but this is the worst that can be alleged against them. If the general proposition can be maintained, that religion and science, or rather true religion and true science, are not and cannot be contrary the one to the other, the particular instance, there is no opposition between religious and scientific history, cannot be gainsaid. The religious and the scientific historians work on the same materials, but they attach primary importance to different elements. The one concerns himself with causes professedly above and beyond this world. The other never passes this world's limits. The one need not, however, be antagonistic to the other. The two sets of causes may be related like cause and effect, or may work harmoniously together. The Assyrian may be the rod of God's anger; Cyrus, His shepherd who performs all His will; the winter of abnormal cold—the destruction of a tyrant's power—God's special ordering. According to the Old

Testament narratives, Israel was under special supernatural influences, yet Israel, following the same narratives, was no hothouse plant; her development was not forced and unnatural, but gradual, natural, and free. Though the people of God, she was none the less a nation of the earth. The natural order was not overthrown, though a higher order was established. God's special dealings fitted in and worked along with the ordinary laws of nature and providence.

But M. Renan will not have it so. 'It has never been discovered,' he says, 'that a superior being concerns himself with events either of the physical or moral order' (p. 34). The Old Testament writers ignore the natural causes which are to him everything. He goes further and denies the existence of the supernatural causes of which their minds are full. This being so he is bound to give us a natural explanation of the people of Israel. He must tell us, not indeed 'how things happened'—that would be too much to expect—but 'how things might have happened' (p. xvii). Moreover, he must give us a plausible explanation, not only of things, but also of the Thing—of Israel herself, not simply of facts in her history. To adopt M. Renan's own words, 'In our opinion the greatest miracle on record (of the Old Testament times) is Israel herself. The gradual appearance in her of all the truths which nourish and develop the highest elements of human nature, impresses us far more than the passage of the Red Sea or of the Jordan' (p. x). M. Renan cannot from his position, as we have seen, adequately value Israel's work for humanity, but yet he is not without substantial appreciation of her marvellous gifts. He says, 'The Bible is, whatever may be said, humanity's great book of consolation' (p. xi). And 'The Jewish and Christian histories have been the delight of eighteen centuries, and are extraordinarily effective in the amelioration of morals' (*ibid.*). And again, 'It is by no means impossible the world will once more become Jewish and Christian' (*ibid.*). He thus admits facts of the greatest importance, results for which he has to give us rational and natural explanations. How is it that the influence of Israel, a little one amongst the nations, despised and disliked, makes so powerfully for justice and goodness, and has been so permanent and useful? A quasi-eternal power making for good everywhere! We seem to have some superhuman characteristics here. It is not a little thing which M. Renan has to explain. Let us see what his explanation is.

In the first volume of his *Peuple d'Israel*, to which this notice is confined, M. Renan describes the origin of Israel. His description is interesting and important, for he recognizes,

which some of the critical school do not, that it was during the patriarchal age the destiny of Israel began to be written. 'Nothing in the history of Israel can be explained without reference to the patriarchal age' (p. xiii). 'Israel's great religious movement, which swept the world along with it, has scarcely begun, but the greater prophets made the reconstitution of the patriarchal state the object of their work' (pp. 52, 53). 'The march towards Monotheism was in reality nothing more than a return to the intuition of their early history' (*ibid.*). 'In the stories of patriarchal life the children of Israel were not creating a myth, but they were rather recalling a memory' (*ibid.*). The importance of the period of Israel's origin is thus fully recognized by M. Renan. It solely and sufficiently explains Israel's after-history. How is it itself explained? M. Renan says—

'Arabia and Syria were (in the centuries after 2000 B.C.) full of wandering families [of Semitic race], who lived in tents, and who carried about with them the secrets of their fine language, and of the fundamental ideas of their race. Tent life is that which gives the most opportunity and spare time for reflection and passion. It was a life of this kind, austere and stately, which created one of the spirits of humanity, one of the forms through which the genius which assumes bodily shape by our nerves and muscles, developed into expression and life. Judaism (of which Christianity is but a development) and Islamism have their roots in this ancient soil' (p. 11).

TENT LIFE! So this is the secret of the power of the Semitic race on humanity! Yes, there is no doubt that such is M. Renan's opinion. He tells us that the fixed settlement in Canaan was a degradation and a religious decadence, that tent life was in later times a lofty ideal, a sort of magnetic needle to which Israel will constantly gravitate (p. 93). Progress will be a return to the conditions of tent life. Tent life, with its religion and virtues and social conditions, will be the programme of the prophets and the Utopia of the Mosaic law (pp. 52, 53). Authors of sacred books will find their conception of religious perfection in tent life. Moreover, this ideal was not, as often in the history of nations, a chimera. It was a memory of lost purity and happiness (exaggerated, no doubt), but one which had left an indelible trace upon the character of the nation. It was an ideal actually realized by some of the tribes, and by those individuals who desired to lead the higher religious life. Finally, tent life made the men and the movement which destroyed paganism and converted the world to monotheism. The tent of the Semite patriarch was the starting-point of the religious progress of humanity (p. 36).

M. Renan deprives us of the simple, truth-like, natural, though supernatural, explanation of the origin of Israel which we find in the pages of Genesis. Divine voice, Divine hand, Divine teaching, Divine providence, he relegates to the region of childish dreams. That is a very easy task for him ; but he has some remarkable historical facts beyond all contradiction to explain rationally, and then his difficulties begin. We want to know where the Semites got their 'fine' language and the fundamental ideas of their race. The Semites have these already when he introduces us to them. The chief of these fundamental ideas is, as he tells us, the supremacy of one common master in heaven and earth (p. 38). This idea was in the germ from the very first, though it remained vague and confused up to the ninth century B.C. It will be noticed we have here not one God simply, but one present God, one Ruler and Master, one Providence. How did the Semites get hold of this great truth ? It is no explanation to say that nomads are not fond of paintings and sculptures, and that it is inconvenient for them to carry about idols with them in their journeyings (p. 38). It is no explanation to point out that the Semitic language does not lend itself to personifications, and is incapable of giving truth to a mythology (p. 40). We want to know why the language has this characteristic. As M. Renan most truly says : 'It is not merely the expression, but the train of thought itself which is profoundly monotheistic' (p. 41). The thought came before the language. The language was the expression of the thoughts of a monotheistic people. How did they conceive the thoughts ?

Is tent life a reasonable explanation ? A life of leisure and comparative solitude may be at times a life for brooding over and developing great ideas. As a rule we believe it is just the contrary. It is busy men who think most ; great ideas are developed in active life and in controversy, in the places where men of different minds meet. As iron sharpens iron, so the minds of men sharpen one another by contact. There is more thinking in the towns than in the country. It is quite true that nomad or country life preserves noble characteristics and good old customs, but quite another *role* is assigned it here. It conceives, brings forth to the light of day, fundamentally new ideas of religion and morality. The type of character developed by nomad life, we are told, was the staid, well-born, well-bred, very courteous aristocrat, who took a very serious view of life, avoided all contact with rough and coarse people, maintained his own rights, and respected the rights of others (p. 21)—in one word, the country gentleman.

The country gentleman has his great gifts, but his genius is certainly not of the creative type.

Moreover, this theory fails to differentiate between Semite nomads generally and the children of Israel in particular. Nothing is more remarkable than the unlikeness of Israel in its character, destiny, and importance to the cognate tribes of Moab, Edom, and Arabia. They all sprang from the same source, they spoke cognate languages, their national life was developed under similar natural conditions. In many respects the difference between an Israelite and a Moabite or Edomite would not be worth considering, and yet Israel is to this day mighty in the hearts and minds of men, and Moab and Edom and the like are remembered only in connexion with her. A systematic and religious attachment to nomad life on Israel's part would not, as M. Renan seems to suggest, account for her superiority. If so, the permanent Semitic nomads, the Midianites, Amalekites, and Arabs, would have surpassed Israel. Are we to find the secret in Israel's prophets, let us first find the secret of Israel's prophets. In the divine origin and character of Israel's religion, M. Renan will not permit us to find the explanation. So doing, he leaves a most important fact unexplained.

Again, M. Renan asserts that in Israel herself the nomad element was superior to the settled. Israel, we are told, had always before her an example of primitive purity in her nomad tribes (p. 53). Now is there the semblance of a reason for asserting that the tribes east of Jordan, or the tribe of Simeon in the south, were purer in religion and morals than their brethren of Ephraim or Judah, or that from them came forth those prophets who were Israel's great reformers? Once again, Was Israel's ideal in the past? Was not her golden age in the future? Was it a restoration of the patriarchal tents? Was it not rather an establishment of David's throne? The theory of tent life, as propounded by M. Renan, seems to break down everywhere. It is opposed alike to reason, experience, and history.

Besides the doctrine of one supreme ruler in heaven and earth, there is another fundamental element of the religion of Israel on which tent life had an important influence, viz. Israel's doctrine of Creation. 'Mankind, disgusted with mythology, wanted a seeming explanation of the origin of things, a cosmogony with an air of being reasonable, positive, and historical' (p. 66). The first twelve chapters of Genesis have supplied the void. 'Humanity has supposed that it possessed in them an historical narrative of the things about

which it was most anxious to know—its infancy and early progress' (*ibid.*). What are they in fact? M. Renan tells us that at Babylon there was an abundance of literature which claimed to relate the origin of the world and of humanity. It was not a mere simple mythology; it betrayed a glimmering of scientific hypotheses, starting from accurate and correct observations, generalizing in some cases with singular good sense (p. 58). The Hebrew nomads came in contact with this at Charran, 'a city of syncretism, in which the myths of Babylonian origin underwent all kinds of transformations. (p. 62). They simplified these ancient fables, flattened them down, so to speak, and reduced them to dimensions which admitted of their being carried about with the baggage of the nomad' (p. 65). It will be remembered the same travelling exigencies made idolatry inconvenient to the nomad, and so largely helped to establish monotheism. 'Boiled down,' says M. Renan, 'strapped tight, if I may so express myself, upon the back of the nomad's beast of burden, diluted for centuries in memoirs without any sort of precision and mercilessly condensed, the proto-Chaldean narratives have given us the first chapters of Genesis' (p. 66). Here, then, is the full and complete rational explanation of the Hebrew cosmogony. The narrative in Genesis is the simplification of the Chaldean cosmogony by the Semitic genius, and the secret of Semitic genius is the exigencies of tent life. Is it possible that M. Renan is serious here?

M. Renan's rational account of the development of religion in Israel must not be passed over by us. It involves him in conflict with his authorities; it lays up in store for his future volumes insuperable difficulties. The religion of the Semitic patriarchs finds favour in his eyes. As compared with the primitive Aryan religion and of Israel herself till the days of the canonical prophets, it has many points of superiority (pp. 33, 53). Such were its doctrine of one Supreme Master of the world (p. 38); its connexion of religion with morality (p. 12); the comparative absence of idolatry or gross superstitions of sorcery (p. 34); above all its simple, vague, unsystematic character. The deity had no name, no personal attributes, no individuality of his (or their) own. The Semites imagined a spiritual environment to the world rather than personal gods (pp. 25, 71). The Elohim were not national, local, partial, but universal, ruling over and caring for all alike (pp. 27, 28, 29, 72).

But the definite, organized religion of Israel, from Moses to the canonical prophets, that is an abomination in his eyes.

Its initial rite was a 'great historical blunder which nearly caused Israel to lose her providential function in the world' (p. 108). The main element of her worship, viz. sacrifice, was 'the oldest, most serious, error bequeathed to us from the days of man's youthful folly—a revolting absurdity which the patriarchs could not shake off, and against which the prophets protested in vain (p. 44).' But the most abominable element in Judaism is Jahvehism. Jahvehism is the worship of a deity with personality, with a personal name, with attributes, with a special favour and care for Israel (pp. 72, 147). 'It was an immense advantage when the gods had only a generic name, removing all idea of personality' (p. 71). 'A distinctive name is the very negation of the divine essence' (p. 22). 'Jahveh was a political slaughterer, a god who showed favour to a little tribe *per fas et nefas*. Every crime was perpetrated in the name of Jahveh' (p. 220). He was a god who was worshipped by means of idols—calves, serpents, ephods (p. 224); there had been no images of Elohim (p. 152). In form he was a kind of dragon, roaring thunder, vomiting flame, causing the tempest to howl; he was the universal rouah (spirit) under a globated form, a kind of condensed electric mass (pp. 238, 239). His will was ascertained, by throwing dice, or concealed springs worked by priests, which turned the face of his image towards or averted it from the worshippers (pp. 228, 229). In character he was hard and exact, quarrelsome and jealous (pp. 236, 260); he met men in the deserts, or the mountains, wrestled with them, attempted to kill them (pp. 160, 239); he was ferocious when robbed of the quantity of blood due to him (pp. 53, 150); he delighted in human sacrifices, and commanded his people to sacrifice their children to him as a punishment (p. 240). 'Patriarchal deism had condemned these immolations; Jahvehism, with its exclusive, national principle, was rather favourable to them' (p. 277). Jahveh had scarcely anything of the moral God about him. 'It required centuries of progress for him to love good, to hate evil, and to become a universal god. He was little, if at all, superior to Chemosh and Moloch, the gods of neighbouring Semitic nations' (pp. 72, 150). 'He was the confiscation, sacrilegious assuredly, though to a certain extent logical, of the power of Elohim to the profit of Israel' (p. 22). Happily, his worship was only a passing error on Israel's part. It was the work of those terrible abolitionists, the prophets (and specially Jesus, the last of them), to *destroy* in detail this cruel, partial, and rancorous Jahveh, and to return, by a series of more and more vigorous efforts, to the primitive Elohimism.

'The history of Israel may be summed up in a word : it was an effort, continued through long ages, to shake off the false god Jahveh, and return to the primitive Elohim' (p. 22). The prophets retained the name Jahveh for a while, but in course of time that too died out. It is to Elohim, not Jahveh, the world has been converted. Neither Christianity nor Judaism knows Jahveh. Christian usage is tantamount to an admission that Jahveh no longer exists (pp. 72, 150).

This sounds, and is, very horrible ; but, in justice to M. Renan, we must remember his fundamental principle of theology. For the statement in Genesis, 'God created man in His own image,' he substitutes 'Man created a divine world in his own image' (p. 23). A national God, as he reckons Jahveh to be, is identified with his nation. 'He is in some sense the *alter ego*, the genius of the nation personified, the spirit of the nation in the sense applied by savages to the word' (p. 219). Thus, when he says that the prophets destroyed Jahveh, he is referring to a god which less enlightened Israelites of former days had made ; when he asserts that Jahveh is a cruel, jealous, and unjust god, he only means that he is the god of a cruel, jealous, and unjust people.

But now let us put M. Renan's facts and his theory side by side. For his facts he has one authority—the Old Testament. There are two important points in his theory : (1) That the religion of Israel before the prophets was of a low and degraded condition ; (2) that the prophets sought to abolish the religion of their ancestors for generations and to return to the religion of the patriarchs.

For (1) M. Renan can, by adopting certain methods, produce a considerable body of evidence. Whenever he finds incidents or statements which witness to the existence of low material conceptions of God in Israel he can lay stress upon them. On the other hand, anything that is noble or lofty in morality or religion he can assign to a later age. Turning poetry into prose he can assert that Jehovah was conceived to be a being with eagle's feathers and with a Medusa-like head (pp. 160, 161). Turning narrative into myth he can cancel all spiritual teaching. If his evidence be still scanty he can remark that 'the Puritans of a later age suppressed whatever part of the text appeared to them too scandalous' (p. 223). The general drift, the whole tenor of the narrative, he can neglect, whilst he can make much of single sentences and texts of doubtful meaning. With such methods he has no difficulty in making a case. It is to be freely confessed that there were many in Israel who had formed low and material

conceptions of their God. The phrase 'Our God,' against which M. Renan is so angry and sarcastic (p. 220), but which expresses nevertheless a truth of the highest importance, is capable of terrible perversion, and Israel often perverted it. But are these carnally-minded Israelites the true exponents of Israel's religion at any time in her history? They existed at all times—in the days of the prophets, in the days of our Lord, as in the beginnings of the national history. It is to the prophets we go to learn Israel's true religion in prophetic times. Were there in those earlier days no Israelites indeed? M. Renan denies their existence. The 'first saints of Jahveh bore no reputation for moral purity or real piety' (p. 227). 'We do not learn that Samuel introduced the slightest change into the state of religious affairs which he found established' (p. 311). 'The primitive nomad was more advanced in religious matters than David and Omri' (p. 53) (mark the conjunction).

M. Renan by his pessimistic estimate of Israel's history involves himself in the greatest difficulties, for he destroys Israel's natural development. 'It was,' says Professor Max Müller, 'the worship of Jehovah which made the Jews a peculiar people, the people of Jehovah, separated by their God, though not by their language, from the people of Chemosh (the Moabites) and from the worshippers of Baal and Ash-toreth.'¹ But how could the worship of the cruel Jahveh—the God little, if at all, superior to Chemosh or Baal—effect this wonderful creation? And yet, if it was not Jahveh who made Israel a nation, who or what was it? And Israel's prophets—how shall we account for them? On M. Renan's theory they have no spiritual fathers. The prophets, we are told, revived the memory of the patriarchal religion, and defended and developed patriarchal principles. But how did their knowledge of 'primitive Elohimism' come to them? M. Renan gives no written record to which they could appeal for authority or turn for guidance, as in the reformations of Josiah and the sixteenth century A.D. Patriarchal religion was a vague thing in itself. What is more, the prophets must have had vague notions what it really was. For though it may have lingered in its purity amongst the nomad families and tribes, it was hidden from men's knowledge by the lapse of centuries, and far more by the corruptions of many generations. We ask, Can we find in this vague, forgotten, corrupted religion of the patriarchs a standpoint wide enough and firm enough for the

¹ *Lectures on the Science of Religion*, p. 86.

prophets' work? If it is the prophets who account for Israel's greatness, the prophets themselves remain unaccounted for.

(2) M. Renan's description of the prophets' relation to the religion of Israel before their times seems quite contrary to the facts of the case. The prophets, he says, expelled Jahvehism and restored primitive Elohimism. Why then do they so rarely call themselves prophets of Elohim? Why do they invariably assert that it is Jahveh who sends them, the word of Jahveh which they speak? M. Renan supposes they found themselves obliged to retain the word Jahveh whilst they abolished Jahvehism. But to retain a name and at the same time to abolish all that it has typified and represented is, under any circumstances, most difficult, and was impossible in times when names and things had the closest connexion. We know what the prophets did in a cognate case. To abolish Baal worship they proscribed the word Baal (*Hosca* ii. 16, 17). Had they wished to abolish Jahvehism they would have taken a similar course. Their special attachment to the word Jahveh implied their special attachment to the religion of Jahveh.

Not less unreasonable is the inference which M. Renan draws from the disuse of the name Jahveh as a spoken word by Jew and Christian alike. The evidence abundantly shows that it was not half-unconscious dislike, but the deepest religious reverence which debarred the Jew from taking the name Jahveh upon his lips. Various causes—its distinctively Hebrew character, its lost pronunciation, the influence of the Septuagint, the use of another personal name, 'The human name of God above'—have led to the comparative disuse of the word Jahveh by Christians. But though Jew and Christian have ceased to make common use of the word, the doctrine which the word implies (or by ancient tradition is said to imply) is stamped on Jewish and Christian theology. That God's name is I AM, has been a safeguard against many unworthy doctrines of Deity. It has separated God from creation and all created things.

Of all M. Renan's marvellous statements, the most marvellous seems to be that Jahvehism was favourable to human sacrifices, which patriarchal Elohimism had condemned (*p.* 277). He even alleges a passage from the prophets (*Ezek.* xx. 26) to prove that Jahveh had, to punish His people, commanded them to sacrifice their children (*p.* 150). The meaning of this passage is obscure, but M. Renan's interpretation makes Ezekiel contradict himself and all other prophets. M. Renan thinks that the daughter of Jephthah was probably not the only

victim offered up to Jahveh before He became more lenient in the eighth century B.C. (p. 278). It is, at any rate, the only instance which can be found. The one narrative of the Pentateuch (Gen. xxii.) referring to human sacrifice is unfortunate for M. Renan. It was Elohim who tempted Abraham to offer his son ; it is Jahveh who interposes to forbid the sacrifice and to whom Abraham offers a ram as a substitute.

We have said enough, we think, to prove that M. Renan gives us little or no real help towards the solution of the difficult problems connected with the history of Israel. Denying as he does that God interferes in human affairs, he does not know the secret of the vicissitudes of Israel's fortunes. Contemptuously indifferent as he is to all religions, he is not qualified to be the historian of the nation which is the religious teacher of the world. Believing as he does that his materials are in utter confusion, that they are a cunning mixture of truth and error, he has too much power in his hands. To all intents and purposes his preconceived opinions as to what is probable and natural create and destroy his facts.

The problems connected with the history of Israel and the composition of the books of the Old Testament will, we believe, occupy men's minds for many a long day. It must be frankly acknowledged that the traditional theory presents many difficulties, which after all may prove to be nothing more than phantoms conjured up by the restlessness of sceptical and the rashness of half-informed minds. This has certainly been the case with the New Testament. Why may it not be so with the Old? No doubt there are many points on which we must be content for the present to confess our ignorance. The history of Israel is admittedly incomplete. The history of the books of the Old Testament up to the days of Ezra is a blank. From Ezra to the coming of our Lord it is vague and unsatisfactory. It may be urged that we cannot say for certain that the text of the different books has not passed through various revisions and recensions, that we cannot say for certain who wrote this or that book. Questions of date and authorship are not, however, necessarily questions of essential importance. They do not necessarily affect the inspiration or canonicity of a book. But to whatever length we may be not indisposed to make concessions on matters of detail, there are some points—substantial points—on which we cannot afford to be indifferent, on which we are bound to be firm, and to make a stand. Some critical conclusions are utterly inconsistent with the respect shown to the Old Testament by our Lord and His Apostles, and so strike a blow at

the very foundations of Christian teaching. Some, again, are based on a denial of God's Providence, the possibility of revelation, miracle, knowledge of future events—in short, of anything supernatural. Some, again, indirectly impugn the moral character of the Old Testament writers, so that they become men by whom it is impossible to believe the Spirit of God spake. It is not uncommon, we fear, for men whose personal faith in the truth of revelation is firm and clear, to dally with theories which are subversive of all faith.

It is our firm conviction that all attacks against the substantial historical truth of the Old Testament narratives have failed. It is our firm conviction, also, that all critical theories based on the denial of the supernatural in Israel's history raise far more difficulties than they explain. In dealing with such theories the duty of the Christian apologist is plain. It is to accept, for purposes of argument, the principles of historical criticism, and to show by them, as we believe it is possible to do, how inadequately the theories explain the undisputed facts. There are two things about which special care is needed. We must not, on the one hand, maintain untenable positions; nor, on the other, surrender old positions in deference to clamour, repeated assertion, or arguments which involve the conclusions of unbelief. M. Renan's book will not do much harm. It startles and disgusts by its flippant contempt for all the truths of religion. Kuenen's and Welhausen's theories are far more dangerous, when they are presented in a veil of religious sentiment and rigged up in exquisite French. When thus disguised, Christian people are ready to forget that they are thoroughly subversive of a belief in revelation. The Old Testament revelation, if those theories be true, is not a record of God's actual dealings and teachings, it is a creation of the mind and spirit of man. We are horrified when M. Renan tells us that mankind make their gods in their own image; let us think twice and thrice before we accept a theory which involves a conclusion hardly less horrible—The Old Testament doctrine of God has little or no basis in historical fact, and is substantially a product of the human imagination.

ART. IX.—ENGLISH CEREMONIAL.

1. *Notes on Ceremonial from the Antient English Office Books.* Third edition. (London, 1888.)
2. *Transactions of the Saint Paul's Ecclesiological Society.* Vol. ii. part iii., 1888. Containing a paper on 'Suggestions for the Ritual of the Communion Service,' by J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A. (London, 1888.)

SOME of those, who under the guidance of Dante have made the pilgrimage through the *Città dolente*, may remember encountering a friar, wrapped in flame, in one of the lower circles that overhang the well of the Giants. Guido da Montefeltro is thus punished for the fraudulent counsel that he gave to Boniface VIII. by means of which the Pope was enabled to entice out of their stronghold of Palestrina the rebellious cardinals of the Colonna family. 'Large be your promise, your performance small,' was the advice. And this seems to us to be the counsel that has been acted upon by the editor or compilers of *Notes on Ceremonial*. On the title-page we read: 'Notes on Ceremonial from the Antient English Office Books;' the page after the Preface contains '10 Reasons for striving to preserve the ancient [this time with a *c*] English Ceremonial;' and throughout the book we meet with the expression of a most edifying horror of 'Italian' ceremonies. Now, how is this promise performed? Let the reader take the book in hand and go through the references from Chapter I. to Chapter X., over a hundred pages, and then tell us the name of the author most frequently quoted as an authority. There will be no doubt as to the answer. Le Vavas seur meets us continually. There is hardly a page without his name. It is not uncommon to find it twice or three times on one page; while on p. 86 Le Vavas seur is quoted six, on p. 87 five, times. Indeed, on p. 178 it is admitted that he is 'largely quoted,' though many may think that the proper place for this admission should have been in the preface, and not here.

Who, then, is this great authority on English ritual in ancient times? Let us try to explain. The title of Le Vavas seur's book is *Cérémonial selon le Rit Romain*; it was published first in 1857, in order to teach French priests the Roman Ceremonial, which had then only just been introduced into France, in accordance with the wishes of Pius IX. There

could be no demand for such a book before the local rites of France were abolished. Until they were destroyed every diocese had its own *Cérémonial* written to explain and amplify, if necessary, the rubrics of the Missal and Breviary. The first words of the 'Avertissement' of Le Vavas seur explain the book's disastrous origin: 'Depuis le moment où la liturgie Romaine a été rétablie en France, un grand nombre d'évêques ont daigné accueillir notre *Cérémonial* avec bienveillance;' that is, ever since the Romano-Pian Missal had for the first time been imposed on the French dioceses, the bishops had been obliged to look out for some ritual guide for their clergy, who were perfectly ignorant of Roman practices. Accordingly, an Ultramontane was put up to write a book in which no trace of Gallican custom should be found. Root and branch he was to destroy every local usage. We may see the attitude of his mind towards a national practice, perfectly unimportant in itself, in the note to § 108 (6th ed. 1882, t. i. p. 63). He tells us that

'the custom existing in certain churches of the cantors wearing copes at High Mass is contrary to the rules of Liturgy. No author has spoken of it except those who have written upon French customs.' [This statement is false, and made only to show contempt for diocesan usages.] 'At Rome they do not have, as in certain churches in France, clerks wearing copes at High Mass, but only at Vespers.'

The motto of Le Vavas seur is clearly: Follow Rome blindly; and Le Vavas seur has been taken as a guide at every step by one who hopes that his work 'may be some small aid in fostering a loyal English love for the glorious traditions of the Church in this land'; one who further points out 'that if the youths who help us in choir and in the sacristy are taught Italian ceremonial, and trained to refer to Rome in all such difficulties, we can hardly be surprised if in after-days they refer to the same authority for the solution of other difficulties.' Yes, indeed; and *Notes on Ceremonial* will be a book with which an active Roman controversialist will be able to make many points.

What can have been the motive for choosing a purely Ultramontane book as the basis for an English ritual directory? It is not a work highly prized in the Roman Communion itself. It is a popular book, which has rapidly passed through a number of editions. Its chief merit, as against older and more solid works like Gavantus, is, no doubt, that it gives all the last fashions from Rome. Gavantus often tells us the rules of St. Charles Borromeo as to the vestments,

size of altars, and the like. A better book than Le Vavas seur would have been Martinucci's *Manuale Sacrarum Cere- moniarum* (6 vols., Rome, 1879-81), though it is not more scientific, for such is not possible when the whole study of ceremonial is limited to an examination of the decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites.

But it would have been no hard matter for an English writer to discover a work with some tincture of the Gallican rites to which appeal might have been made, if such were ever necessary. The Missals of Paris after the Vintimillian Reform in 1738 still contain many of the old rites, and are yet to be had at a moderate price. The edition of the Lyons Missal of 1866 is even now in print, and contains a certain number of the old Lyonesse ceremonies. But, apparently, the editor did not so much want Gallican ceremonies as a book filled with the most fussy little details of ritual, distracting both to those who perform them and to those who behold them; and in this love of minute direction he shows how completely out of sympathy he is with the ancient service. The ancient service gave a certain number of rules, not very detailed, 'meagre directions' (as our editor so loyally calls the rubrics of the Common Prayer), and left a large discretion to the celebrant or full liberty to local customs. With the post-Tridentine reform of 1570 a different spirit made itself dominant. The era of detailed and minute ceremonial set in. If anyone doubt this, let him take an edition of the Pian Missal as it is called (the Roman Missal, published between 1570 and 1600) and compare the *Ritus* printed at the beginning of the book with the rubrics, say of the *Sacerdotale Romanum* of 1554 or the last *Ordines Romani*, printed by Mabillon in the second volume of his *Museum Italicum*. He will perceive at once that he is in a different atmosphere; one is like Gothic, the other is Renaissance. It seems to be agreed that the architecture of our English churches shall be mediæval; and if this be so, surely the ceremonies to be performed in them shall not be later than mediæval. The feeling that an Oratorian function is out of place in a Gothic church, like St. Alban's, Holborn, has determined the architecture of the new church at Clerkenwell. Renaissance ceremonies bring with them Renaissance architecture. As evidence of the simpler character of the mediæval service we may notice that the editor allows (§ 440) that there was no such person as the *ceremoniarius* or master of the ceremonies in England in mediæval times—a significant admission, because without some such officer it would be almost impossible to

carry on the intricate and involved ceremonial that has found favour in the Roman Communion since the Renaissance.

Had the editor really possessed those Gallican leanings which he tells us he entertains, he could hardly have neglected so completely as he has done the stores of ritual knowledge that the Gallican Missals of the last century contain. Indeed, beyond the few notes in §§ 438 and 441, he seems hardly to be aware of their existence. In a book with the aims of *Notes on Ceremonial* we should have expected at every page a reference to the practice of French dioceses, especially of the Norman dioceses. Of their history the editor seems to know nothing. Perhaps he believes that the diocesan rites in France began to be destroyed under the elder Buonaparte. An acquaintance with the *Institutions Liturgiques* of Dom Prosper Guéranger, rabid Ultramontane as he is, would have saved him from such a notion. Guéranger would have told him that it was only after 1841 that the Roman books began to drive out before them the local French diocesan uses. Have the dust and sound caused by that furious controversy as to the lawfulness of the French rites already been forgotten? It is a lasting sign of the ingratitude of the Roman Court that Guéranger should have written as he did, and have died without a cardinal's hat!

Amongst the many irritating and foolish details of this book we may notice two that show a special lack of tact and knowledge. One is the use of the ciborium, the other of the birretta. The ciborium, in the Roman Communion, is a sort of chalice in which the element of bread is consecrated and reserved. In our Church such a vessel was, we think, unknown till within the last twenty years; the practice has, beyond all doubt, been borrowed from Rome. As a rule the paten is ample for its purpose, and in many mediæval pictures the priest may be seen communicating the faithful from the paten.¹ The use of the ciborium is closely connected with the Roman practice of giving Communion out of Mass to those quite able to attend the Eucharistic service; a most undesirable custom and infraction of primitive use; and any attempt to set up such a custom in any part of the Anglican

¹ On p. 130, note *y*, we read: 'N.B.—The paten should be quite smooth and plain on the upper surface without any engraving or ornament.' Now Mr. W. H. St. John Hope has collected eighty mediæval English patens; he says: 'In the centre of every paten, with but two exceptions, there is engraved a sacred device, which varies' (*Trans. of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 1887, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 86).

The same conclusion follows from an examination of the wills and inventories (*Archæological Journal*, 1887, vol. xliii.).

Communion would be most regrettable. The pyx, the vessel in which the Eucharist was formerly reserved in England, was of different shape and different use to the ciborium.

Like ciborium, there is no anglicised name in church life for birretta; and this at once raises a suspicion of the lateness of its introduction. Our editor tells his pupils to use 'a birretta;' but this is as little definite as the 'Catholic pronunciation of Latin.' Each country has its own. If he will take up Bonanni's *Gerarchia Ecclesiastica*, published at Rome in 1720, and look at pp. 155 and 439, he will see Portuguese, Spanish, French, German, and Italian birrettas represented, all different from one another. Which of these does the editor of *Notes on Ceremonial* mean by a birretta? He shows such a pious horror of everything Italian, that we are sure it will not be of Italian shape. And yet we never saw any other shape in an English church where the foolish and indecent custom of putting caps on the head in choir and church prevails. A drawing of the old English cap may be seen in the portrait of Bishop Fisher, lately published by the 'Catholic Truth Society;' and we mention this because we feel sure that if there had been any evidence for the use of the Italian birretta in England at that date, it would have been brought forward. In this portrait the episcopal dress as well as the cap of Bishop Fisher, are nearly the same as those which we see in the portraits of the Caroline bishops of the seventeenth century.

If the priests that houselled our forefathers did wear anything on their heads as they went to the altar, it was most likely the amice. It would seem from Sir Thomas More that the amice was worn over the head at the altar. He says in controversy with Tindall that 'he would have the peple pull the priest from the aulter and y^e amis from his head.'¹ At Paris the amice was worn over the head during Mass, except from the *Sursum Corda* to the ablutions; at Auxerre, except from the beginning of Mass, *Introibo ad altare Dei* until after the *Placeat Tibi*; at Soissons, except from the *Orate Fratres* to the end. The Dominican Friars to this day wear the amice on the head except when actually at the altar. If the editor had been aware of the close connexion of the

¹ *The Workes of Sir Thomas More, Knyght*, London, 1557, p. 641, col. ii. F. Sir Thomas More knew the difference between a cope and a chasuble, yet he says, at p. 365, col. ii. H., 'they care not as Tyndall sayth after, whyther the prieste saye Masse in his gowne or in hys cope.' In the woodcut in Marcellus (*Rituum Ecclesiasticorum* Lib. ii. Venetiis, 1516), the pope is apparently celebrating the Eucharist in a cope. There appear to be mediæval inventories of very poor churches in England where the cope is the only silken vestment.

Dominican with the national rites, we cannot think he would have neglected the opportunity of throwing a flood of light upon his task from a liturgy still living.

It will have been seen that the choice of foreign authorities quoted has not been altogether an enlightened one. Let us turn to the writers quoted in the mother tongue. On the last page we read the *dictum* of 'a liturgical writer of authority.' Quite by accident, we have been enabled to discover this 'writer of authority.' It is the gentleman who does the notes in the *Kalendar of the English Church*, and the *dictum* in question may be found on p. 22 of the *Kalendar* for 1886. As it turns out, Mr. St. John Hope's paper read last November at St. Paul's has shown that in the middle ages the Sunday colour often differed from the week day, and this notion is therefore not 'simply the private invention of some ingenious ritualist.' But the claim to be considered 'a writer of authority' may be appraised by the inspection of a statement on p. 60 of the *Kalendar*. We are told the holy oils are 'Chrism, Confirmation oil, and Baptismal oil. Chrism is at present used in the English Church at Coronations.' Reference to the books that are in everybody's hands might have saved this 'writer of authority' from making a blunder that shows that he has not yet begun the alphabet of ritual. Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, Addis and Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary*, or better still, English mediæval authorities like Lyndwood's *Provinciale* or the Pontificals printed by the Surtees Society, would have told him that the three oils are chrism (*ang.* cream), the oil of catechumens, and the oil of the sick. The oil used at Confirmation was chrism, a mixture of oil and balm; and the kings of England have been anointed since the time of James I. with simple oil, said to be blessed early on the morning of the Coronation by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. The oil of the sick, for which there is direct authority from Scripture, this writer does not speak of.

There is another *Kalendar* which professes to teach Churchmen something about their Prayer Book, and to which we shall do no great wrong if we ally it with *Notes on Ceremonial*. It is the *Church Kalendar* published by Letts. Under the Black Letter Festivals we read of St. Valentine, called in the Prayer Book *Bishop and Martyr*, that he was 'a holy priest in Rome. Probably never a bishop, though sometimes so described.' Then follows a paragraph taken without acknowledgment from Alban Butler. This is an instance of the way in which Prayer Book statements are set aside if they are

supposed to clash with Roman statements. We find also P. M., that is, Presbyter and Martyr, after St. Valentine's name in the *Order of Divine Service* published by Hayes, Jackson's *Church of England Kalendar* published by Westell,¹ and, we regret to say, the *Churchman's Diary* published by Masters.

Before rejecting a tradition that had come down to the Prayer Book from the Sarum Missal it may be thought that these editors would have taken the trouble to make an investigation that need not have lasted a moment. But apparently it was enough that the Pian Calendar commemorated only a presbyter and martyr for them to be sure that the Church of England was wrong. Had they but looked into a Roman Martyrology they would have found that on February 14th there are commemorated two St. Valentines: one the presbyter and martyr of the Pian Calendar; the other the bishop and martyr of the Sarum Missal and the Sealed Book. The latter was bishop of Interamna; there appear to be in Italy three towns with this name; one near to Rome, where, indeed, the bishop is said to have been beheaded.

We really do not care to weigh our words before such a conspiracy of ignorance and disloyalty. We may take this one point as a measure of the attachment to the Church of England, of the accuracy of the information, and of the depth of the research which these Calendars display. In a matter of mere history, not of dogma or ritual, the words of the Prayer Book are held of no account, if there be the least Roman authority on the other side. Plain enough sign where the hearts of these writers are.

On the other hand, if words mean aught, the preface to *Notes on Ceremonial* leads us to expect a most rigorous observance of the letter of the Book of Common Prayer. We read that 'the Book of Common Prayer has been taken as of course of paramount authority,' and that 'in no case has an

¹ This almanack for 1887 contains food for awful mirth on nearly every page. This *Church of England Kalendar* tells us that 'when the Sovereign Pontiffs spoke, the listening nations of the earth were silent.' We are introduced to Dr. Frederick George Lee as a 'faithful historian.' As a 'proof' that St. Helena was born at Colchester it is said that the town bears a 'knotty cross between four crowns.' One chapter deals with the manner of lighting and putting out candles, with a note of regret that 'the consuetudinary of Sarum is silent upon this important subject.' But our amusement passes into indignation when a man who seems never to have heard of *Barbara celarent*, or asked if Propositions and Judgements be the same, begins to teach us philosophy, and sets amongst atheists and sceptics the honoured name of Bishop Berkeley. May it be long before the Catholic Faith find another such an advocate as Mr. Richard C. Jackson, F.R.H.S., &c. &c.

'Anglican direction been set aside in favour of any other.' Now after a declaration like this we do not expect the least appearance of disrespect or of disobedience to the rubric, and that when the Prayer Book tells the celebrant to begin the service at the north side we suppose that he will be directed in *Notes on Ceremonial* to begin at some part of the altar which is at least towards the north. On the contrary, he is told to stand at the south end (§ 443), 'the proper ritual position.' Suppose we allow the argumentation that would show that any part of the long west side of the altar (as it is now placed) is the north side, it follows that one who stands at the north end of this side obeys the rubric just as much as one who stands in the middle or at the south end of this long western side, and he does not cause the scandal of a seeming disregard of the rubrics. For it will be hard to persuade any ordinary person who approaches the subject without any special knowledge that the north side means a part of the altar turned altogether away from the north. He will be unable to appreciate the charms of 'the proper ritual position,' and think it is only another instance of wanton disobedience to the plain rubrics of the Prayer Book, which, in the hands of directory-makers, can be manipulated to mean anything.

Mr. Micklethwaite, in his paper (p. 155), has pointed out that the monks of the Charterhouse began their preparation at the north side of the altar, that is, the left hand of those who look at the altar from the nave of the church. And the Mass of the Charterhouse is acknowledged by all to represent an ancient form which has very likely undergone few changes since St. Bruno, who died in 1101.¹ By some it is

¹ 'Stans autem sacerdos ad sinistrum cornu altaris iuxta lectorium ubi semper a celebratore fit confessio; versa facie ad cathedram iungit manus inclinatus ad confessionem. Qua facta inclinatus iunctis manibus dicit ante faciem altaris orationem dominicam . . .' (*Repertorium Statutorum ordinis cartusiensis*, Basil. 1510. Prima pars statutorum antiquorum, cap. xliii. § 13). It is possible the editor of *Notes on Ceremonial* may think Mr. Micklethwaite wrong in interpreting *sinistrum* as the north side of the altar. On this subject it is important to remember what Mr. Maskell tells us in *The Ancient Liturgy*, &c., 2nd ed. p. 19, n. 19: 'In examining the Old Uses the student will find much confusion, if he takes for a guide the modern Roman books, respecting the right and left corner of the Altar. In the English Liturgies the right means the *Epistle* side, and the left the *Gospel* side. In all the old Roman Orders such was the custom up to the end of the fifteenth century, taking it to be the right hand and the left of the officiating priest, as well as of those who were standing by. But in the year 1485 the Roman Pontifical, published at Venice, laid down as a rule that the right hand and the left were to be taken from the crucifix upon the Altar, by which new arrangement of course the old was entirely reversed.'

held to represent the Lyons Rite at the time of St. Bruno, just as the Dominican Rite is held to represent the Paris Rite of the time of St. Dominic.

Another recommendation of wanton disobedience to the Rubrics may be found in §§ 44-6, 128, 167, 271. The alms are to be brought to the priest to be set on the altar after the bread and wine have been set thereon. Now the Rubrics are plain that the alms are to be set first on the altar, and the elements after. This has so lately been insisted upon at the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society, both by Mr. Micklethwaite (p. 157) and by Dr. Wickham Legg (p. 115), that we need not further dwell on the point.

Further, the names 'deacon' and 'subdeacon' would have been avoided by one zealous for the Anglican formularies. 'Epistoler' and 'gospeller' are names found in the Middle Ages and in the Canons for the ministers of the altar, whereas the word 'subdeacon' is quite unknown to any English office-book since the Reformation. Neither need there be any discussion as to the vesture of these ministers. 'Albes with tunicles' rest upon exactly the same foundation in law as the chasuble. If the celebrant be bound to wear a chasuble in Advent or Lent, his ministers are equally bound to wear tunicles; and in an Anglican book there ought to be no discussion whether folded chasubles or broad stoles should be worn, or only albes. The English rule is 'albes with tunicles.' There is besides plenty of mediæval authority for tunicles in penitential times. They may often be encountered in the Lenten suits of inventories.

We do not find a word of condemnation in *Notes on Ceremonial* of the practice of setting children to serve the altar. It has, we believe, a most unfortunate effect upon them. And further, the proper minister for the altar is the deacon. Such is the statement of Lebrun, who adds that it is only by sufferance that a simple clerk is allowed to approach the altar.¹

It is when we come to the private prayers of the celebrant that the directory-writers show themselves at their very worst. They have a complete misunderstanding of the history and structure both of the Book of Common Prayer and of the Missal (be it Sarum or Roman) from which they borrow. In *Notes on Ceremonial* the celebrant is told to say, while vesting, the *Veni Creator* and the psalm *Judica*, preparatory prayers with which no fault can be found, so long as they are recited in the vestry. But we quite agree with Mr. Micklethwaite (p. 154), that no preparation but that ordered in the Prayer-

¹ Pierre le Brun, *Explication littérale, etc. . . de la Messe*, traité préliminaire, § viii., Paris, 1777, t. i. p. 97.

Book should be said in the presence of the congregation. The attempt to combine the preparation from the Sarum Missal with that in the Prayer-Book has been as unsuccessful as is usual in *Notes on Ceremonial*. In the first place the Lord's Prayer is apparently said three times, once in the vestry, once on the step of the altar, and again at the altar. In the old Sarum Missal it is clear that the Lord's Prayer was said but once, the *Ave Maria* being a late interpolation. So, too, we hardly think that if the priest kiss the ministers before the congregation it will be a ceremony edifying to all. Mr. Maskell, by a slip of the pen, has declared this osculation to be a peculiarity of the Sarum Missal,¹ and on that account a Sarum Ritualist would no doubt go to the stake rather than forego the practice. But it is not particular to Sarum. It was and is done at this point in the service at Rome,² and Martene speaks of it at Salzburg and Soissons,³ and it is to be found in the books of Sienna⁴ and many other places.⁵

The *Oremus* before the kiss is also not understood. It is said (p. 112, note *k*) to show that a collect once existed here. In our opinion this *Oremus*, which is found very constantly in the rites just as the priest goes up to the altar, is the solemn invitation of the celebrant to the congregation to join in the *Missa Catechumenorum* which is just about to begin. In the same way we find an *Oremus* after the Gospel; or Creed when that is said. Its presence is commonly explained by saying that it is the introduction to the *Secreta*. The objection to this is that the *Oremus* is separated from the *Secreta* by all the ceremonies of the Offertory. To us it seems to be the resumptive invitation after the expulsion of the catechumens, and that it marks the beginning of the *Missa Fidelium*.⁶

¹ William Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England* (London, 1846), p. 14, note 16.

² Innocent III., *De Myst. Missæ*, II. xi; *Ordo Romanus*, i. § 8; John England, *Explanation . . . of the Mass* (Rome, 1833), pt. ii. p. 144.

³ Martene, *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, lib. i. cap. iv. art. xii. ordd. xiii., xv. and xxii.

⁴ *Ordo Officiorum Eccles. Senensis*, ed. Trombelli (Bonon. 1766), p. 444.

⁵ See *Ecclesiologist* (1848), viii. 100 n.; Bona, *De Rebus Liturg.* lib. ii. cap. ii. § 111: 'Oscula tum ministrorum, tum Evangelii et Altaris, in omnibus fere antiquis Ritualibus sancita sunt.'

⁶ How completely the idea of discipline has been lost in some quarters the following incident may show. We were present at the celebration of the Eucharist in a well-known London church, and there wandered in a man who was dressed like a native of India, probably, therefore, a Mahomedan or Hindoo by religion. The Consecration was at hand, yet the churchwarden, without any inquiry, positively invited the Pagan to come in and be present at the Christian mysteries. The very officer whose duty it was to guard the door against the profane threw it

Then through all the modern directories, including *Notes on Ceremonial*, runs an idea—quite a false one, we think—that it is wrong for the celebrant to be engaged in any liturgical action without at the same time reciting some form of words. Now there is a proverb that actions speak louder than words, a notion not without importance in the philosophy of ceremonial. Our Prayer-Book, for example, does not order the celebrant to say anything when he sets the alms, or the bread and wine, on the altar. The late Canon Simmons¹ showed that the English directions at the Offertory are closely paralleled by the rubrics of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom and of the words of the Septuagint itself (Exodus xxv. 30). The rubrics of the ancient Greek Liturgies equal in shortness the 'meagre directions' of the Book of Common Prayer. It would be an excellent thing for those who are continually adding to the Book of Common Prayer little *formulae*, nearly always superfluous and not always free from superstition, to take the Gregorian Sacramentary in hand.² The directions from the Introit to the Preface are brevity itself. There is no *Confiteor*, no *Munda cor meum*, before the Gospel, and none of the prayers at the Offertory or at Communion which we find at length in *Notes on Ceremonial*. Indeed, we know something about the date at which these prayers were introduced into the Missal. Micrologus³ speaks of the *Suscipe Sancta Trinitas* and the *Veni Sanctificator* as Gallican corruptions arising in his time, superfluous, and ordained by no Roman *Ordo*; for the Roman *Ordo* had no prayer from the Anthem of the Offertory up to the *Secreta* said just before the Preface.⁴ The same condemnation of being unknown to the *Ordo* is passed upon the prayer *Domine Jesu Christe*, which is now said just before the Communion. It would seem that in Micrologus's time the private prayers which have open to them. The number of unbaptized and of Pagans in England surely makes some precautions highly desirable.

¹ T. F. Simmons, *Alms and Oblations* (London, 1882), p. 10.

² See it in Muratori's *Liturgia Romana Vetus* (Venetiis, 1748), tome ii. col. i., or at the end of Mr. Hammond's *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*.

³ Micrologus, *De Ecclesiasticis Observationibus*, capp. 11 and 18, apud Hittorp.

⁴ The *Secreta* is a Collect which varies with the day, said after the Offertory and before the *Sursum corda*. Sometimes the term is used of the Canon, because that is said secretly, and it is only when it is ended that the priest says the Lord's Prayer in an audible voice. It may be useful to remind some of the directory-makers that liturgical scholars are agreed that the Canon ends with the Lord's Prayer, though the printers carry the running title of *Canon Missæ* up to the Gospel of St. John. The Tours Missal of 1533 continues this title on to the *Benedicite* and other prayers which the priest says after Mass, and we have seen the same thing in other books.

now become part of the Roman Missal were just beginning to make their appearance, and he complains of additions and alterations even in the Canon itself.

These last words bring us to a part of the service where a practice is followed—very widely followed, we fear—but of which we cannot speak too severely. We mean the custom of encasing the Anglican Consecration Prayer in a number of *formulae* translated from the Gregorian Canon, as if our own *formulae* were not good and valid. In the first place these additional *formulae* are entirely superfluous, for the intercessory prayers which are recited before and after consecration in the Roman Canon have their equivalent in the Prayer for the Church Militant. Further, the employment of these forms is disloyal, for it tends to throw doubt upon the completeness and orthodoxy of the English Service, and to foster the Ultramontane idea that a valid Liturgy is only to be attained by the use of the same forms that the Church of Rome uses to-day. A singular want of real liturgical knowledge is shown by the fact that in none of the directories do we notice any attempt to supply the most glaring defect of the Roman Canon, the absence of an epiclesis before or after the words of institution. No doubt it is this fault in the Gregorian Canon which has caused a distinct epiclesis to be absent from our English book. In some quarters, however, this imperfection is looked upon as a merit; and we know an instance in Scotland of the national rite there being rejected and the English chosen, because the latter was more like the Roman in having no epiclesis. Thus extremes meet.

And they meet also elsewhere. We have all heard of that revision of the Prayer-Book which, after the doings of 1689, was made ready to be submitted to Convocation. We have before us an edition of this strange book, brought out by Mr. John Taylor in 1855. At the end of his Introduction the editor recommends that this awful example of trying to improve the Prayer-Book be taken to church and there used with the 'ancient service.' It is seen that this trick of farcing (as our mediæval forefathers would have called it) the English Service with other Liturgies is a game that two can play at; and all kinds of Zwinglian, Unitarian, and blasphemous forms may be privately said by clergymen concurrently with those in the Prayer-Book, and the excuse made that others are permitted and encouraged to use the same licence.

The use of one prayer taken from the Missal after the canon is finished—for example, the *Agnus Dei*—is not so entirely objectionable, because the use of this *formulae* was allowed

under Edward VI.'s First Book,¹ and it is found in other parts of the Prayer-Book. But it is a late addition to the Gregorian Sacramentary ; and further, it is addressed to the Second Person of the Holy Trinity, whereas all Eucharistic prayers should undoubtedly be offered to the Eternal Father, as the majority of the collects are. We agree with Mr. Micklethwaite in considering that the mixing of the two sacred elements in the chalice just before communion is with us undesirable (p. 160), though there may be another opinion as to the origin of the custom besides that which he expresses.

After the Post Communion Collect nothing follows in the Gregorian Sacramentary, save perhaps the declaration of the deacon to the people, *Ite, missa est*. We see a survival of this in the order to shut the book as soon as the Post Communion is said continued in the rubrics of the Roman Missal of to-day. After *Ite, missa est* all is modern accretion, and perhaps this is the reason that nearly all these *formulae* of late addition have been taken over by the directory-makers and set in their books as desirable devotions for Anglicans. If English clergymen find the use of these prayers at the end of the service edifying, we have no desire to abridge their lawful liberty ; but they have no right to use them before the congregation, and still less to make the congregation stay in church till the private prayers of the priest be over. At Rouen in the last century the people left the church as soon as the celebrant began to read the 'last Gospel.'²

In one or two points these *Notes on Ceremonial* have heedlessly stumbled into common sense. In a diagram of the altar at the beginning of the third edition we notice the mediæval two lights only, instead of the six Renaissance candles of the first edition ; and we are also told that there is no virtue in reserving candles to be lit only at the celebration of the Eucharist. There is a condemnation, half-hearted though it be, of the modern palla, that is, a piece of pasteboard enclosed in a corporal and used to cover the sacred elements. We do not see why the custom of the Church of Lyons and, up to the last few years, of the Church of England too, to cover the chalice with a second corporal should not be retained.³ The

¹ It may be noticed that the monks of the Charterhouse did not say the *Agnus Dei* until after the Communion, 'Cum sacerdos aqua digitos abluit incipitur Agnus Dei' (*loc. cit.* § 53). This has its analogue in the Edwardian First Book, where it was sung in Communion time.

² De Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques de France* : Paris, 1718, p. 229.

³ We have seen this actually in use at Lyons ; and it is probably a custom of some antiquity, for it may be found in the Lyons Missal of 1866 as well as in the edition of De Montazet.

modern palla is unclean and irreverent, and contrary to the settled custom which ordains that nothing but pure linen, without admixture of silk or other material, should be used to cover the consecrated elements. Some progress in study has also been made between 1876 and 1888. The editor of 1888 is no longer under the belief that Pierre Lebrun, the Oratorian, is the same as Lebrun-Desmarettes, the acolyte. It contrasts favourably in some ways with other directories. It wants the pert manner of *Ceremonial of the Altar*, which we noticed in July last, and the inflated style of other books.

We do not think that *Notes on Ceremonial* is a book that will repay a long study or analysis. We have found the examination of it necessary for this article dull and wearisome beyond words; and we have only spoken of it at this length because it has been reprinted more than once, and even this measure of popularity is owing to the incredible imprudence with which it has been recommended nearly every week to the correspondents of a well-known contemporary. The work shows no traces of special learning, special aptitude for liturgical studies, or scholarship. The editor cannot verify quotations from such a liturgical writer as Micrologus, whom he quotes from Lebrun as *Le Micrologue* (p. 111, note *e*). It is ill-printed and full of misprints. We have *alienate* instead of *alienate* (p. xiv), *crux lingea* instead of *crux lineea* (p. 189, note *a*), *ornaments noirs* instead of *ornements noirs* (p. 195, note *c*), and the like. We may well ask if, instead of taking as a motto a quotation from the Vulgate, with a reference to the English version of the Psalms, we ought not to have had the fraudulent counsel given by the Franciscan friar: 'Large be your promise, your performance small.'

If *Notes on Ceremonial* represent the kind of service in churches where there is an 'advanced ritual,' we do not wonder at Mr. Micklethwaite telling us that 'the ritual of our churches, and especially of those where a high ritual is practised, is generally very bad' (p. 150). If, however, we turn to Mr. Micklethwaite's *Suggestions*, we find ourselves in a much happier clime. Not in words only but in fact they defer to the Prayer-Book as of paramount authority; and without committing ourselves to all Mr. Micklethwaite's opinions and statements, we think his paper valuable. It is a relief to breathe a more manly, as well as a more scholarly, air. But it seems to us that more than one of his recommendations can hardly be accepted without a breach of the law and tradition of the English Church. We do not, for example, feel quite convinced that the suggestions as to the treatment of the *Gloria*

in excelsis (p. 161) in its new place in the Anglican Liturgy will commend themselves to those in authority ; and, seeing that the mantle of Pugin has fallen upon Mr. Micklethwaite as a denouncer of altar-cards, it is truly surprising to find the recommendation of 'a tablet or card' for the commandments at p. 155. But these are details. In their broad outlines Mr. Micklethwaite's *Suggestions* contrast favourably with the petty fussiness of the functioneer (a word we will borrow from him). Let it not, however, be thought that Mr. Micklethwaite's ceremonial is bare. We would characterize it as a profuse, but not elaborate, ritual ; no minute trifling with ceremonies, but a giving of the best that a parish had, in its own way, unfettered by many rules. We would specially endorse Mr. Micklethwaite's insistence upon the exercise in ceremonial 'of the faculties of reason and taste which the pedants are pleased to condemn as eclecticism' (p. 153), and his prophecy that if we will only set up a reasonable service, not an unreasonable farcing from other rites, 'we may make the service in our English Prayer-Book the grandest office which is said now in any church in Christendom' (p. 161). We agree that it is of very great importance that a school of English ceremonial should be formed at this moment ; a school which shall be in sympathy with Andrewes and Cosin, as well as with Clement Maydeston and St. Osmund, *and which shall take the letter and text of the Prayer-Book as the Court beyond which there is no appeal.*

That English ceremonial is a matter of principles, and not of detail, we would again repeat. How unfettered by minute rules English parishes were in the Middle Ages Mr. St. John Hope, in his paper on 'Mediæval Liturgical Colours' at St. Paul's, has lately taught us. Some broad rules they very likely had, such as a light or two burning on the altar at Mass, a chasuble or cope for the celebrant,¹ but nothing like the Renaissance bondage to which some of our advisers of to-day would commit us. Mr. Hope finds that in the use of colours not only each diocese, but each parish, seems to have done exactly as it pleased ; and if this were so with one set of ceremonies of no great moment, it seems likely that it was the same with others. In fact, uniformity in petty ceremonies never seems to have been wished for in the Church of England until our own day.

Of late years the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society has done good service to the Church of England, and is becoming no

¹ The confusion between chasuble and cope which we sometimes meet with may be due partly to the want of order caused by the absence of proper vestries in mediæval churches, and still more by the want of funds to supply both.

unworthy successor of the Society founded so many years ago at Cambridge. It has appreciated the wideness of the scope implied by the term Ecclesiological, and remembered that Mr. Beresford-Hope, in his opening address on the foundation of the Society, defined the science of ecclesiology as the science of worship. Very valuable papers have appeared in the *Transactions*, not only on architecture, but on ritual, the various ecclesiastical *instrumenta*, and furniture, and other liturgical subjects. The Society deserves support at the hands of students of Christian antiquities, particularly as it is almost the only representative of these studies in London.

There has lately appeared a life of the President of Magdalen, whose celebrated advice to *verify references* might have been remembered by a former Demy before he began a recent controversy with the head of the Pusey House. In it we read of one who had more than mastered the rudiments of Divinity, and who asked the President what books he could now profitably work at. The answer was, first the Gospel of St. Matthew, then of St. Mark, then of St. Luke, and then of St. John. We feel almost sure that if Dr. Routh had lived in our day, and been asked a like question in Liturgy by an Englishman, he would have told the inquirer to take the Common Prayer as the basis of his studies. That it would be a better guide for him in his duties as a priest than any number of directories there can be no doubt.

There appears to us to be a remarkable dearth of qualifications in those who are engaged in making these unauthorized attempts to elevate, forsooth! the tone of the Book of Common Prayer. There is, we need scarcely say, a singular lack of modesty in men who deliberately take it upon themselves to issue instructions which the Church alone has any right to issue—and who issue them anonymously. But there is also a distinct lack of gift and genius. The refinement and spirituality of the artist are absent. Their touch is heavy-handed; there is a vulgar lifelessness in their treatment of detail, an insistence upon the letter of the subject, and an exaggeration which is most wearisome, and which is fatal to the spirit of that on which they are engaged. They lack both eye and hand, as well as religious taste and reverence, in a singular degree. Childishness and fussiness are stamped upon their handiwork, to the sore loss of spiritual life and manly dignity. They are really not of the class of mind which should venture to lay hands on such a subject. They have taken upon themselves to speak, but they speak without commission, and appear to us to darken counsel by words without knowledge.

ART. X.—JOHN GERSON.

1. *Joannis Gersonii Opera Omnia in V tomos distributa.* (Antwerpiaë, 1706.)
2. *Histoire du Concile de Pise.* Par JACQUES LENFANT. (Utrecht, 1731.)
3. *Histoire du Concile de Constance.* Par JACQUES LENFANT. (Amsterdam, 1714.)
4. *Essai sur J. Gerson.* Par C. SCHMIDT. (Paris, 1839.)

JEAN CHARLIER, born at Gerson, in the diocese of Rheims, and taking from that place the name by which he is usually known, was one of those extraordinary men who united the zeal, energy, and learning of the highest order of political Churchman with the depth of religious feeling of the most devout ascetic. With eloquence and acquirements sufficient to place him at the head of the foremost university of Europe, to make him a power in the State, and almost the director of two general councils, he was equally remarkable for qualities of a different order. He was endowed with a depth of devotion bordering on mysticism, and had composed writings sufficiently replete with pious thoughts to make it a doubtful point, even to this day, whether he were not the author of the first devotional work of Christendom, the *De Imitatione Christi*.¹ Gerson stands conspicuous in that band of remarkable men, who, through all the disorder and corruption induced by the unhappy ambition of the popes, preserved intact and advocated with unflinching power the best traditions of the authority and rights of the Church. While he scourged those who invaded these, either from above or from below, he was equally zealous to demonstrate that the great purpose of the Church was holiness, and to denounce every sort of moral abuse. His life was spent in a period the most trying ecclesiastically of any in the history of the Church. Born towards the close of the 'Babylonish Captivity' (1363), his early manhood witnessed the terrible scandals, the ceaseless quarrels, the utter demoralization of the Great Schism. As a youth he would be able to indulge melancholy speculations as to whether the Roman Pope Urban, or the French Pope Clement VII. was the author of the greater abuses and more open scandals; and he would soon see them both eclipsed by that most accom-

¹ See the elaborate disquisitions on this point by M. Gence. (Paris, 1837.)

plished of simoniacs, Boniface IX., who not only sold all his benefices, but sold them many times over. Amidst such fearful abuses as those depicted by Nicholas de Clemanges, in his treatise on the *Corrupt State of the Church*, Gerson passed his early academic life ; when (if we may trust this secretary of a pope) it was commonly said that the only time a pope had the Scriptures in his hand was when he laid his hand upon the cover of the volume to swear that he knew and understood its contents ; when simony was so universal that the standing joke among bishops was that the text, 'Freely ye have received, freely give,' did not apply to them, as they had received by no means freely, but for heavy payments ; when licentiousness and debauchery were almost universally prevalent among the clergy ; and the state of the convents was such that it was commonly said that to send a daughter to take the veil was to give her over to prostitution.¹

Gerson's reputation as a scholar and divine advanced very rapidly. In the year 1395, that is to say when he was only thirty-two years of age, he reached the highest point of dignity in the University of Paris, that of chancellor and professor of theology. To that same year may be assigned the first of his treatises on the state of the Church, not composed in the spirit of bitter satire like the treatise of Clemanges, but in a calm and earnest temper, intent upon advocating reform. The moderation of tone is the more remarkable, as in the previous year (1394) there had occurred an aggravation of the schism, and another step in perpetuating it. In that year the University of Paris had presented a 'judgment' to Pope Clement VII. calling upon both popes for abdication, or in case of their refusal advising a general council to be held to enforce it. This judgment, being supported by the French cardinals, so overwhelmed Pope Clement that he died in a few days after its reception. For a moment the Roman Pope (Boniface) reigned alone, but the Avignonist party would not submit to be thus humbled. They hastily chose a successor to Clement—a man whom they knew they could trust to fight the battle to the bitter end—Peter di Luna, a Spaniard, who succeeded as Benedict XIII. It was under these circumstances that Gerson, now occupying the foremost place in the University of Paris, counselled moderation. He would not have charges of schism or heresy made against Benedict, but would recommend the meeting of a council 'of his obedience' to consider the state of things.

¹ N. de Clemanges, *De Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu* (in Von der Hardt, Concil. Constant. t. i. pt. iii.), chaps. xviii.-xx. Lenfant, Conc. Const. pp. 634 sq.

'It is no heresy,' he argues, 'to say that A or B is not pope. It is wrong to say that all who differ are heretics and excommunicate. One may obey with a tacit reservation. It is wrong to deny the validity of the Sacraments to those opposed. It is more wholesome to seek the unity of the Church by endeavouring to procure the cession, or by subtraction of obedience, than to try to bring it about by anathemas. To depose the Pope and to create a new one would make a third schism much worse than the former, inasmuch as it is certain that many would remain with the Pope deposed.'¹

Gerson here foresees exactly what came to pass after the Council of Pisa. But moderate courses soon became increasingly difficult. Benedict had taken a solemn oath to resign if it should appear that the schism could be healed thereby; once firmly established as pope he declared that he would rather be flayed alive than resign. At this many were appalled, regarding it as manifest perjury, and were prepared to withdraw their obedience. Gerson then wrote a treatise, which appears indeed full of hair-splittings, but which was due to his earnest desire for peace, to show that the Pope's action did not amount to perjury.² This, however, was not the opinion at which the majority of his fellow-Churchmen arrived. In July 1398 a council held at Paris, which was attended by 300 bishops and doctors, agreed, by a majority of 247 against 53, to withdraw obedience from Pope Benedict. No sooner, however, had this been agreed upon than a new crop of doubts and difficulties seemed to arise. Benedict still refused to resign. How was he to be compelled to resign? Could a council compel him? If so it must at any rate be a lawful council, and the general opinion among divines then was (they being misled by the false Decretals) that no lawful council could be summoned without the Pope's origination. Could they transfer allegiance to the antipope? He was as much perjured as his rival, and, moreover, strong political reasons were against it. To discuss the pros and cons of this difficult question Gerson wrote another treatise,³ in which all the points are stated with much ingenuity. But the conclusion he arrives at is a melancholy one.

From these matters, which I have thus handled, one may see in what a labyrinth, with scarce a possibility of escape, we are placed, and with what fetters we are bound. Since these difficulties are on every side, and we know not what to do, I in my folly can see only this remaining, that with King Jehosaphat we should raise our eyes unto God, if perchance He will turn away His anger from us; if perhaps He will no longer take away wisdom from our wise men and

¹ J. Gersonii 'De Modo se Habendi tempore Schismatis,' *Opera*, ii. 6, 7.

² Gersonii *Opera*, ii. 14.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 18.

elders, as He seems hitherto to have taken it away. Although that this should be done for us amidst such a medley of abominable sins, and so great a multiplication of infamous crimes, which are left unpunished, I can scarcely expect and hope. My only hope is that the mercy of God is infinite.'¹

It is doubtful, indeed, whether Gerson's own contribution towards solving these difficulties tended much to that end, for in all his treatises written at this time every possible alternative is stated, and every possible difficulty and objection to every course is urged. In 1403 the Church of France, which had remained five years without any papal allegiance, and in a state of active hostility against Benedict, who was besieged in Avignon for four years by the French army, returned to its allegiance, on condition that he should resign in case of Boniface's resignation or death, and that he should speedily call a general council. Upon this occasion Gerson preached a sermon, in which he rejoices greatly over the return of France to the obedience, declares that the Pope had learned many lessons of spiritual mindedness through the hardships which had been inflicted upon him, and expresses ardent hopes for peace and quietness and mutual forbearance.² As yet the good doctor had by no means reached the mind and the views which he afterwards advocated with such vigour at Constance. On its return to obedience Gerson was designated by the French Church to represent it in the Pope's Court, and several sermons preached before Benedict at that time remain among his works. On the Feast of the Circumcision (1404) he spoke out boldly on the grievous state of the Church:—

'What evil, what danger, what confusion has been brought by the contempt of Holy Scripture, which is surely sufficient for the government of the Church (otherwise Christ would have been an imperfect legislator), let experience answer. Look at the clergy, who ought to be wedded to the wisdom that is from above; have they not committed fornication with that adulterous and prostitute wisdom which is of the earth, sensual and devilish? Has not the state of the Church become as it were brutal and monstrous to such a degree, that some do not hesitate to question whether it be not better to be governed by human inventions than by the divine law of the Gospel, as though the soul were of less value than the body?'³

The action of the King and Church of France at this period is interesting, as it bears a close analogy to the proceedings of King Henry VIII. and the Church of England at the Reformation. For five years the Church in France had gone on without a papal head. No payments had been made to any

¹ Gersonii *Opera*, ii. 22.

² *Ibid.* ii. 35.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 61.

papal officers. All bishoprics and other elective dignities had been conferred by those to whom it belonged to elect; the prelates had appointed to minor benefices, and the King confirmed all by his ordinance. When, at the restitution of obedience, the Pope endeavoured to treat these preferments as irregular, and to recover the arrears which he held to be due to him, he was peremptorily stopped by a royal decree. France had been brought back to her allegiance to Benedict, much to the satisfaction of Gerson, who had greatly lauded Pope Benedict. What then must have been his feelings when, at the death of his rival Boniface, Benedict utterly refused to resign or to call a council! 'It was perceived in France,' says Lenfant, 'that all the protestations of Benedict were nothing but an absolute farce,'¹ and obedience was again withdrawn from Benedict (1406). It was upon this occasion that Gerson wrote his treatise called *Trilogus*, in which Zelus, Benevolentia, and Discretio are introduced as interlocutors, and in which he makes most impassioned appeals to Benedict to restore peace to the Church by resigning.² The rival of Benedict was now Gregory XII., an aged man, elected by the Roman cardinals under the most solemn promises to resign, in order to bring the schism to an end, if his rival would also resign. The most earnest endeavours were made by the French, in which Gerson took a leading part, to bring about this result, but neither of these aged prelates would trust the other, and by their shiftiness, falsity, and palpable ambition they fairly exasperated Christendom against them both.³ In the interval between the decree of the French King repudiating Benedict, and the meeting of the Council of Pisa, Gerson wrote three treatises (*De Terminatione Schismatis*, *De Unitate Ecclesiasticâ*, *De Convocatione Concilii Pisani*). It is interesting to observe how this great Churchman, who had been so ardent a supporter of Benedict and the papal claims, was gradually led on to throw the Pope over altogether in favour of a general council.

'The unity of the Church,' he says, 'ought to be based rather on the deliberations and votes of the Council, than on the allegations or assertions of those who are contending about the Papacy. For excessive and carnal self-love is wont to lead into impious errors, even to the imitation of Lucifer, so that men seek to be adored as gods, and think themselves subject to no man, having neither fear of God nor regard of men.'⁴

¹ Lenfant, *Concile de Pise*, p. 157.

² *Gersonii Opera*, ii. 83.

³ It was at this period that a law was passed in France to withdraw the payment of annates from the Pope, precisely similar to the act passed at the beginning of the English Reformation.

⁴ *Gersonii Opera*, ii. 121.

‘The unity of the Church is based upon Christ its spouse, in whom we are all one, as the Apostle says. And if He has no Vicar, through his death, either natural or civil ; or if it be not to be expected with probability that obedience either to him or his successors will be paid by Christians ; then the Church, by Divine and natural right, can assemble in a general council to procure and provide a Vicar, and this not necessarily by the authority of the Lord Cardinals, but by the aid of any prince or any other Christian ; for the mystical body of the Church, founded by Christ, has no less right and strength to procure its own union than any other civil body.’¹

These principles—the right of the Church to shake itself free of the Popes when the important matter of unity was involved—were generally accepted throughout Christendom in the year 1408. The cardinals of both the contending Popes agreed to meet in council, and the English Church, which had supported Gregory ; as well as the French Church, which had supported Benedict, met on common ground. The deputies despatched by the Church of England to bear part in the forthcoming council took Paris on their way, and when there were addressed by Gerson, as Chancellor of the University, in a long oration. Among the English deputies were Henry Chichele, Bishop of St. David’s, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who in after times showed a spirited opposition to papal encroachments, and Robert Hallam, Bishop of Salisbury, the most outspoken denouncer of ecclesiastical abuses at the Council of Constance. These prelates must have listened with much satisfaction while Gerson strenuously advocated the doctrine that a general council was above the Pope ; that it might be called without him, might try, examine, and if necessary depose him ; that the Pope, though a sovereign, was a constitutional sovereign, and by no means absolute, or above the Church. Gerson did not himself attend the august assembly of Pisa, where the principles which he had advocated were completely in the ascendant, and the two perjured Popes were formally deposed, and Alexander V. elected. But when this was effected he was invited earnestly to repair to Pisa to address the new Pope and the assembled prelates. The estimation in which his learning and eloquence were held was so high, and so general was the feeling that to him more than to any one else was due the improved aspect of affairs in Christendom, that a summons came to him which he could not refuse. On Ascension Day (1409) he preached before Pope Alexander and the Council on the text, ‘Lord, wilt Thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel ?’ (Acts i. 6).

¹ Gersonii *Opera*, ii. 114.

Speaking in the person of the Church, he addressed the Pope, in most eloquent and moving words, to restore her true kingdom by abating the grievous and terrible scandals with which she was overwhelmed.

‘Great is my sorrow,’ she is made to say, ‘to see some rob my sheep by rapacious avarice, heaping exactions on exactions, inventing accusations, fostering suits, attacking the innocent with false charges, heaping up money, intent only upon worldly business—nor without tears can I behold others polluting themselves with concubinage, who are forbidden marriage in order that they may imitate the angelical purity—licentiousness no longer secret, but openly displayed, foul words added to foul deeds; the belly filled at feasts, taught to be inebriated with wine, and to snore over the cup, and a thousand other mischiefs.’¹

These ills the Pope is earnestly prayed to attack. Alas! with but little result. Indeed, the new appointment brought anything but comfort to the Chancellor of Paris. In the first place the schism was not healed, but only aggravated, as there were now three popes instead of two; and in the next place the ill-advised proceedings of Alexander V. brought a special bitterness to the University of Paris. The long and fierce strife which that learned body had waged against the obtrusive Mendicants was now renewed with an increase of virulence. For Alexander, a Minorite friar, and a man of no knowledge of the world, had rashly issued a Bull giving to the Minorites the uncontrolled power of hearing confessions and granting absolution in every part of Christendom. This was to paralyse at once the whole work of the Church. The parish priest was superseded in his own parish, his authority was gone, his position rendered untenable. The University of Paris was roused to the keenest indignation by the triumph of its ancient enemies. Royal edicts were put out ordering the clergy in no case to yield to the friars the rights which the Pope had given them, and the Chancellor, lately the vigorous advocate for the authority of the new Pope, now spoke in a different strain:—

‘By the essential and fixed ordinance of holy Church the office of parish priests is as good as that of cardinals and archbishops, yea even of the Pope himself, though it be not so high. It follows that the Pope cannot destroy this office (*status*), seeing that it comes not from his positive ordinance, but directly from God Himself. The office of parish priests is higher than that of the simple religious. They are the spouses of the Church as prelates are, though they be not so high, nor ought they to desert their cure or yield it to any one

¹ Gersonii *Opera*, ii. 139.

without good cause. They have the right of preaching, and neither the Pope nor anyone else is justified in taking this away from them. None can preach in their churches without their leave, nor hear confessions, nor administer the Sacraments.' ¹

'We say, with all reverence to the Holy See and him who sits in it, that the tenor of that Bull appears to us intolerable, and subversive of the whole ecclesiastical state. Who could tolerate, who could ever cease from astonishment, to see the same men begging bread from the people, and at the same time stealing from their superiors the true dignity of their office? Unless these are resisted, what remains, good God, but that, having lost their flocks, the prelates and parish priests, bare, helpless, and trodden under foot by the friars, mendicants in name, but in reality enjoying honours, opulence, and rank, and ordering all things according to their will, should pass their lives in misery? Italy may serve for an example of this. May God avert still worse things, and may no Christian community fall from the eternal Gospel as it did of old into the invention of new sects.' ²

As Gerson was held the greatest casuist and most learned director of his day, his works contain a large number of treatises on knotty points in morals, the best methods for the confessional, answers to obscure questions of ecclesiastical offences, as well as longer directions for the performance of clerical duties and addresses to the clergy. In these he takes very high ground, and consequently animadvert with terrible severity on the lax and corrupt state of the clergy of his day. In a sermon on the treachery of Judas, which he declares is often repeated now, he says:—

'That ecclesiastic is a betrayer of his Lord who enters the sacred order of priesthood, and then by living licentiously shows himself to be an execrable slave of the devil, when he ought by holy works to prove himself a priest and minister of God. I was about to proceed to show that the priests of our time had reached an iniquity above that of Judas—for Judas betrayed a mortal to death, they betray an immortal—yes, sell, prostitute, defile, tear in pieces, crucify—I was about to do this, but I turned aside to another theme. Something seemed to say to me, "Leave these declamatory complaints. Don't strive in vain, merely procuring hatred for yourself; leave off trying to mend by your words deaf souls, and those harder than the rock. You will harden them rather than soften them. Look at the example of Judas."'³

It must be confessed that it would be hard to find a more scorching invective than this. The times, however, and the condition of things in the Church would excuse almost any words of invective, and, in fact, it would seem that there was no language strong enough to denounce the abuses which prevailed. Alexander V. had died after a ten months' reign,

¹ Gersonii *Opera*, ii. 436-8.

² *Ibid.* pp. 443-5.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 592.

not without suspicion of poison, and Cardinal Balthasar Cossa had, by the use of the most flagrant intimidation, forced himself upon the Church as Pope—a man steeped in such foul and almost superhuman vice as to be an absolute portent and enigma in Church history. What must have been the feelings of the holy and most deeply devout Gerson at such an election to the place of the Vicar of Christ? One effect which it manifestly had upon him was to clear his views considerably as to the relations between the Pope and the Church. In the treatise addressed to Cardinal Peter de Alliaco on Reform, he speaks with no uncertain sound :—

‘The Church, catholic and universal, is composed of various members constituting one body, as of Greeks, Latins, Barbarians, men, women, &c. Of this universal Church Christ alone is the Head. The Pope cannot, and ought not, to be called the Head, but only the Vicar of Christ, representing Him on earth, *so long as the key does not go wrong*. And in this Church and in the faith of it every man may be saved, even if there were no pope to be found in the whole world, for to this Church is given the power of binding and loosing ; and supposing there were no pope, yet some one of the faithful could apply the remedy of binding and loosing. This universal Church cannot err. But there is another Church, particular and private, included in the Catholic Church, and formed of the Pope, cardinals, bishops, prelates, and ecclesiastical persons. This is wont to be called the Roman Church. This Church may err, be deceived, and deceive others, fall into schism and heresy, and even altogether cease to exist. It is of far less authority than the Universal Church. It is for the unity and safety of the Universal Church that we ought to labour. For this, not princes alone, but even rustics and labourers, even the least who have faith should strive. If a king may be deposed to save a kingdom, much more may a pope be deposed to save the Church. The office of the pope has been magnified by fraud and forgery. For what is the pope? He is a man of ordinary clay, perhaps the son of some poor rustic. He is made pope. Does this make him, without penitence, without confession, without contrition, straightway an impeccable angel and a saint? Who has made him a saint? Not the Spirit of God, who is drawn down, not by dignity, but by God’s grace and charity. As a man he can sin and err, for there have been many of them, as we read in the chronicles, by no means spiritual, but steeped in all the vices of ordinary citizens, falling into heresy and committing crimes such as are committed by those who are not priests. Of such sort we may see for ourselves are the popes of to-day. The pope is not above the Gospel of God, nor is he independent of the princes of the world, for Christ said “My kingdom is not of this world.” He may be deposed for the good of the Church, for indeed it would be ridiculous for a mortal man to say that he had the power, both in heaven and earth, of binding and loosing from sins,

while he himself is the son of perdition, simoniacal, covetous, a liar, a tyrant, a fornicator, proud, puffed up, and worse than the devil; and if Peter had been such an one Christ would never have conferred the keys upon him.' ¹

'I am asked whether a council in which the pope does not preside is above the pope. Certainly it is. It is higher in authority, higher in dignity, higher in office. Such a council the pope is bound to obey in all things. Such a council can limit the power of the pope, for to such a council, since it represents the Universal Church, the keys of binding and loosing are given. Such a council can take away papal privileges. Such a council can choose a pope, deprive and depose a pope, make new laws, repeal ancient laws. The pope has not, and never had, the power of granting dispensations from sacred canons made in a general council; nor can he change the acts of the council, nor even give an interpretation to them.' ²

These principles Gerson continued to advocate in various writings and discourses up to the time of the meeting of the Council of Constance. His view was that peace could only be procured to the Church by the cession of all three of the rival popes, and that if this cession were refused by them or by any of them, then the Church, acting in its corporate capacity, should enforce it by deposing them. As an advocate of these views he came to Constance, not only as one of the deputies of the University, but also as the ambassador of the King of France. His arrival was hailed with acclamation. An historian of the Council says: 'Among the doctors of that age there is none who, in the judgment of the whole world, excels him in virtue, learning, and intrepid and indefatigable zeal for the reformation of morals and for the unity of the Church.' ³ The Council, flattered for a moment by the hope that John XXIII. would voluntarily resign, as he had solemnly promised to do, was awakened from its delusion by his flight, and saw that there was nothing for it but the bold assertion of its authority and the deposition of all three popes. To confirm those who still doubted of the power of the Council to do this, Gerson was invited to preach before it, and delivered his famous sermon on the text, 'Walk while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you.' ⁴ In this sermon he shows the superiority of the Church of which Christ is the head; that the pope as secondary and subordinate to the Great Head is under the direction and control of the main body represented by a general council met under the guidance of the Holy Spirit; that he can be removed by the council, or his power may be limited, and that he has no

¹ Gersonii *Opera*, ii. 163-68.

³ Lenfant, *Concile de Constance*, i. 75.

² *Ibid.* ii. 172.

⁴ John xii. 35.

authority to set aside the resolutions of such a council ; that a council can in certain cases be lawfully summoned without the concurrence of the pope, and may act independently of him.¹ Certain resolutions of the University of Paris, in the framing of which Gerson no doubt had a hand, put the matter still more tersely :—

‘The Church is more necessary than the pope, as there is no salvation without the Church, but one may very well be saved without the pope. It is more useful, because the pope is for the Church, not the Church for the pope. It is of greater dignity, because it is the spouse of Jesus Christ ; more powerful, because the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, whereas they have often prevailed against popes by their vices and heresies ; it is more wise, because it is adorned with divers gifts, which are often lacking in popes. It is the Church which gives the keys to the pope, and she may resume and use those keys to judge, correct, and depose popes, just as one may snatch a sword out of the hand of a madman, and as she has given the keys for edification and not for destruction.’²

Gerson followed up his sermon by a treatise, *De Auferibilitate Papæ ab Ecclesiâ*, and continued to be the ‘soul of the Council’ as it proceeded, as is well known, to deprive all the three rival popes. Gerson joined readily with those who, with more or less sincerity, called in the Council for the reformation of the Church in ‘head and members.’ No one was more shocked at the prevalent immorality, or more honestly anxious to correct it ; but it must not be supposed that the Chancellor of the University had any, even the slightest, sympathy with the reformation in doctrine then being advocated by John Hus and Jerome of Prague. On the contrary, he was one of their most pronounced opponents, and probably welcomed with satisfaction their terrible fate. The decree of the University of Paris signed by him ran :—

‘Our sentence is that the articles above mentioned are notoriously heretical, and that a heresy so scandalous ought straightway to be rooted out for fear lest the world should become infected by it. For though there appears in them a zeal against the vices of the prelates, which of a truth are but too great and too manifest, it is a zeal without knowledge. One cannot correct vice by vice, nor error by error, as devil does not cast out devil, but only by the Spirit of God.’³

The opinions of Gerson as to the relation of popes and councils had been all-powerful at Constance, but it was not so with another matter in which he was deeply interested.

¹ Gersonii *Opera*, ii. 201–9.

² Lenfant, *Concile de Constance*, ii. 91.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 193.

It is not necessary here to relate the murder of the Duke of Orleans by the Duke of Burgundy, or of the defence set up for the act by Jean Petit, a Franciscan friar. This had been condemned by the University of Paris and by a synod held in Paris; but Gerson, who had been the chief opponent of the doctrine of Jean Petit, was anxious to obtain the sentence of the Council in support of the French condemnation. This the Duke of Burgundy was as anxious to prevent, and his influence with the Council was very great. Nothing can, perhaps, better illustrate the debased morality of the prelates of that day than the way in which this attempt of Gerson was treated. Every sort of influence was brought to bear to prevent the condemnation. The same set of men who supported the violation of plighted faith in order to burn a man for what they called heresy, who voted for the denial of the cup to the laity, and evaded every proposition for disciplinary reform, now practically voted in support of murder, refusing to condemn the doctrines of Jean Petit save in one proposition, and attempting to bring ruin upon the upright Chancellor Gerson by trumped-up charges of heresy and false teaching. However much Gerson's soul may have been refreshed by the deposition of the popes, the proceedings of the Council in this matter must have cut him to the quick, and in fact the termination of his public life was brought about by it. Knowing well the danger from the bitter and unscrupulous enmity of the assassinating Duke of Burgundy, he did not venture to return to France at the conclusion of the Council. The Duke of Bavaria gave him an asylum for a time, and he might have had the highest scholastic position had he pleased to go to Vienna. But this did not accord with the character of his mind, which was contemplative and mystical. To have free scope for his spiritual thoughts and feelings he sought a different sphere, more suitable for their indulgence. He went to Lyons to the Convent of the Celestines, of which his brother Nicholas was the prior (1419). Here he passed ten years in retirement, and in the composition of those mystical and religious works which form so large a portion of his voluminous writings. But this was not his only, nor indeed his chief, occupation in his retirement. 'Undeceived,' says M. Schmidt, 'by the Councils of Pisa and Constance, and expecting nothing more from the hierarchy, all his hope and all his care were turned towards the people; for what end would be served by the reform of the clergy, so long as the people should remain in ignorance and check all improvements by their vices? It

was necessary to begin with the people. It was necessary to purify this mass in which so many impure elements were mingled; it was necessary to kindle a light in this darkness in which slavery held men fast. This, then, was one of the great occupations of his life. Not content with constantly demanding that to the people should be given virtuous preachers, well instructed and enlightened, he himself preaches with that eloquence which springs from profound convictions, and recalls his hearers of all ranks to the duties which they had forgotten, 'Repent ye, and believe the Gospel.' This was the theme of most of his popular sermons—repentance and faith. These, in his eyes, were the commencement of all virtue, the conditions of all reform. And divining the true needs of his epoch, or rather of all time, he places the point of departure of intellectual progress in the education of the young. The latter years of the life of Gerson were devoted to these causes. As the Lord said, 'Suffer the little children to come unto Me,' so did he delight to be in the midst of them. What a touching sight was it to see him who as a young man had given instruction with so much *éclat* in the celebrated University of Paris—who had spoken there of the mysteries and the duties of the spiritual life in the presence of scholars from all nations—now in his old age surrounded by the little children of the people, leading them by gentle words to Jesus Christ their Saviour, and thus himself putting in practice the rules which he had given to teachers in his youth. Never does Gerson appear to us more worthy of admiration than in this obscure school of a suburb of Lyons, where he remained concealed for the remainder of his life. Never did he write anything more beautiful than those simple pages on the way of bringing children to the Lord—a little book truly admirable and worthy of being recalled to the notice of our age.¹

It was at this period of retirement and unpretending Christian work that Gerson is supposed by many to have composed the celebrated treatise usually attributed to Thomas à Kempis. M. Schmidt, from whom we have quoted the above eloquent estimate of Gerson's labours, is unable to bring himself to speak positively as to the claim made for him in this matter. The controversy has continued for two hundred years, and the general opinion of the Christian world is certainly opposed to the authorship of Gerson. M. Schmidt says very appositely:—

¹ 'Tractatus de Parvulis ad Christum trahendis,' Gersonii *Opera*, iii. 277. Schmidt, *Essai sur Gerson*, p. 89.

‘Without doubt this book would be one of the fairest flowers in the glory of the Chancellor, but for his greatness he does not need that zeal for his memory should make us attribute to him that which appears to us to be the work of another. If Gerson did not write the *Imitation*, he was worthy of having composed it. Through all his life he strove to imitate his Master.’¹

Any notice of Gerson would be incomplete which did not say something as to his connexion with the mystical theology. This subject engaged much of his thoughts, and was treated by him in several works.² But Gerson was no more a mystic proper, than any other writer who recognizes the claims and power of spiritual religion.

‘He had no thought of rejecting dialectic methods in favour of contemplative spiritualism, though he exalted the communion of God through faith, and the inward experience of its enlightening and sanctifying power above the mere logical conception of Divine truth.’³

The special characteristic of the mystic is to set free the inward voice from all external or alien authority whatever. But Gerson utterly condemns this license, and claims their fitting place for dialectic reasoning and the authority of the Church; at the same time he holds the necessity of combining with these the true inward spiritual life. He is thus a spiritualistic writer rather than a mystic. The tone of his mind was eminently devout, and he realised more than most men of his age a true communion with God. That Gerson, with all his vast and exact learning and great eloquence, has been but little read and but little quoted, is due probably in great measure to the scholastic method of his treatises, and the affectation of stating and advocating the pro and the con, which bewilders and perplexes the ordinary reader. That the Church has not put the stamp of sainthood on one whose life throughout was passed on the very highest Christian level, is due no doubt to those views of his on papal authority which have never been very popular at Rome. But all who love to contemplate the exhibition of the purest Christian virtue, the most polished eloquence, the most complete mastery of every part of theology, together with the simplicity and tenderness of a child, may well turn the eye of affectionate reverence to the life and works⁴ of the great Chancellor of Paris.

¹ Schmidt, *Essai sur Gerson*, p. 93.

² *Considerationes de Theologia Mystica, De Vita Spirituali Anima, &c.*

³ *History of Christian Church*, by P. Smith, p. 567.

⁴ Gerson's works have been admirably edited by Dr. Du Pin in an edition of five folio volumes.

ART. XI.—OPTIMISTIC FLAWS IN MODERN THOUGHT.

1. *Optimismus und Pessimismus: der Gang der christlichen Welt- und Lebensansicht.* Von Dr. W. GASS. (Berlin, 1876.)
2. *L'Evolution des Mondes et des Sociétés.* Par F. CAMILLE DREYFUS, Député de la Seine, Secrétaire général de la Grande Encyclopédie. (Paris, 1888.)
3. *The Factors of Organic Evolution.* By HERBERT SPENCER. (London, 1888.)
4. *The Optimism of Ralph Walter Emerson.* By WILLIAM F. DANA. (Boston, 1886.)
5. *The Pleasures of Life.* By Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., LL.D. (London, 1887.)
6. *L'Arte di esser felici.* Di PAOLO MANTEGAZZA. (Firenze, 1886.)
7. *L'Evolution Economique du Dix-neuvième Siècle: Théorie du Progrès.* Par M. G. DE MOLINARI, Membre correspondant de l'Institut. (Paris, 1880.)
8. *Civilization and Progress.* By JOHN BEATTIE CROZIER. New edition. (London, 1888.)

WHAT is optimism? 'It is the rage to maintain that all is well when one is ill at ease.' Such is the answer given by Candide to his servant in Voltaire's well-known story, written for the purpose of casting ridicule on the *Théodicée* of Leibnitz, the father of optimism; for in that work Leibnitz endeavoured to show that ours is the best of worlds. Did the greatest wit of his time, though by no means the most scrupulous of controversialists, succeed in demolishing the arguments of the great precursor of 'evolutionary optimism'? The pessimistic tendencies of the times, to which we called attention in a former paper, might lead us to suppose so. But the 'wicked optimism' of Leibnitz, as Schopenhauer calls it, still exists in a fairly well-preserved condition in spite of its struggle with pessimism for the last hundred years. Only the other day the writer of this paper received a letter from a literary friend, a well-known author, in full sympathy with the 'spirit of the age,' in which his correspondent refuses to part with a certain copy of Leopardi's poems on the ground that he cannot spare it, being his constant *vade mecum* and indispensable companion to restore his balance of mind whenever it oscillates, as it does

without ceasing, towards a 'truculent optimism.' We confess to a similar weakness ourselves, so that in our strictures on some forms of modern optimism it must not be supposed for a moment that we are inclining towards the side of pessimism. Our real aim is to hold the balance between these two opposite extremes, and, on the principle of *audi alteram partem*, to give full weight to the arguments of either. In our endeavour to point out the excesses of pessimism we were often reminded, as no doubt were some of our readers, of errors in an opposite extreme which it would not be well to overlook. These were reserved for separate treatment. We will point out some flaws in modern scientific optimism, both in its materialistic and pantheistic tendencies, and some fallacies in political and economic optimism as well: the 'sated optimism' of those who look upon the social world through the well-polished spectacles of self-satisfied respectability, imagining all is well in this best of worlds because all is well with our own dear selves; and the 'Utopian optimism' of world-improvers—Sir Thomas More's Utopia bore the title *De Optimo Reipublicæ Statu, deque nova insula Utopia*—who feel assured that all will be for the best in the commonwealth reformed or reconstructed according to their own particular plan. And in doing so we shall not confine ourselves to negative criticisms, but show how a careful study of the subject leads up to a purer form of 'transcendental optimism,' which alone affords a solution of the last problems of life. Christian optimism, without relying on *a priori* arguments concerning the pre-established harmony of things, endeavours nevertheless to reconcile the apparent contradictions of existence, and finds comfort and consolation in the belief of a harmonious development of all things in accordance with a Divine plan partly revealed to us now, whilst it rests satisfied with the promise of future enlightenment on obscure orderings of social Providence in the words of Christ addressed to St. Peter: 'Thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter' (St. John xiii. 7).

It has been remarked that pessimism precedes optimism as a mood of thought, and the literature of the world bears witness to the truth of this assertion. Perhaps it is because second thoughts are best, and that after a season of melancholy reverie the mind, on further reflection, reverts to brighter views of life. The danger is lest at this turning-point from melancholy to cheerful views of life we may turn the corner a trifle too quickly and so lose our mental equilibrium. Such was the case with Leibnitz and the naturalistic optimists at

the close of the seventeenth century, and such, too, is the danger of the present day, and for similar reasons.

Professor Gass, whose work we have placed at the head of this paper, points out the importance of measuring the relative merits and moral motives of optimism and pessimism from the Christian point of view. This he attempts to do in treating them historically, and, in so doing, shows how far they have influenced the development of religious thought and Church life in giving tone and colouring to religious views of the world and human life from the rise of Christianity up to the present day. He points out at the same time that views thus formed under the predominating influence of *eucholic* and *dyscholic* expressions of thought prevalent at the time, and more or less resulting from prevailing conditions and circumstances, never led the Church, as a whole, to be carried away entirely by the one or the other, so that in the dark ages she never yielded to the wistful gloom of Oriental thought, which then most attracted ideally disposed minds, nor yet allowed herself to be satisfied with the blithe cheerfulness of Hellenism in the palmy days of the Renaissance. Still the case of Leibnitz shows how difficult it is to maintain this mental balance. Even his powerful mind was unable to resist the spirit of the age, being then big with hopes of the future at the spring-tide of a great revolution, 'gros de l'avenir.' It was the age of Newton and of Locke, when natural discoveries had produced the same effect on the students of nature and human affairs as now, when there are those who see in matter 'the promise and potency of all terrestrial life,' whilst others, comprehending the natural synthesis of all existence under a single formula, are ready to agree in the dictum of a recent exponent of evolutionary optimism: 'L'évolution est fatale, ininterrompue et progressive.'¹

It is true we, living at the close of the nineteenth century, are apt to look upon the world as *gros du passé* rather, and to indulge in retrospective self-congratulations, apt

'To see how wise men thought in olden time,
And how far we outstep their march in knowledge.'²

But though in so doing we sometimes look forward with apprehension, the more sanguine amongst us comfort themselves with the thought that, since we have got so far in our

¹ *L'Evolution des Mondes et des Sociétés.* Par Camille Dreyfus, Député de la Seine, Secrétaire général de la Grande Encyclopédie, Préface, p. v.

² Goethe's *Faust*, Anster's translation, p. 35.

modern progress, believing as we do in the uniformity of Nature's laws, why not go on with still mightier strides in the future to compass universal happiness on a uniform plan of procedure? ¹ If there have been, as pessimists believe, disappointments in connexion with that revolution which Leibnitz only saw rising, and if the sediment left on our shores be not pleasant to the view, still less the prospect of another revolutionary wave looming at a distance, but drawing nearer with every hour, optimists are not disheartened thereby, whilst obstacles and difficulties for them are only further incitements to pursue the path of progress. Looking back on past disappointments they console themselves with the thought that the experiences of the past may help us to avert submersion by the revolutionary wave of the future by taking precautionary measures beforehand, as the Dutch do, by means of dykes and dams preserving the country from inundation. Up, then, they say, and let us conquer the world! such are the sentiments even of pessimists like Hartmann and other believers in 'transcendental realism.' Such, too, are the sentiments of thoughtful men who would be optimists if they could, like Sir John Lubbock and the Italian psychologist Paolo Mantegazza, whose aim is to fortify their own minds and those of their readers against the morbid tendency of giving way to melancholy reflections by means of propounding sage advice on the duty of happiness and the happiness of duty. Not only hedonistic utilitarianism, but a sad kind of scientific meliorism finds comfort in the thought of

'Myriads of little joys that ripen sweet
And soothe the sorrowful spirit of the world,
Groaning and travailing with the painful birth
Of slow redemption.'²

Leibnitz's view of development was dynamical as opposed to that of Descartes, his rival, which was mechanical, though both were believers in a Divine power originating and sustaining all things. Our modern thinkers endeavour to combine both views, but practically eliminate the factor of original design and continued direction by a Divine hand. According to some of our optimistic scientists not only 'tout va bien' in this best of worlds, but all goes on of its own accord without Divine intervention. 'Le monde va de lui-même.' As to the spiritual forces behind the visible mechanism, Mr. Huxley,

¹ See *Die Weltanschauungen Leibnitz' und Schopenhauer's*, &c., von Georg Jellinek, Wien, 1872, pp. 28, 29.

² George Eliot's *Spanish Gypsy*, book v. p. 363, 5th edition, 1869.

speaking in the name of modern science, falls back on the agnostic formula 'Ignoramus et ignorabimus;' but this view, in which Nature is likened by J. S. Mill to a richly-illuminated missal, written in an unknown tongue, where the graceful forms of letters and the beauty of colouring may excite wonder, but where the true meaning is little known, if, indeed, there is any meaning to decipher, is apt to make us sad rather than optimistic, after the manner of the most recent exponents of 'scientific progress.'¹

It is curious how in this kind of speculation the human mind repeats itself. The Pope Commemoration at Twickenham on the last day of July reveals a similar wave of philosophic optimism, of which so unhappy a man as Pope was compelled to become the exponent. The *Essay on Man* was written under Bolingbroke's influence, and this within twenty years of the *Essais de Théodicée* and Shaftesbury's *Characteristics*, to maintain the optimistic thesis that all is right in this best of worlds. It is an attempt to solve the great question of the hour whether the constitution of the world is an argument in favour of the goodness of God. The titles and four divisions of the essay cover the whole ground taken up in the controversy between modern optimism and pessimism, and by way of pointing out the analogy we may select the argument of the first epistle, which is entitled 'Of the Nature and State of Man with respect of the Universe.' What follows, with slight alterations, really corresponds with the plea of contemporary writers on natural theology. They too, like Pope, advocate submission of the finite reason to a higher Mind whilst inculcating belief in progressive development, now only in part understood in view of well-known facts and factors which seem to make against an optimistic view of the universe if we are satisfied with a purely naturalistic explanation of it.

Now, if we turn to the writings of modern evolutionists we do not find any such misgivings. Mr. Herbert Spencer, unlike some of his most optimistic followers, nowhere professes to account for the cosmos 'by the continuous action of physical and natural principles *alone*.' Still, as in the case of his latest production on the factors of organic evolution, as well as in some of his earlier books, whenever he speaks of forces he always means natural forces, and only admits the possibility of spiritual forces behind them in the region of the Unknow-

¹ See *The Progress of Science* from 1836 to 1888, by Grant Allen; *Fortnightly Review*, June 1887; and 'A Survey of Fifty Years' Progress of Science,' by Mr. Huxley, in Ward's *Reign of Queen Victoria*, vol. ii. p. 368 and *passim*.

able. But then Divine energy, taken in the singular or the plural, like divinities 'sitting far withdrawn upon the heights of space,' affords but slight comfort to sublunary beings puzzled by the problems of existence, since 'the Power which the universe manifests to us is utterly inscrutable.' Granted the truth of the theory of 'continuous evolution'—and we have no intention whatever to call it in question—given 'the origin and development of all organic forms by accumulated modifications naturally caused' by 'inheritance of fortuitous variations,' as the 'direct effects of the medium on the first forms of life;' this primordial factor, together with any other natural factors co-operating in organic evolution and producing the various gradations of organization through 'transmitted structures of type,' give no explanation as to the nature and origin of the 'primordial units' themselves. Nor do they hold out any expectation that, in view of the uniformity of Nature's laws, there ever will come a time when the price now paid for natural selection and the survival of the fittest, by which the progressive movement of the whole is conditioned, *i.e.* the ruined lives and hopes of those who succumb in the struggle for existence, will no more be required. Thus the limits of knowledge as to the ultimate date of science, and the limitations to happiness in the universe, as at present constituted, are so many flaws in the shining marble of the solid body of science, and so many faults in the stratified formations of human life and happiness. These are too many breaks in the continued line through the ages of human existence to admit of a complete system of scientific optimism—that is, if positive science has the last word to say on the whence and the whither of existence—and, as Mr. Crozier, in his work on *Progress and Civilization*, points out, 'there is no security for future advances in the scale of being, except on one condition, and that is, that we underpin the laws of evolution with religion' (p. 267).

If, moreover, it be recollected that dissolution 'undoes what evolution has done,' and that as far as our own earth is concerned 'dissolution must eventually arrive,' when all things which have thus far proceeded on a happy-go-lucky optimist train will come to a stillstand, and life become extinct on the globe, the natural reflection which will occur to the mind of the most obdurate optimist will be, to use the words of the greatest pleasure-loving people of Europe, 'Cela va bien pourvu que cela dure.' But, if not? The very thought dwelt on in imagination of a time coming when the sun's rays come in diminished force to give light to the earth, ending at

last in cold and death, is apt to produce a lower temperature in the climate of opinion where optimism flourishes. Quite apart from the darker problems of actual physical evil which confront us on every side, and which have affected so painfully men differing from each other as much as De Maistre and Mill,¹ the further progress of science since the period of 'Natur-schwärmerei' and 'Aufklärung' of a century ago ought to have taught a sounder optimism. At all events thus much must be admitted, that although 'the aggregate of fixed eternal circumstances makes in itself to some extent for our happiness,' yet, on the other hand, there are many so-called 'accidental hindrances' and 'unpredictable contingencies of life' militating considerably against the pursuit of happiness, which renders an unqualified profession of optimism on purely materialistic grounds impossible.²

But we have been of late congratulated on the disappearance of materialism and the restoration of 'spirituality'—i.e. ideal views of the universe as a whole—especially in consequence of modern scientific conceptions of cosmic unity implied in the evolution theory. Thus when we are offered by the author of *Natural Religion*, by way of substitute for supernatural religion, a 'religion of material things,' we find it to be an etherealized worship of Nature and the beautiful, 'a purified worship of natural forms,' bearing some resemblance on one side to the soft and smooth intellectual Epicureanism of Mr. Pater, and to the rationalistic theosophy of David Strauss on the other. But perhaps its best and most popular expression is to be found in Emerson's *Idealistic Pantheism*. 'Nature with Emerson,' says Mr. Dana in his little book on *Emerson's Optimism*, 'was all good, if man would simply obey. We here, then, have Emerson's grounds, system even, of optimism.' He quotes a letter to Carlyle, in which Emerson says, 'My whole philosophy, which is very real, teaches acquiescence and optimism.' But his optimism is not the commonplace satisfaction with material things, the bread-and-butter philosophy of the modern Philistine, sharing the view of Pangloss that, since 'le château de M. le baron était le plus beau des châteaux et madame la meilleure des baronnes possibles,' ergo this must be the best of worlds.

Against such and similar exhibitions of egotistical self-complacency and optimistic self-satisfaction Emerson is up in arms. He cannot tolerate the love of 'splendid materiality'

¹ See *The Problem of Evil*, by E. Naville, pp. 54, 55; Mill's *Three Essays on Religion*, p. 58.

² *Pessimism*, by James Sully, pp. 339-41, 351-4.

and the vulgar pride in what he calls 'corporeal civilization.' The universe to him is the 'externalization of soul,' and accordingly he looks on all things with that second sight of the mind which is ever 'disclosing its deeper holdings in the frame of things; in other words, he lives in a spiritualized universe of his own, and so to him life may be lyric or epic, as well as a poem or a romance,' *i.e.* after the restoration of that spirituality which we have lost awhile in this age of mechanical contrivances for the attainment of the materialistic *summum bonum*. Thus he paves the way to that confluence of religious and scientific optimism in modern thought to which attention was drawn by Mr. Symonds in his well-known essay on the 'Progress of Thought in our Time' in the *Fortnightly Review* for June 1887:—

'The tendency of scientific ideas, in so far as these are remoulding thought in these high regions, is to spiritualize religion, to dissipate the materialistic associations which environ theology in its mythological stages, and to emancipate the individual from egotism face to face with that universal Being of which he is part and to the manifestation of which he contributes' (p. 892).

'The conceptions of God's law tend to coalescence in the scientific theory of the universe. In other words, spirituality is restored to Nature, which comes to be regarded as a manifestation of infinite vitality' (*ibid.*)

Hence

'Nothing can come amiss to those who have brought their wills and wishes into accord with universal order. This will be stigmatised as optimism. . . . Religion has been always optimistic, and whatever science is it certainly is not pessimistic' (p. 895).

On the practical side the resultant of such aspects of Nature and God is summarized in the often-quoted expression of Goethe: 'Im Ganzen, Guten, Schönen, resolut zu leben' ('To live resolutely in the whole, the good, and the beautiful'). But the incompleteness of the whole, as seen by us, is a barrier to speculative optimism; the conscious imperfection in following after that which is good, which proves fatal to moral optimism; and the sense of the unattainable in the highest realms of art,—were these not felt by Goethe himself, in spite of his grand capacity for calm and unceasing effort in moral culture and the pursuit of cultured or æsthetic optimism? Is not the partial failure of his own attempt recorded in the second part of *Faust*, ending as it does, and ending as he intended it should do, with a confession of man's inability to realize the ideal in art and nature, and in the art of life? 'This,' he said,

'was quite in accordance with our religious conception that we cannot be saved through our own power, but through the added grace of God ; hence in *Faust* an ever higher and purer activity to the end with additional help descending from above in eternal love.'¹ Similar feelings, expressing a Divine discontent with our performances as compared with our high aims in the region of thought and action alike, are reflected from the noblest works of modern minds in every department of literature, science, and art. This insufficiency and unsufficiency felt by the finest minds is a direct negative to unqualified optimism. Meaner and commonplace minds may rest satisfied : not so minds of the highest order, possessed with the noblest ideas ; they cannot be satisfied with the vulgar optimisms of ignoble mediocrity. Hence the aim of the highest form of poetry, as Von Hartmann remarks on the optimism in the *Faust*, and as others have noted on the optimism of tragedy generally, is the effort to produce elegiac tenderness as the compensation for frustrated attempts, a sort of bitter-sweet subdued feeling of resigned sadness rising in the finest forms of tragedy from dejection to that liberation of spirit which is capable of high suffering, and rises through the refining processes of sorrow to joyous performance. Mr. Hutton has pointed out a similar intention in *Some Modern Guides of English Thought* to stimulate and arouse 'a new buoyancy,' 'the natural buoyancy of the renouncing heart,' in throwing off the weight of melancholy reflections and to escape from 'the cloud of mortal destiny.'

This, he points out, is Matthew Arnold's secret of 'exhilaration,' i.e. a cheerfulness which is anything but optimistic, but only an attempt to *make the best of things*, which is a very different matter from believing that this is the best of worlds. We conclude, then, that a spiritualized view of nature and a union of science and religion in a vaguely idealistic pantheism is incapable of producing in the highest minds a complete optimistic view of things as they are.² Here, then, we have another flaw in modern optimism, especially in the rarefied regions of highest thought, among the most eminent of modern interpreters of nature and revealers of life's secret. All give expression to that regretful feeling of resignation arising from a deep sense of man's incompetency in tracing

¹ *Goethe in der Epoche der Vollendung* (1805-32), von Dr. Otto Harnack, p. 28 and ante.

² See *Essays on Modern Guides of English Thought*, by R. H. Hutton, pp. 112-14, 141, 142 ; and compare *Ethics and Aesthetics of Modern Poetry*, by J. R. Selkirk, pp. 9, 10, and 145, on the influence of scepticism on poetry.

‘The ways of fate ; for how can these be traced,
That in the life omnipotent lie based ?
Or earth-grown atom’s bounded soul
Grasp the universal whole ?’¹

If it be said, Leave the poets and philosophers to look on the actual life of man and ‘the state of man with respect to society,’ we are impelled in the next place to examine the claims of ‘the social happiness’ principle. This, briefly stated, consists in the belief that there is a way of harmonizing the best interests of the individual with social development in the fulfilment of social duty, that there is no greater happiness than the bliss of dutiful obedience to social laws, including ‘the joy of dutiful renouncement.’ This is the modern version of utilitarian opportunism, ‘the greatest happiness of the greatest number,’ as modified by the recent teachings of social evolution. This optimistic creed has been in vogue ever since the days of Adam Smith, and has been of late ably restated in Mr. Crozier’s volume on *Civilization and Progress*, closing with a full belief in the future, when

‘science, by diving into the deep elements of the problem—material and social—and ascertaining the physical and spiritual laws on which it depends, will, by again enabling us to *equalize* the conditions, prepare the way for a new and higher social régime than any that history has yet recorded.’

Similar, and resting on similar grounds, were the hopes of the Economists at the close of the last century, believing with Adam Smith in ‘the natural progress of opulence,’ depending ‘on the natural effort of every individual to better his own condition when suffered to exert himself with freedom and security.’ But there is this difference, that the social problem now stares us in the face which did not then exist, or even was dreamt of, but has been evolved from the very conditions here described, *i.e.* unlimited individual liberty and expansion.

We, therefore, are often now invited to put our faith in ‘the gradual *amelioration* of the material and social conditions of men,’ since the ‘evolution of happiness’ is made contingent on ‘scientific meliorism.’ Economic optimism, therefore, to be complete must take in the future as well as the present, and therefore as far as the present is concerned it is not and, as we shall show, cannot be a whole-hearted optimism, in spite of the cheerful assurances of the crowd of *laudatores temporis acti* who have not sufficient penetration, or integrity of mind, to perceive this. But even a hasty glance at the

¹ T. Woolner, *My Beautiful Lady*. London, 1863.

optimistic literature of the Jubilee year is sufficient to show this. For even those writers who were selected for the task of giving a 'survey of fifty years' progress,' on account of their optimistic proclivities, tell us that it affords matter of serious reflection, warning us to be sober-minded in reviewing our past achievements, whilst we are none the less thankful for what advance has been made in more than one direction. Mechanical inventions for saving labour and a marvellous development of industrial machinery have vastly increased material wealth, but, as the late Professor Leone Levi reminds his readers whilst presenting them with a glowing picture of growing prosperity, it 'is by no means all gold that glitters in our economic system.'¹

According to the laws of 'superorganic evolution'—the so-called natural laws of political economy which the physiocrats of a hundred years ago promulgated in France—all that is required was stated to be this: Let each man try to improve his own condition, 'et le monde alors va de lui-même.' Therefore 'Laissez faire, laissez aller!' and all will go well. The principle has been tried for a century, with what results? The doctrine of 'laissez faire' is discredited on all hands, and its opponents argue as follows: The number of millionaires has been increased, with the means of amassing mountains of gold, but with 'a new race of manufacturing plutocrats rising and falling like so many golden sandhills' there has risen up in all civilized and progressive countries a vast multitude of miserable starvelings, scarcely able to eke out bare existence, and among the mechanical discoveries of the age are not only machines which make mind unnecessary and manual labour cheap, but also 'infernal machines,' the invention of dynamite engines being one of the latest results of 'this age of progress,' intended in their way to hasten on the 'social improvement of the masses.' The marvellous growth of cities is accompanied by the evils of overcrowding and the dull depression of depopulated country districts. The minute division of labour in the centres of industry is accompanied by the concentration of the proletariat, drilled in factories and trained by agitators for common action against those whom their toil has enriched, whilst even 'subsistence

¹ 'The Material Growth of the United Kingdom from 1836 to 1886,' by Prof. Leone Levi, *Fortnightly Review*, June 1887, p. 914. In Mr. Giffen's latest utterance on the 'Recent Rate of Material Progress in England' and Prof. Levi's lecture in King's College on the 'Progress of Commerce and Industry,' both writers speak in a still more subdued tone of plutocratic optimism. See *Times*, September 2, 1887, and October 14, 1887.

wages' are rendered precarious by commercial fluctuations and consequent oscillations in the labour market, so as to render the basis of society in its lower layers ominously insecure.

These are some 'matters which may be fairly grouped under *that debatable word progress*'—so debatable that some even speak of it as an 'advance backwards.' We are not of this number; still the matter wears a serious aspect for would-be optimists.

Voltaire, in his *Candide*, referred to the earthquake of Lisbon to point out the flaws in the materialistic optimism of his own times. Sceptics nowadays might point to those social earthquakes in divers places, of which we hear so much now, as symptomatic of volcanic forces of social discontent underground, and as facts which cannot be reconciled with a profession of economic optimism. Leibnitz, optimist as he was, believed that the age he lived in was the old age of the world, and the bright future he predicted was the glow of sunset rather than of the rising dawn. Our modern optimists, so far from discovering any symptoms of senile decrepitude around them, believe, on the contrary, that we have only arrived at the earlier stage of social evolution, that existing social phenomena are only the beginnings of a 'fuller industrial and social development.' A change of tenses is enough to distinguish the optimism of the nineteenth from that of the eighteenth century. Thus Pope said, and the world tried hard to believe, that 'whatever is, is right.' Now we are told, 'Whatever is, is well; but nothing really is which is not in progressive and *militant* movement.' But 'militant movement' is the very phrase which suggests the difficulty which our modern prophets of smooth things have to get over, and sometimes try to glose over, and not always very successfully. For what is called the social movement is nothing else but the 'militant movement' of a certain class to gain the necessary advantages in order to its own higher social development, that class being the most numerous and able by force of numbers to give effect to its demands at the ballot-box. This is the social problem how to reconcile the rise of democracy with social conditions resting on aristocratic institutions. This is the great question which taxes the ingenuity of the politician and the political economist alike, the one accentuating the functions of government in social legislation, the other accepting the forces of social life as such to work out in the natural course of things a social evolution. Both progressive statesmen and economists demand nothing else but 'the elevation and expansion of the individual;' but indi-

vidual expansion may, in its centrifugal effects, endanger the 'symmetry and stability of society ;' it may produce a revolution ; and so Karl Marx and his school predict the social revolution from the effects of this actual 'expansion' of individual liberties and the reign of competition since the outbreak of the French Revolution, which rendered all equal in the eyes of the law, but has, by reason of unlimited competition, brought about greater inequalities, less bearable than ever in 'the age of reason' and universal liberty. In the bursting of social bonds and setting free of individual effort, the revolution at the close of the eighteenth century began—while that at the close of the nineteenth will finish—the emancipation of the masses, or the fourth estate. Hence, say the upholders of authority and order, clinging with tenacity to the past, let us return to hierarchical institutions to prevent liberty ending in anarchy ; 'the old is best.' Theirs is a retrogressive optimism, whilst that of the former is a progressive optimism. Between these are the reforming school of political economists and the practical social reformers, taking for their basis Christian ethics in their endeavour to reconcile liberty with authority, order with freedom, combining 'an ardent interest in human improvement with a reasoned attention to the law of its conditions.'

We may, in conclusion, glance at these various forms of optimism, progressive and retrogressive, revolutionary and reformatory, to see what truth they contain, and also to discover the flaws, or more serious fallacies, involved in each. And in the first place we would consider the optimism of a living politician and of a living economist as two typical representatives of the progressive school of political economists in the two most progressive countries of Western Europe.

The political optimism of Mr. Gladstone—irrespective of party politics, in which we are not here concerned, and on which the present writer has no wish or authority to pronounce an opinion—finds its expression in an article contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* for January 1887, entitled 'Locksley Hall and the Jubilee.' It is mainly directed against the corrections of a more youthful optimism by the Poet Laureate in his *New Locksley Hall*, sixty years after, in which he takes a gloomier view of the 'age of progress':—

'Gone the cry of Forward ! forward ! lost within a growing gloom ;
Lost, or only heard in silence from the silence of the tomb.'

Mr. Gladstone's argument is based on the legislative achievements of the past fifty years, and he comes to the conclusion that 'the laws and works of the half-century he

reviews are not bad, but good.' We are obliged, by-the-bye, to Mr. Gladstone for the optimistic view he expresses of the clergy of the Anglican Church, 'who have not been merely improved, but transformed,' during that period. It may be that, owing to this fact, 'the duties of wealth to poverty, of strength to weakness, of knowledge to ignorance, in a word, of man to man,' have been more thoroughly realized, and 'that the public conscience has grown more tender.' But, whilst there can be no denying that there has been advance all along the line, there are those who might retort, All is good, but it might be better; and an optimist cannot be satisfied with anything but what is *best*. Even Mr. Gladstone finds it necessary to strike a note of warning in this very article :—

'Let us be jealous of plutocracy and of its tendency to infect aristocracy, its elder and nobler sister; and learn, if we can, to hold by or get back to some regard for simplicity of life. Let us respect the ancient manners, and recollect that if the true soul of chivalry has died among us, with it all that is good in society has died.'

Those who most readily will agree with this sentiment may refuse to endorse the optimist views of the writer as a whole. To the assertion that 'we have lived in a gentle time' in consequence of legislative progress, they may ask in return whether it is owing to the gentler virtues of capitalists, or the gentle tones of Trafalgar Square orators in their soft impeachment of the *bourgeoisie*, that the 'forces of civilization' are called into requisition. They might feel inclined to inquire whether this is not an illustration of the truth that language is modified by social changes, a phrase of this kind being coined to disguise the fact that even the progressive society of the nineteenth century requires weapons of defence peculiar to a ruder age, though it is better policy to call them by a finer name. We might quote passages from the works of American and Australian writers on the social conditions of the New World to show, in spite of the optimistic tendencies of the authors, that neither 'the aggrandisement and national perfection of Great Britain,' nor 'triumphant democracy' across the Atlantic, nor even 'popular government' at the Antipodes has proved an infallible organon as yet for the promotion of complete social happiness, on the principle laid down by one of them 'that, in order to attain the largest amount of happiness, it is essential that we should possess the largest possible amount of liberty compatible with its like enjoyment by all.'

For in the concluding words of the work from which this is taken the writer shows that the extension of liberty, and a liberal use of it by free citizens, is no guarantee even of social safety.

'If the enfranchised masses of European countries,' he says, 'from their incapacity to wield with judgment the legislative power which their mere numbers give them, and instead use that power, regardless of principle and with the brute force of which it is capable, they will find those whom they drag down with them ready converts to *the more primitive method of contention*, the resort to which will have been forced upon them in defence of their common liberties.'¹

These are the last words of a Liberal Economist against socialism. In a similar threatening tone spoke the *Chicago Times* in November 1887 of 'grape shot for anarchists,' and the reply was given in the 'Chicago Riots.'

M. Molinari is an orthodox Political Economist of the same school, an economist rather than a politician, who, in his book on *Political Evolution and the Revolution*, describes politics as a superior branch of human industry, and he no doubt finds some living politicians in his own country—and elsewhere?—take the same view of the functions of government. But we are here concerned with his views on economic evolution, which are eminently optimistic. He looks forward hopefully to the final goal when all industrial enterprise shall be carried on by joint-stock companies on a large scale conjointly with workers banded together in highly-developed trades-unions, when in a perfectly adjusted mechanism, in which labour forms the natural pendant to capital, the undisturbed equilibrium of these two factors of production shall be restored and maintained *d'une manière définitive entre les entrepreneurs et les ouvriers.*²

The Descazeville strike in France, on which occasion the new word *watrinier*—derived from M. Watrin, the name of the manager who was trampled to death by the infuriated crowd of strikers—was coined, and the labour riots in Belgium, in both of which the organized trades-unions were put into direct antagonism with companies of this description, as well as the warfare within recent memory of the 'mammoth companies' of the United States with the most numer-

¹ See *Liberty and Liberalism*, by Bruce Smith, formerly Member of the Parliament of New South Wales, pp. 547, 683.

² *L'Evolution Economique du XIX^e Siècle: Théorie du Progrès*, p. 330, and ante, pp. 443-4; compare similar sentiments in Paul Leroy Beaulieu's *Le Collectivisme: examen critique du Nouveau Socialisme*, p. 407 et seq.

ous and most perfectly organized body of trades-unions in the world, the 'knights of labour,' are telling illustrations of the truths of this optimistic view of industrial development, ending in the final triumph of 'la grande industrie,' as here expressed by one of its most powerful advocates. M. Molinari admits some of the evils accompanying the growth and tendencies of modern industrialism, but these he ascribes to the feverish excitement of modern society, in its youth still, which will pass away with the maturity of manhood and old age. Solon's advice to Cræsus might not be out of place in such a case: 'Call no man happy before his death.' Socialists regard this tendency of modern industry, requiring colossal fortunes and driving out all small competitors, as a sign of social congestion, for which they predict an early death; whilst social reformers see in this form of industry, carried on by companies and syndicates, where moral and personal considerations are sacrificed to purely commercial or material objects, and where the relations of employers and employed are most unsatisfactory, the greatest danger to society; in fact, religious economists, like Charles Périn, see in it no less than *l'abîme de l'individualisme utilitaire*, the moral and social abyss in which individual selfishness has landed society.

To rescue it from this social abyss a body of Christian Socialists in France, called L'Œuvre des Cercles Catholiques d'Ouvriers, has formed itself into an association, whose programme consists in the attempt to bring about a counter-revolution, and to render nugatory some of the evil effects of unrestricted competition and the modern forms of industry as the economic effects of the revolution and 'la liberté du travail' which it inaugurated. Its object is 'to stem the tide of revolution,' to restore 'the rights of God' as against the 'rights of men,' and to reintroduce the form of industry under trade corporations which the revolution destroyed, and thus to redress the excesses of selfish industrialism—in short, to take up the work of social reform where it was interrupted by the Revolution a hundred years ago. This is the position taken up in a paper contained in the organ of the party under the title 'L'Action Sociale du Catholicisme et l'*Optimisme libéral*,' intended as a reply to M. le Comte d'Haussonville, who, in his book on *Combat contre la Misère*, had shown the impracticability of such an attempt of bringing back the social institutions of the past, whilst speaking most respectfully of the movement itself. At the present moment, and in anticipation of the centenary of the Revolution, a number of

articles written and published under the direction of a sub-committee of the 'Œuvre,' make their appearance monthly in the same organ, to show, from the condition of French society before the outbreak of the Revolution and since, that that event was the parent of most of the existing social evils and antagonisms, and that the only hope of society is in a return to a form of industry similar to that which prevailed under the shadow of the mediæval Church before the Revolution, in which the patriarchal and communal interrelationships of the various ranks of workers and employers acted as a social cement. What is aimed at is a return to trade corporation in a modern garb, with the religious sentiments pervading the co-operating parties—in short, a return from contract to social status, with the authority of religion as an antidote against the anarchical tendencies of reckless individualism. The truth contained in the principles of this association, whatever may be thought of its reactionary tendencies, is this, that the future fate of humanity must depend, not so much on material and economic as on moral and spiritual progress, and that political and economic reforms can do little towards social regeneration without a 'moral revolution.' The ethics of the market do not produce anything better than enlightened egoism, whilst the materialistic basis of socialistic altruism aims no higher than a wider diffusion of pleasure in an earthly paradise. 'Let us preach the gospel of the new civilization, which is the realization of universal happiness,' says the author of *The True Solution of the Labour Question* in a tract forming part of the 'New York Labour Library' (p. 47).

Unless nobler ideals are aimed at and stronger motives supplied than these, the optimist hopes of social reformers would be reduced to a narrow compass. 'An economic reorganization of society,' to use the weighty words of Professor Ingram, the leader of the reforming school of Political Economists in this country, 'implies a universal renovation, intellectual and moral, no less than material . . . modifying our whole environment, affecting our whole culture, and regulating our whole conduct—in a word, consciously directing all our resources to the conservation and evolution of humanity.'¹ Whence may we expect this renovating power to come except through a wider diffusion of Christian ethics?

The Church in her relation to Modern Democracy, whilst not forgetting her spiritual solidarity with the past, must inspire and direct this new movement of the moral, as the

¹ *Encyclopædia Brit.* 9th edit., *sub voce* 'Political Economy,' p. 401.

antecedent of social, amelioration. 'We see,' says one of the interlocutors in an imaginary dialogue on 'Political Optimism,'¹ contributed in the form of an article by Mr. Traill in the *Nineteenth Century* a few years ago—

'We see that political systems tend in all progressive societies towards Socialistic Democracy ; . . . we feel, too, that nothing we can do can avert, or possibly long delay, the consummation. . . . Well, then, I say, we *must* believe, whether with a theological or philosophical faith, that the movement is being guided, or is guiding itself, to happy issues, or we should be forced to throw up the political game in sheer blankness of despair.'

For us there is only one alternative, the faith that the movement is thus being guided aright, and in this way religion becomes a great spiritual reserve force in social evolution. But we must not expect this progress to be one which is nearing the goal by leaps and bounds. Canon Fremantle, in his interesting work on *The World as the Subject of Redemption*, being the Bampton Lectures for 1885, has drawn a fanciful ideal of a Christian world co-extensive with the Christian Church, in which 'the great and growing society of commerce becomes, therefore, like every other form of human society, a branch of the universal Church,' &c. (p. 320) ; whilst further on he says—

'Co-operative production still more may be looked upon as affording scope for the bringing of trade under the dominion of the Christian spirit ; for we can hardly imagine anything more nearly fulfilling the idea of a Church than a vast co-operative guild, inspired by the Christian spirit of mutual well-doing, with rulers and a brotherhood united in the work to which their lives and interests were devoted in common, and aiming, by the labour of all together, at the supply of the wants of all its members' (p. 348).

But this picture of a society fulfilling the common law of labour in 'a vast brotherhood of mutual beneficence' is, after all, nothing more than a fancy picture. 'The progress of co-operation' in this country, as we know from its latest reports, though a splendid success, is accompanied by 'the progress of *egoism* among co-operators.' But 'an organization of fraternity' demands a curbing of the selfish propensities, not their development ; nor should it be necessary for the veteran president of the Co-operative Congress, and the oldest survivor of the 'Christian Socialists,' in this year of grace 1888, to exhort his followers with the utmost solemnity :

¹ 'Political Optimism : a Dialogue,' by H. D. Traill, *Nineteenth Century*, August 1880, p. 304.

'Lift up your eyes from material things,' so that co-operation may 'rise from a disguise of self-interest into a principle of social duty.'¹ The progress made in moralizing even co-operative enterprise, as 'the commencement of a new industrial evolution,'² being thus slow and surrounded by difficulties, arising from the imperfect conditions of human nature, we must not be too eager in our reformatory optimism, even when it is founded on a belief in 'a more direct outpouring of the Divine vitality upon human organisms,' to see our most sanguine expectations immediately realized. Nor must we forget that incongruities, irregularities, and inconsistencies of the social, as of the individual life, are part of the order of things appointed by God for discipline. For, as Mozley pointed out more than fifty years ago in his well-known *Essay on Job*, they must be regarded as being in a measure an integral part of the supramundane system itself, undergoing changes appointed by the same Divine authority, and having thus a relatively permanent value in the Divine education of mankind.

Thus the higher eschatological hopes of transcendental optimism are calculated to supplant alike the false superficial optimism of minds too easily satisfied with the past achievements of humanity, and but too willing to see in them the augury of still greater triumphs in the future, and also to replace the unreasonable pessimism of those fretting minds whom the world has treated badly, or whose gloomy imagination inclines them to take a desponding view of things as they are, or even may be hereafter. Equally distant from that misanthropical pessimism which despairs of human nature, and that kind of good-natured, good-humoured, and good-intentioned optimism which tries to heal all social diseases by philanthropic lemonade, a philosophy of life founded on Christianity looks on the world neither through rose-hued nor darkened spectacles, but with the last words of the dying thinker Kant, himself often referred to as a pessimist, 'It is good,' accepts with gratitude what good there is, but at the same time remembers that the often-quoted text of the Old Testament—often quoted as the expression of Hebrew optimism—'And behold, it was very good' (Gen. i. 31), refers, where it stands, to a cosmological order in the state of primæval innocence. It strives to remove the obstacles to human happiness and progress, neither overrating nor undervaluing

¹ See *Report of the 19th Annual Co-operative Congress*, 1887, p. 13 and preface; and the *20th Report* for 1888, p. 10 and *passim*.

² See *Fortnightly Review*, August 1887, pp. 165-9.

the efficacy of all methods for the improvement of human beings individually and in the aggregate. But this it does not in the spirit of believers in 'blindfold evolution,' whose sole aim is to eliminate evil and to foster good in the structure of a society which they believe already to be in course of decomposition,¹ and which may be called the optimism of sad resignation. Without leaning either towards prospective optimism or pessimism over much, having learned from the fallacies contained in either tendency the importance of keeping the eye steadily on facts, and carefully avoiding fanciful vagaries, the Christian philosopher yet hopes, in the endeavour to accomplish his own appointed task, to help in some degree in reducing 'the social chaos to universal harmony ;' remembering that there are what Mr. Ruskin calls 'the pleasures of faith,' as well as the 'pleasures of hope,' we may fulfil our own destiny, knowing that if we would in some measure 'taste the calm completion of content' in the divinely appointed process of the world, we must take for our guide the ethical paradox of the Apostle as the paradigm of life's moods and tenses : 'Sorrowful, yet always rejoicing.'

SHORT NOTICES.

1. *Dust. A Letter to the Rev. C. Gore, M.A., Principal of the Pusey House, Oxford, by the Rev. LUKE RIVINGTON, M.A., on his book, 'Roman Catholic Claims.'* (London : Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1888.)
2. *Some Remarks on 'Dust.'* By CHARLES GORE, M.A. (Oxford : B. H. Blackwell, 1888.)

THE two disputants whose polemical encounter we have recorded above (pp. 332-52) in our article upon the Roman Question, have since crossed weapons again. Mr. Rivington has published a rejoinder to Mr. Gore in a pamphlet entitled *Dust*, while Mr. Gore has published *Some Remarks on 'Dust'* as a surrejoinder. Mr. Rivington exhibits some smartness, even if he comes a little short of actual wit, in the reason he assigns for choosing his title : viz. that it is due to the coincidence of the same phrase being used by Mr. Gore and another critic of his book on *Authority*, that one of its statements was such as to make a man 'rub his eyes.' And he says that the only cause to which the

¹ See R. H. Hutton's article in *Contemporary Review* for April 1887, p. 484.

said process can be attributed is the eyes being full of dust thrown into them in the name of history. Neither pamphlet is furnished with a motto; and we offer Mr. Rivington 'Pulvis et umbra sumus' as a sufficiently appropriate one for his tractate, since it indicates at once the plurality of authorship and the part Mr. Rivington's name, as sole writer, really plays. For those who are versed in the Roman controversy can recognize at once that the pleas put forward both in *Authority* and the present publication belong to one specific school of Roman polemics, and are such as would all but certainly not have suggested themselves independently to Mr. Rivington's mind, even crediting him with the erudition (such as it is) which they display. Nor is it difficult to conjecture on what smith's anvil they were in fact forged. *Dust*, then, is thrown into the form of a letter to Mr. Gore on his book *Roman Catholic Claims*, and, after the bantering preface we have glanced at, proceeds to endeavour the disproof, or at least the minimizing, of three sections in that work, dealing severally with the works of Hippolytus, the Forged Decretals, and Anglican Jurisdiction. The gist of the first of these divisions of *Dust* is that Mr. Gore has been misled by the late Bishop Wordsworth's views upon Hippolytus, which have been disproved by Dr. Döllinger, and that consequently there is no likelihood that St. Francis de Sales or Sir Thomas More would have been affected by the *Refutatio* had it been known in their days. As to the False Decretals, Mr. Rivington simply echoes faithfully the *mot d'ordre* given out by the Roman authorities ever since the defence of their authenticity has become impossible, which is to make the following assertions: that every privilege and power the False Decretals assign to the Pope had been recognized and acted on long before; that the forgery was not in the Papal interest at all, but in that of Bishops; that it is cruelly false to allege that the Holy See, and specifically Pope Nicholas I., caught at their support; and that there is nothing in the argument that their notorious absence from the Papal archives is evidence of the complicity of the Popes in accrediting the forgery. The third division contests the validity of Mr. Gore's arguments as to the responsibility of the whole Church of England for the renunciation of allegiance to the Pope in Henry VIII.'s reign; and it is in this portion that the mask slips aside for a moment, and the true inspirer of the pamphlet indiscreetly discloses himself to experts. In a few closing paragraphs Mr. Rivington traverses Mr. Gore's citation of St. Bernard's and St. Jerome's language as incompatible with Roman infallibility, treating it as irrelevant, brings up the old charge of Donatism against the Church of England, and contrasts the variety of religious opinion visible within her pale unfavourably with the uniform doctrinal standard of the Church of Rome.

To all this Mr. Gore replies in a pamphlet little more than one-third as long, a detail in itself indicative of the stronger case, since it shows that he is not compelled to multiply words in order to darken counsel. For him, too, we would suggest a motto. 'What mysteries do lie beyond thy dust' might do; but an apter one, with allusion to the spurious erudition of the joint tractate, is Cicero's 'Numquam

eruditum illum pulverem attigistis' (*De Nat. Deorum*, II. xviii. 48). Mr. Gore begins by admitting that one statement on an historical point in his *Roman Catholic Claims* might possibly be found to need correction, or at least modification. It is on the purely subordinate issue of the original source of the petition about Annates, which he had ascribed to Convocation, but which is in fact of uncertain derivation. Then he takes up Mr. Rivington's cavils in their turn; first pointing out that, so far from differing from Dr. Döllinger's view of Hippolytus, it is precisely in accordance therewith that he has used Hippolytus as a convincing testimony against Papal infallibility, the real point being that it is the undisputed eminence and orthodoxy of Hippolytus, his admitted rank as a Saint, which make his language concerning the Pope of his day proof positive that he did not himself account the Pope secure from error, and that his own position was not in the slightest degree affected by his attitude upon this matter. Mr. Gore passes a little too easily over the paragraphs of Mr. Rivington's pamphlet which touch on the False Decretals, confining himself to saying that he did not question that the Papal claims began earlier than the forgery, but that it supplied them with a basis in the early centuries to which they were not entitled. But he had an ample opportunity of impaling Mr. Rivington (or rather his Loyolist prompter) for the ignorance or the bad faith exhibited in this part of *Dust*, by simply citing the letter of Pope Nicolas, defiantly scouting the objection of the Gallican Bishops that they had never heard of these new claims and documents suddenly sprung upon them, and declaring that their absence from any code thitherto brought to public knowledge was no argument at all against them, and that they had long been reverently preserved in the Roman archives.¹ So common a book as

¹ A few sentences of this letter may be advantageously cited in illustration: 'Absit enim, ut cujuscumque usque ad ultimum vitæ suæ diem, qui in Fide Catholica perseveraverit, vel decretalia constituta, vel de ecclesiastica disciplina quælibet exposita, debito cultu et cum summa discretionem non amplectatur opuscula, quæ duntaxat et antiquitus S. Romana ecclesia conservans, vobis quoque custodienda mandavit, et penes se in suis archivis et vetustis rite monumentis recondita veneratur. . . . Quamquam quidam vestrum scripserint, haud illa decretalia priscorum Pontificum in toto codicis Canonum corpore contineri descripta . . . porro si ideo non esse decretales epistolas priscorum Pontificum Romanorum admittendas dicunt, quia in codice Canonum non habeantur adscriptæ; ergo nec Gregorii sancti, nec ullius alterius qui ante vel post ipsum fuit, est aliquid institutum vel scriptum recipiendum, eo quod in codice Canonum non habeatur adscriptum . . . nec ipsas divinas Scripturas novi et veteris Testamenti jam recipimus . . . etiam neutrum horum in codice ecclesiasticorum Canonum habetur insertum. . . . Quoniam si vetus novumque Testamentum recipienda sunt . . . restat nimirum quod decretales epistolæ Romanorum Pontificum sunt recipiendæ. . . . Itaque nihil interest utrum sint omnia decretalia Sedis Apostolicæ constituta inter canones conciliorum immixta, cum omnia in uno corpore compaginari non possint, et illa eis intersint, quæ firmitatem his quæ desunt et vigorem suum assignent. . . . Consonat autem huic . . . in decretis suis Papa Gelasius, ita inquit: "Decretales epistolas quas beatissimi Papæ diversis temporibus ab Urbe Roma pro diversorum Patrum consultatione dederunt,

Janus might have told Mr. Rivington enough to have made him pause before penning the foolish sentences in which he attempts to deny the coarse complicity of Nicolas in the fraud. Mr. Gore's final pages are employed in vindicating his presentment of Tudor Church history and his citations from St. Bernard and St. Jerome; while he is fully justified in the doubt he expresses at the close whether Mr. Rivington is capable of understanding the nature of an argument or willing to face any definite point with clearness and decision. Mr. Gore has so incontestably the best of the discussion from a scholar's point of view, that we are almost reluctant to even seem to depreciate the value of what he has written by adding what we are not the less conscious of—that he has scarcely allowed sufficiently for the intellectual needs of that large class of readers who are unable to appreciate delicate rapier-play and indirect allusion, and for whom, consequently, things have to be said fully, explicitly, and incisively. The dust of the arena has to be laid, not merely that of the schools, and a proportionally large sprinkler, with very wide orifices, is required for the work.

The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint. Vol. I. (Genesis–iv. Kings). Edited by H. B. SWETE, D.D. (Cambridge University Press, 1887.)

THE first instalment of the Cambridge edition of the Septuagint is confessedly a work of merely temporary value. This manual edition is to be followed at some indefinite date by a larger one, in which the text will be based on all the available authorities, while in the *apparatus criticus* it is proposed to give 'the variations of all the Greek uncial MSS., of select Greek cursive MSS., of the more important versions, and of the quotations made by Philo and the earlier and more important ecclesiastical writers.' There can be no doubt that, if Professor Cornill's statement as to the 'Bild einer wahrhaft heil- und trostlosen Verwirrung,' which the Septuagint MSS. of Ezekiel present, may be extended—as with certain limitations it venerabiliter suscipiendas." In quo notandum, quia non dixit: Decretales epistolas quæ inter canones habentur, nec tantum quas moderni Pontifices ediderunt, sed quas beatissimi Papæ diversis temporibus ab Urbe Roma dederunt. Dictis autem diversis temporibus, etiam illa tempora vir sanctus comprehendit, quæ, crebrescentibus Paganorum persecutionibus, ad Sedem Apostolicam deferri causas Episcoporum difficillime permittebant.'—Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 869, xii.–xv.

In an earlier letter (862) to the Patriarch Photius Nicolas alleges that the only reason why that Patriarch rejected these Decretals was because of their testimony against the lawfulness of his own consecration: 'Quod vero dicitis, neque Sardicense Concilium, neque Decretalia vos habere sanctorum Pontificum, vel recipere, non facile nobis credendi facultas tribuitur . . . Decretalia autem quæ a sanctis Pontificibus primæ Sedis Romanæ Ecclesiæ sunt instituta, cujus auctoritate atque sanctione omnes Synodi et sancta Concilia roborantur, et stabilitatem sumunt, cur vos non habere vel observare dicitis, nisi quia vestræ ordinationi contradicunt, et ex laico ad culmen Patriarchatus transvolare resistunt?'—Baron. *Ann. Eccl.* 862, xv. See also Dr. Salmon's recent work on *The Infallibility of the Church* (pp. 445–9), which we hope to discuss in a future number of this Review.

may—to the other books of the Old Testament, the accession of so many authorities in the larger edition will largely alter the character of a text based (as in the volume before us) on a few uncial MSS. It is to be hoped that in the process of systematizing the material the proper method of pursuing the inquiry will appear. Are we to rely mainly, as Cornill would suggest, on the evidence of the various derived versions? or shall we attempt, with Lagarde, to restore one by one the three great recensions of Septuagint text to which Jerome makes reference, and then from a comparison of these try to recover the 'Urtext' of the Septuagint? The problem of restoration has many points in common with that of recovering the original 'Vetus Itala,' and in neither is success to be attained by theories which take into consideration only part of the data. Even so careful a worker as Professor Cornill, whose elaborate Prolegomena to his edition of the Book of Ezekiel form so valuable a contribution to the methods of textual criticism in the Old Testament, has had to retract one of his most important generalizations, referred to on page xxiii of the volume under review. He has admitted in the *Nachrichten von der K. G. d. W. zu Göttingen* for May 30, 1888 (pp. 194–6), that B is *not* based on Origen's work, and has accepted the suggestion made by Dr. Hort in the *Academy* for December 24, 1887.

There is, however, no doubt that the condition of the Septuagint text is better in the earlier than it is in the later books of the Old Testament—better, that is, in the historical than in the prophetic books. And yet even in the better preserved books there are many points which require to be cleared up before the version can be satisfactorily used to establish the Hebrew text. It cannot be said, for example, that the successive labours of Thenius, Wellhausen, and quite recently of Klostermann (in the *Kurzgefasster Kommentar*) have finally settled the problems raised by the Septuagint text of the Book of Samuel. Account must be taken of the doublets in the Hexaplar text, as at 4 Kings iv. 34, of corruptions of the Greek in transmission, as at 1 Kings xiv. 40 (where δουλείαν is probably a transcriptional corruption in Greek uncial MSS. of λογείον (= λόγιον) ἐν, and does not point to a different Hebrew text, or even a misreading of the Massoretic text). These are but instances of the truth of the general statement which forms the conclusion of Klostermann's preface: 'Um die LXX für die Beurteilung und Erklärung des Hebräers fruchtbar zu machen, zu der diplomatischen Arbeit die auf allseitige philologische und exegetische Erwägung gestützte Divination hinzukommen muss' (*i.e. Einleitung*, p. xl.). But the edition before us has only to do with what Klostermann points out as the preliminary work. It professes only to render available, in a reliable form, the text of the Septuagint as contained in six of the best uncials. Of these six the first three, which are no doubt also the most important three, $\aleph$, A, B, have been for some time accessible in Tischendorf's editions, in the last of which we have a 'nearly full and remarkably accurate collation,' due to Dr. Nestle. $\aleph$ is, however, very fragmentary for much of this part of the Old Testament, while our knowledge of the various correctors who have

been at work on A and B would seem to be uncertain (pp. xix, xxii). It may here be pointed out that discrepancies exist between the accounts given in Tischendorf and the edition before us as to two of the lacunæ of A, Tischendorf rightly making one begin at 1 Sam. xii. 17, and another end at Psalm lxxix. 12, while Swete's edition (p. xxii) is wrong. Another small difference is found as to the lacuna at Gen. xiv. 14. Swete's edition makes a reference to the readings of A more easy, because they have not, as in Tischendorf, to be got from a combination of text and notes.

The other three uncial MSS., D, E, F, were known mainly through channels inaccessible to the majority of students. It is the careful transcription of these authorities which gives its chief value to the volume before us. D (*Codex Cottonianus Geneseos*) was burnt at Ashburnham House in 1731, and its valuable evidence would have been almost entirely lost but for a MS. collation by Grabe, which there is every reason to believe is extremely accurate. The fragments rescued from the fire (now in the British Museum) have been edited by Tischendorf in the *Monumenta Sacra ined.* vol. ii., but from the nature of the case their evidence is often uncertain and illegible. The D^{al}, which meets us so often in the references to the MS., shows the impossibility of any verification of its reading. Would it not have been advantageous to add to the prefatory notice of the MS. a list of the fragments which have survived, as might have been done from Tischendorf's *Prolegomena*, p. xiii?

E (*Codex Bodleianus Geneseos*), like the MS. just noticed, is useful only for the text of Genesis, and even in this there are three large lacunæ. It is a comparatively late MS.—Tischendorf refers it to the eighth century—but is valuable on account of its good text, and also because it contains more than any uncial MS., except two, of the Septuagint version of Genesis. The first of the lacunæ, mentioned on p. xxvi, ought to have been given as xiv. 7 to xviii. 24 (instead of xiv. 6 to xvii. 24); and, in accordance with the promise on p. xvi., there ought to have been a statement in the textual notes of the fact that E at Gen. xx. 14 ends with ἀπε . . . of ἀπέδωκεν. A limited comparison of this MS. with its readings as given in Tischendorf, *Monumenta Sacra*, vol. ii., suggests that in Gen. xxxi. 23 we ought to have had E agreeing with A for μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ, as against the μεθ' αὐτοῦ of F. In Gen. xlii. 9 (App.) the reading ἐστε should have been marked E^{17a7}, as ἐρη is marked in xxxi. 38, because both these have the same sign in Tischendorf (*i.e.* *Proleg.* p. xl). In Gen. xlii. 15 E should have been added to the authorities for μὲν as against ἡ.

F (*Codex Ambrosianus*) contains much more of the Septuagint text, as it goes down to Joshua xii. 12. There are, however, large lacunæ, and therefore it would be useful, as has been already suggested with regard to D, to have such a list of the extant portions as might be provided from Ceriani's *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, iii. pp. ix-x. In regard to this MS. certain points may be noticed, in which the readings of the Cambridge edition do not agree with Ceriani's transcript. Thus, in Joshua x. 37, the mark which signifies that F's evidence is available after a lacuna should be inserted before

ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ, and not in its present place. In Deut. xxviii. 63 it should have been marked as ending with ἡνῶσαν . . . instead of the F^{rid} of the textual note, and the last note on p. 118 might have been omitted. Again, in Gen. xxxi. 23, 24, 27 F should be marked as mutilated: in Gen. xxxi. 22 its reading ἱακω is not noticed, nor is the reading ἀκριβῆ in Deut. i. 14; nor in Exod. xxxi. 18 is it quoted, as it might have been, for Σινά. The notation used in Deut. i. 7 does not imply clearly that F repeats ποταμοῦ twice—ἕως τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου ποταμοῦ Εὐφράτου.

It will thus be seen that even a limited comparison of the Cambridge edition with the authorities on which it professes to be based shows that there are a certain number of corrections to be made. Those quoted may seem trifling, but it must be remembered that accuracy is the sole justification for the existence of what must be, in the nature of things, an ephemeral text. Complete accuracy was hardly to be expected where the possibilities of error were so numerous, and the text before us has attained it so nearly that we cannot but feel that it will prove a useful and reliable edition. It seems to be almost, if not quite, free from misprints, and the fact of its being issued from the Cambridge University Press is a sufficient guarantee of the clearness and excellence of the Greek type.

Church History. By Professor KURTZ, translated by the Rev. JOHN MACPHERSON, M.A. Vol. I. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1888.)

THE well-known *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte* of Professor J. H. Kurtz has stood the tests of age and use in a quite extraordinary degree. It is now nearly half a century old; a new edition of it has been demanded about once in every five years: it has already twice appeared in an English form, at Edinburgh in 1860 and at Philadelphia in 1870. Mr. Macpherson has used its ninth edition; a tenth edition was published three years ago. Its standpoint is that of orthodox Lutheranism, symbolizing at not a few points much more closely with Catholicism than with Calvinism or Puritanism—a characteristic which led its first English translator to take many unjustifiable liberties with its text. In method and clearness of statement it is almost unrivalled amongst German works of this class. Its new translator has done his best, according to his lights, to preserve these two good qualities, although he has here and there somewhat mangled the method and dimmed the clearness of the original.

Professor Kurtz states in his preface that in his division of Church history into periods he has set aside the customary separation of the 'Apostolic' age from the 'post-Apostolic' and the 'Old Catholic' ages. Such an arbitrary separation seems to him, he says, to be unhistorical and incompatible with the facts. He can trace no hard break between the age of the Apostles and the age of Irenæus, when the great Church in its entirety was everywhere recognized as 'the Catholic' Church. The 'Old Catholic' age in Kurtz's arrangement is succeeded by the 'Œcumenical-Catholic Imperial' age, which began with the conversion of Constantine, and was the period of the Councils

acknowledged œcumenically, or by the whole Christian community in the East and the West. The division between East and West brought about an entirely different period, when 'the Œcumenical Catholic Church' was definitively sundered into two bodies, 'the Roman Catholic' and 'the Greek Catholic.' Kurtz regards Cyprian in the West and Origen in the East as the two most characteristic and epoch-marking persons of the 'Old Catholic' period. The translator appears not to approve of Dr. Kurtz's division; for he has set up 'the Apostolic age' as an independent epoch, and has expunged Dr. Kurtz's protest that such a 'Verselbständigung' is 'mehrfach unzutraglich.' The translator confusedly talks of 'the age of the Œcumenical Catholic or Byzantine-Roman *National* Church.' Dr. Kurtz, we need hardly say, never made so queer a blunder. He speaks indeed of a 'Reichskirche,' but he means a Church which was 'imperial,' and therefore was not 'national.' The development of 'National' Churches within the Catholic Church—the Gallican, German, Spanish, English, and other Churches in the West, or the Russian, Bulgarian, Servian, and other Churches in the East—could not begin until a later age. The translator may possibly hold the Philistine doctrine of the Liberation Society, that wherever the qualities 'Imperial,' 'National,' or 'State' are prefixed to the word 'Church' they must mean one and the same thing. Hence he has either grievously misunderstood his author, or else has purposely dislocated the order and changed the nomenclature which he found in the original. During the period which began with the Apostles and ended with the recognition of the Church by the Empire, the Church as a phenomenon in history is seen by Kurtz to have been held together as one by the sheer force of its own inward spiritual power and its own organization. After the recognition of the Church by the Empire, the Church, as a phenomenon in history—while still possessing all that it previously had—is seen to be outwardly held together as one (1) by its relation to the supposed Œcumenical Roman Empire, and (2) by its Œcumenical Councils. When Dr. Kurtz says that 'the three ages Apostolic, post-Apostolic, and Old Catholic' differ from 'the following Œcumenical-Catholic Imperial Church,' his translator arbitrarily cuts out the 'Apostolic' age, and says that 'the post-Apostolic' and 'Old Catholic' ages differed from 'the Œcumenical-Catholic National Church.' As wherever Dr. Kurtz says 'three' the translator coolly substitutes 'two,' he ought to have added some note to prove that Dr. Kurtz is in the wrong and on what grounds he corrects him.

In Dr. Kurtz's section on the 'Doctrinal Controversies of the Old Catholic Age' we are told that 'frictions (*Reibungen*) and strifes were not wanting within the Church' as preliminaries to 'the formation and settlement of the contents of the Church's doctrinal system.' We hope that it is the printer, and not the translator, who is responsible for the statement that '*fiction* and controversy had already begun as a preparation for the construction of the ecclesiastical system of doctrine.' Mr. Macpherson uses the one word 'ecclesiastical' as a synonym for very different German words and

expressions. He properly enough renders 'kirchlich' (churchly) as 'ecclesiastical.' But when Dr. Kurtz distinguishes the offices in the Church as 'Gemeindeämter' and 'Geistesämter'—that is, 'congregational offices' and 'spiritual offices'—he translates the former as 'ecclesiastical' and the latter as 'ministerial.' Thus he makes out the bishop and the deacon to be merely 'ecclesiastical,' whereas the apostle, prophet, evangelist, pastor, and teacher were all 'ministerial.' We fail to discover the object of this queer translation, unless it be the exaltation of 'the minister' in the sense of modern Puritan and Methodist clericalism. In one place, where the theories of author and translator do not seem to square conveniently, the latter oddly renders 'Geistesämter' as 'a divine call.' The range of the German term 'Gemeinde' has evidently been a trouble to Mr. Macpherson. Dr. Kurtz invariably means by it 'a congregation,' which Mr. Macpherson always translates 'Church,' although he is obliged to use the same English word as the translation of 'Kirche.' He translates 'klerikalen Gemeindeämter' as 'regular ecclesiastical offices.' He misrepresents by his omissions what Dr. Kurtz says about baptism. 'Infant baptism,' declares the translator, 'though not universally admitted, was yet in theory almost universally admitted to be proper. Tertullian alone is found opposing it.' But what Dr. Kurtz says is that 'although the baptism of children cannot be proved by any particular instance to have been the practice of the Apostles, it is certainly conceivable from Acts ii. 39, xvi. 33, 1 Cor. vii. 14 that it was so. Later, if it was not even universally introduced, it was in theory almost universally acknowledged as allowable. Tertullian alone is an opponent of it, whilst Origen regards it as apostolical tradition.' Is Mr. Macpherson amongst the anti-Origenists? He excludes his author's reference to Origen.

Mr. Macpherson's feats as a translator become exceedingly quaint when he gets into the period described by the author as 'das germanisch-romanische Mittelalter,' and paraphrased by the translator as 'the German and Roman Church during the Middle Ages.' Dr. Kurtz speaks of the numerous English pilgrimages 'to the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles' ('des Apostelfürsten,' in the singular, meaning St. Peter'), which Mr. Macpherson renders in the plural as 'the chief Apostles.' 'For the fostering of these pilgrimages' ('dieser Pilger'—these pilgrims—is what Dr. Kurtz says) 'and as a training school for English clergy,' Mr. Macpherson continues, 'the *Schola Saxonica* was founded in the eighth century, and for its maintenance and that of the States of the Church, on St. Peter's Day, June 29, was collected the so-called Peter's pence.' He is clearly of the notion that by 'der h. Stätten' ('the holy places' in Rome visited by the pilgrims) Dr. Kurtz means 'der Kirchenstaat,' the Papal territory. If the translator had taken the trouble to make some independent study of his subject he would have saved himself from not a few astounding blunders. Sometimes the translation is made to say the exact opposite of the original. 'Soon after the election' (of Pope Gregory IV. in 827), says the translator, 'political troubles arose in the Frankish kingdom, which contributed to the

emancipation of the nation from the Papacy.' Dr. Kurtz says that the political confusions which broke out could not but be advantageous to the longings of the *Papacy* for emancipation.' There is not a word about 'the nation' in the original. Gregory IV. hoped to make himself independent of the empire and to bring the young national Churches into subjection to his see, but he failed in both objects. Mr Macpherson tells us that 'the *Pope* gathered to a diet the bishops who remained true to the old emperor, threatened them with excommunication. But they answered the *Pope* that he had no authority in *France*.' As if the *Pope* could have summoned the Reichstag! It was held at Worms, and not 'in *France*.' What Dr. Kurtz says is that the *Pope* threatened the bishops whom the emperor, as head of the 'Reich,' or empire, had assembled at a Reichstag in Worms. Nor does Dr. Kurtz say that the bishops told the *Pope* that he had no authority 'in *France*,' but that they told him that he could not give commands in 'the empire of the Franks.' Dr. Kurtz uses the definite article, '*im* Frankenreich;' if he had meant 'in *France*' he would have said '*in* Frankreich.' The emperor was 'Ludwig der Fromme' (Lewis the Pious), whom Mr. Macpherson oddly calls again and again 'Louis of *France*.' Finding in the original 'Ludwig d. Fr.,' he jumped to the conclusion that 'd. Fr.' must stand for 'des Frankreichs.' This initial confusion leads in a heap of other confusions, so that Mr. Macpherson, just as if he had been taught mediæval geography by a modern French enthusiast for the war of the *revanche*, locates many a German city in *France*. Charles the Great and his sons are all 'French kings,' according to him, although Dr. Kurtz calls them 'Fränk. Könige,' not 'Französische Könige;' so where the translator finds 'Fränk. Partei' he renders it as 'French party.'

The contractions which occur so frequently in the original have been a puzzle and a snare to the translator. Wherever Dr. Kurtz uses the contraction 'h.' for 'heilige,' such as 'der h. Boniface' ('St. Boniface'), Mr. Macpherson always obliterates the prefix. He states that Walafrid Strabo's *Glossæ ordinariæ* are 'short explanations of the Latin *part* of the Bible,' his equivalent for 'zum lat. Texte der Bibel.' He tells us that 'the rulers of the West Franks combined their forces, and called an Imperial synod at Savonnières, a frontier city of Toul.' He might as reasonably call Islington 'a frontier city of London.' 'Eine Vorstadt' means a suburb. The *Regula pastoralis* of Gregory the Great, according to Mr. Macpherson, 'obtained in the West a position almost equal to the canonical books.' The ignorant reader will imagine that it was placed nearly on a level with the Bible. But Dr. Kurtz merely says 'zu fast kanonischem Ansehen' ('to almost canonical authority'). A series of German and Gallican councils in the ninth century promulgated 'canons,' urging the study of the book upon all bishops and pastors. In the Gallican Church it seems to have been given to a bishop at his consecration along with the 'book of the canons' of the Church. By 'das Nicænum' Dr. Kurtz supposes the reader will understand 'symbol,' or creed, and not 'Nicæanism,' as his translator puts it. He has hacked about at will

the author's sections upon the Christian festivals. 'The first traces of the Christmas festival in the Roman Church,' says he, 'are found about A.D. 360; some decades later they appear in the Eastern Church.' Dr. Kurtz says, 'The first express mention of the Christmas festival, as customary in the Roman Church about 360, is to be found in Ambrose; but its first introduction must have taken place some decades earlier.' 'The Christmas festival,' says Kurtz, 'corresponded to a universally felt Christian need, and hence it spread out from Rome with surprising rapidity, not merely over the whole West, but even over the whole East, so that Chrysostom could already extol it as the *ἐορτὴ πασῶν σεμνοτάτη* and the *μητρόπολις πασῶν τῶν ἐορτῶν*.' For this sentence of the original the translator has provided the following substitute: 'The late introduction of this festival is to be explained from the disregard of the birthday and the prominence given to the day of the death of Christ in the ancient Church; but Chrysostom even regarded it as the *μητρόπολις πασῶν τῶν ἐορτῶν*.' Dr. Kurtz, speaking of the Missa Fidelium during the first three centuries, says that the Communion of the faithful was not preceded by any formal act of confession. 'The need of such an act was not as yet felt,' he adds, 'because its place was supplied by the existing disciplinary and liturgical regulations.' His translator perverts the author's statement by saying, 'The need of such an act as a regular disciplinary and liturgical ordinance had not as yet made itself felt.'

In short, we have never come upon a translation which stood in greater need of a revision. 'Spiritualismus' is rendered by Mr. Macpherson as 'religious idealism,' 'künstliche Relief-Arbeiten' as 'practice in relieve work,' Charles the Great's 'schöpferisch-reformatorischen Wirken' as 'Charlemagne's powerful' (instead of 'creative') 'efforts in the direction of reform.' When Kurtz states that Agobard opposed the mechanical theory of inspiration by the assertion that the holy prophets were 'something better' ('mehr gewesen') than Balaam's she ass, Mr. Macpherson actually makes him say that they 'were *more foolish* than Balaam's ass.' He translates 'Erzbisthum' (archbishopric) as 'archbishop.' He interprets 'Reichsstand'—where the original refers to the metropolitan sees—as 'a party in the empire.' The Liberation Society no doubt considers the English bench of bishops to be 'a party' in the nation. But 'Stand' is the technical name in the Teutonic lands, as Germany and the older Swiss cantons, for a political 'estate.' The best English translation of 'Reichsstand' would be 'estate of the realm.' Hincmar, says Dr. Kurtz, twice defeated the Pope, 'a second time in his own affair,' or 'concern.' Mr. Macpherson translates 'in eigener Sache' as 'in a *document* of his own.' When Dr. Kurtz says that the so-called Hatch theory of the origin of the episcopate was first expounded by Heinrici, and was grounded by him upon 'bezügliche Schriften' of Mommsen and Foucart, Mr. Macpherson not only renders the above words as 'original researches,' but obliterates all mention of Heinrici, and thus denies his claim to priority of invention. He makes Dr. Kurtz father the theory upon Mr. Hatch. He has no right to rob one scholar to pay another, and misrepresent a third scholar as the real

bandit. He seems to have a particular tenderness towards Mr. Hatch, for he forces references to his works into places where they do not occur in the original.

The Catacombs of Rome and their Testimony relative to Primitive Christianity. By the Rev. W. H. WITHROW, M.A. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1888.)

THE want which Mr. Withrow attempts to supply is a real one. There is no thoroughly good popular book in English on the Catacombs; and we should be glad if we could say that he had succeeded in filling the gap. For the author and his publishers have spared no trouble; the book is copiously illustrated with woodcuts, which, although somewhat rough, serve to give a very fair idea of what is explained in the text; and Mr. Withrow, although not writing as an original authority, has always gone to the best sources for information. He is free from the various antiquated errors which used to be common, and gives a very valuable account of the history, the uses, and the explorations of the Catacombs. He quotes inscriptions copiously, he illustrates them by constant extracts from the Fathers, and, with a little more self-restraint and a little more thorough theological knowledge, he might have produced a really useful book.

He tells us in the preface that he writes as a Protestant, and 'thinks no apology is necessary for the somewhat polemical character of portions of the book.' Now if he had been only moderately polemical we should not have complained; the Catacombs have been very unfairly used by some Roman Catholic controversialists, and a correction of their errors might be almost necessary, and certainly excusable. But the long pages of extravagant tirade against modern Romanism, which have nothing to do directly with the subject, not only spoil the book, but miss their object. Extravagant abuse of Rome will always produce a reaction towards Rome, and is also a great stumbling-block to many half-Christians. If one part of Christendom says that the other is so very degraded, many a man begins to doubt the truth of Christianity altogether. The account of mediæval and modern Mariolatry, p. 319 *sq.*, the notes on pp. 521, 524, the peroration, p. 551, are instances.

It is partly owing to this Protestantism and partly to theological ignorance that we find some very curious theological statements. On p. 507 he gives a list of the Greek hierarchy which includes 'presbyter, proto-deacon, deacon, sub-deacon, and common priest.' On baptism he is very confused:—

'The Church of the Catacombs . . . did not, after the manner of the Church of Rome and other modern extreme sacramentalists, invest it with *regenerative* power, nor regard its involuntary omission as excluding the body from consecrated ground and the soul from heaven. Sometimes, by a beautiful metonymy derived from its spiritual significance, baptism is indicated as the *palingenesis*, or new birth, of which it is the appropriate symbol. The following is a characteristic example of this usage: CÆLESTE RENATUS AQUA' (pp. 534, 535).

We should be glad to know what extreme sacramentalists or modern Romans look upon the 'involuntary omission' of baptism as excluding

the soul from heaven, and also why we may believe in '*palingenesis*' and not '*regeneration*.' Again, to write 'the blasphemous title Theotokos, Mother of God,' shows ignorance of what the title implies. Much of the strength of Rome lies in such ill-considered attacks on the Church of the past.

As might be expected, Mr. Withrow's treatment of the subject of prayers for the dead is one of the least satisfactory parts of his book. It is well known that from the earliest times, as is proved by the Fathers, by liturgies, and by inscriptions, this custom prevailed; and on p. 442 are collected (quite honestly) examples of it, the early date of which is shown by their Greek language or character. They are explained in the following way:—

'And, be it remembered, these inscriptions were not a formulated and authoritative creed framed by learned theologians, but the untutored utterances of humble peasants, many of whom were recent converts from paganism or Judaism, in which religions such expressions were a customary sepulchral formula' (p. 443).

This may be true, but the whole of Mr. Withrow's book is an appeal to the purity of the Primitive Church, and on p. 415 he quotes an extract from Dean Stanley which asserts that the special value of the Catacombs is that they give the real feelings of the people better than they can be learnt from an elaborate theological treatise. If primitive Christianity was pure we must accept its teaching, and not explain it away just when we happen to disagree with it.

We have said nothing so far about the style. Mr. Withrow has a considerable command of language, but he overloads his book with rhetorical ornament. There is no doubt some difficulty in restraining oneself when one has such an excellent subject for rhetoric as the Catacombs, but we get tired of such passages as the following: 'We may read the irrefragable testimony, written with a pen of iron in the rock for ever, of the purity of the primitive faith, and of the gradual corruption which it has undergone.' If Mr. Withrow in his next edition strikes out every passage he thinks particularly fine, and learns to be historical instead of Protestant, he may produce a very useful work.

History of the Christian Philosophy of Religion from the Reformation to Kant. By BERNHARD PÜNJER. Translated from the German by W. HASTIE, B.D., with a Preface by ROBERT FLINT, D.D., LL.D. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1887.)

In his preface to this work Dr. Flint says of one section, 'With laborious conscientiousness our author has striven to give a complete account. Will the ordinary reader find the account even intelligible?' For not being intelligible in the instance quoted—in describing that somewhat doubtful claimant to philosophic distinction, Jacob Böhme—we may pardon him, but 'laborious conscientiousness' is certainly the distinguishing feature throughout.

The book has very decided merits. It has full Teutonic completeness; it has a preface in which the 'History of the Philosophy of Religion is defined and justified,' with an ample use of philosophic

phraseology. The question is asked; 'Whether the philosophy of religion should merely give a phenomenology of the religious consciousness?' And after the preface a review is given of Religious Philosophy down to the Reformation in order to take away the charge of incompleteness which might be made against a work which began only in the fifteenth century.

It has, too, the merit of objectivity, *i.e.* all the systems are analyzed with an honesty and care worthy of a *précis* writer, and with about as much regard to their external relations. It has, too, this amount of clearness, that anyone who is acquainted with the philosophic phraseology of all the writers passed under review will be able to understand their philosophy—and not otherwise.

As an honest, laborious piece of work and as a book of reference we can give Dr. Pünjer's *History* unqualified praise. Where it has dealt with periods with which we have any acquaintance we have always found it fair, correct, and discriminating.

But there is something more demanded from an historian of philosophy than a correct analysis of a succession of systems. Without being subjective, and reading into them his own views, he ought to be able to make them clear and intelligible to those who come from outside to study them, and he ought to show the connexion of the speculations with the thought of the age. This is a harder task, and one which Dr. Pünjer has hardly attempted.

A Manual of Introduction to the New Testament. By Dr. BERNHARD WEISS, Ober-Konsistorialrath and Professor of Theology. Translated from the German by A. J. K. DAVIDSON. In two volumes. Vol. I. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1887.)

'BERNHARD WEISS, who first appeared in print with his *Petrin. Lehrbegriff* (Berlin, 1855), and then directed his attention chiefly to the criticism of the Gospels, in the course of his minute, exegetical, critical, and biblico-theological works respecting modern criticism as a whole, arrived mainly at conservative results' (p. 23).

In this somewhat curious manner Dr. Weiss, in the Introduction to his *Introduction to the New Testament*, describes, and correctly describes, his own work.

It is needless to remark that, being a German, his book is as scientifically complete as it can be made; that he has a full account of the founding, of the history, the problem, and the method of what he calls the 'Science of Introduction'; and that his book shows none of the independence and imperfection of arrangement and literary power which, in the eyes of Germans, is supposed to detract from the merits of Dr. Salmon's *Introduction*. It is, however, an extremely valuable work, which gives at once the idea of honesty and originality of thought, and we are very gratified to those to whom we owe the translation from the language in which it was written.

The present volume contains the history of the Canon as a whole and of the Pauline Epistles, and both are admirably done. Of the former he says, 'It is the official recognition of the collective Church which makes a writing universally known,' and 'the reception of in-

dividual books into this Canon was in itself no guarantee of their Apostolic origin, since very diverse motives contributed to its origin' (p. 147). We owe our Canon to the formative influence of the Church, and this implies, he thinks, the inherent merit of the work, but not necessarily an Apostolic origin.

In the discussion of the Pauline Epistles the only points where we think he does not take the best view are those on which he has not had the advantage of being acquainted with the results of English criticism. He apologizes in the preface for not having had time to keep up with foreign theological literature, and he certainly might have learnt a good deal from Bishop Lightfoot's discussion of the date of the Philippians' and of the Colossian heresy. He sums up the case for and against the Pastoral Epistles without over-stating the conservative view, and thus bringing out more fully the weakness of the positive arguments against their genuineness.

The not very lucid style of the original is not always made more clear in the translation, and occasionally we have noted passages which fail to represent the original. The printing is not good. Whom are we to hold responsible for such an enormity, in a book which professes to be learned, as a page filled with Greek words of which *απερκείν* (*sic*) is the only one that boasts an accent?

The Ancient World and Christianity. By E. DE PRESSENSÉ, D.D.
Translated by ANNIE HARWOOD HOLMDEW. (London :
Hodder and Stoughton, 1888.)

THE object of Dr. Pressensé's latest work is best described in his own words :

'In preparing the present work we have traced with profound satisfaction the indications of this Divine law through all the religions of antiquity as these have come down to us in their sacred books. Everywhere and always we have found the voice of conscience uplifted in support of the law of right, even when this had become gravely obscured in the national worship' (p. viii).

Starting with prehistoric man, he traces the evolution of religion upwards. He describes the Chaldeo-Assyrian religion, the religions of Egypt and Phœnicia. He then passes on to the primitive Aryans and Zoroaster; to the religions of India, the Vedas, Brahmanism, and Buddha; then to Hellenic Paganism, and finally to the Græco-Roman world at the coming of Christ.

The book must of course labour under one defect, from which the same author's work on the history of Christianity was free—he cannot write as an original authority, or give the results of original research, about all these different systems; but he does what is next best—he in all cases consults the best authors who have treated each special subject, and more than this no one who wishes to form a philosophical conception of so many systems can do. No one, for example, will accuse Herbert Spencer of any acquaintance with original authorities in his work on ecclesiastical institutions, or with any idea of doing more than selecting the theory which harmonizes best with his philosophy.

The scope of the book is to point out, on the one hand, the imperfections of all the religions described ; on the other, the glimpses of truth which they contain, and the manner in which they prepared the human mind to perceive the need of the ' Word of God.' At the end, he describes the religious chaos and moral decline which accompanied the formation of the Roman Empire ; and here, although writing with a complete knowledge of the materials, he is somewhat deficient, because he writes too much as a rhetorician and apologist, and does not see the other side. Anyone who knows the literature and certain developments of the Parisian life of the day, and how inadequately they represent even France, ought to hesitate before he draws his pictures from the exaggerations of satirists like Juvenal or Persius. In order to compare Christian and heathen morality we must not compare a country vicarage with the imperial court of Tiberius or Nero. Life in the provinces was probably on a higher level.

The pleasant style in which the book is written, and which is preserved in the translation, will enable it to appeal to a large class of readers to whom an account of heathen religions which is sympathetic and rational, without sacrificing the exclusive claims of Christianity, will be of great service.

An Explanation of the Gospel according to St. John. By the Rev. W. H. B. PROBY, M.A. (London : J. T. Hayes, 1888.)

WE had occasion in reviewing a previous work by Mr. Proby to draw attention to some erroneous statements that he had made ; we are glad that we have little to say against this book. It does not show any great mental power, but for the purpose for which it is mainly intended—for the use of district visitors, reading to professed Christians—it may be found useful. The interpretation of the third and sixth chapters seems to us good and adequate, and the explanations of difficult passages are simple, and easy to follow.

St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel. By HOWARD HEBER EVANS, B.A., late Vicar of Mapperley, and formerly Scholar of Lincoln College, Oxford. (London : James Nisbet and Co., 1888.)

MR. EVANS has previously written a book to prove that St. Paul was the author of the Acts of the Apostles and of the Third Gospel ; on this occasion he has chosen a more hopeful theme, but we cannot congratulate him on the manner in which he has executed it.

His method is to prove that the Apocalypse and the Gospel are by the same author, and then to show that the external evidence for both is that they are by St. John. There is a certain boldness about this, as the great difficulty many critics have found in proving the genuineness of St. John's Gospel is the difference, partly in style, partly in thought, between it and the Apocalypse. These differences Mr. Evans wholly ignores. He has made his book almost entirely out of extracts from other books ; he quotes, for example, Archdeacon Farrar, who says that the writer of the Fourth Gospel was a mystic,

and Professor Reuss, who says the author of the Apocalypse was a mystic, and follows a similar method under many headings. The cumulative argument has, of course, considerable weight, but it is weakened when we find such headings as 'A Thoroughly Earnest Christian.' Is there really anything peculiar in a book of the New Testament being written by a 'thoroughly earnest Christian'? Again, it is undoubted that there are resemblances in phraseology between the Gospel and the Apocalypse, but in the list given in the Appendix (pp. 119-130) a large number of phrases are included on which absolutely no stress can be laid at all. What use is there in informing us that *μετὰ ταῦτα* or *ἰδοὺ* (which occurs very seldom in St. John's Gospel) are found in both writings, or that *γάμος ἐγένετο* occurs in one, and *ἦλθεν ὁ γάμος* in the other. The greater part of this long list is absolutely valueless.

We have criticized Mr. Evans severely, not because we for a moment hesitate to believe that the two books are the work of the same author, but because his method of criticism, which ignores all difficulties and is quite unable to appreciate the merits of argument, will not help to solve the problem. The fact that he omits all accents when he writes Greek will not please scholars.

The Mental Characteristics of the Lord Jesus Christ. By the Rev. HENRY NORRIS BERNARD, M.A., LL.B. (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1888.)

MR. BERNARD has undertaken a task which it is extremely difficult to carry out without irreverence, and which, we must confess, we wish he had not attempted. That lessons from the life of Christ may be drawn for our example is obvious, that the motives which are ascribed to Him in the Gospels may be analyzed is true, and it may be difficult sometimes to say what are the limits of legitimate speculation; but we must own we feel that we are trespassing on very dangerous ground when we dare to analyze the character of Jesus, when we ascribe motives, when we talk of His 'tact' or 'self-possession,' when we attempt to discriminate between the human and divine elements, the masculine and the feminine qualities of His mind.

In many ways Mr. Bernard has done his task well; he does not dwell upon the human element in order to obscure the divine; he recognizes both elements; there is, we believe, no intentional irreverence. There are also passages of considerable beauty, though tending to become sentimental. In dealing, however, with the character of the Blessed Virgin and her relations to Christ, he makes an attack upon her which is as unwarranted as it is indefensible, and will give a shock to all reverent minds. We do not know whether this has arisen from ultra-Protestantism; if so, we must remind Mr. Bernard that the excessive devotion of one section of the Church does not justify what is almost a blasphemous attack in another section. We refer chiefly to the whole of the chapter on 'The Home Life of Christ,' but perhaps an extract from the account of His crucifixion will best illustrate what we have said:

'Mary had not been all that a mother might have been to such a Son. She had not understood: and not understanding, she had let a certain estrangement grow up between her and the Lord Jesus Christ. She had suffered herself to be influenced by the unworthy suggestions of her other children, whose jealousy and dislike of their elder brother was no secret' (p. 267).

There are other passages which have a very unpleasant sound. *E.g.* 'The Lord Jesus Christ was no cynic, and in Him the need of sympathy was strong.' Further, the allusions to the continuity of character before and after the Resurrection do not so much strike a false note as show that the whole investigation is out of place. We do not wish to be severe upon Mr. Bernard, because we believe that his faults arise from errors of judgment rather than from want of religious feeling. But we ask him to read the chapter in Canon Liddon's *Bampton Lectures*, in which he dwells upon the impossibility of judging the character of Christ from a purely human standpoint, or of separating the human and divine. 'Si non Deus, non bonus.' And if this be true, an analysis of His character must always be a dangerous task to attempt.

The Religious Sentiments of the Human Mind. By DANIEL GREEN-LEAF THOMPSON. (London and New York: Longmans, 1888.)

MR. THOMPSON divides his investigation into four parts. In the first he shows the origin of religious sentiments:

'Given a self-distinguishing and self-active consciousness, which in the process of its self-distinguishing and in the exercise of its self-activity, finds a limitation of its knowledge and power, which by virtue of that limitation is compelled to posit a something beyond the limit, and which has in constant employment a constructive faculty, enabling it to develop fancies, imaginations, ideals, and hypotheses—given thus much, and the idea of a supernatural or an extra-natural, with some notions about the same, must inevitably arise. Hence the genesis of religious sentiments' (p. 17).

He then examines these sentiments from an intellectual point of view, and discovers that we can only learn about the world beyond by analogy with this life, that all our hypotheses are 'symbolical fictitious constructions of a supernatural world according to various analogies of the natural world' (p. 80). All religions being therefore equally true or equally false, we must next consider what are the moral influences of different forms. We now begin to discover his own sentiments: 'In a former work I have undertaken to show that this whole notion of sin in its effects upon the individual and social character is highly deleterious, and ought to be eradicated' (p. 103). We quite agree with him that sin ought to be eradicated, but to eradicate the notion of sin is impossible while sin remains, for sin is a fact primarily, not a doctrine. Of Christianity he writes:—

'Christian theologians have persevered and relied upon the hebetude of their disciples to proclaim and maintain a doctrine that these three or four divine persons are one God, and that their system is hence mono-

theistic. Men are unhappily quite ready to allow their intelligence to be insulted, even to the extent of persuading themselves to believe, because they think they ought in a spirit of reverence for authority, that black is white, and that two and two make five' (p. 112).

Such language is absolutely indefensible in a writer who professes to be a philosopher. Were he an uneducated man who had only been taught something about Christianity from outside, it would be painful to read, but might be excusable on his part. As it is, Mr. Thompson has written a book on psychology; he has picked up all the common philosophic jargon about the limits of the human intellect, yet he first accuses the greatest Christian intellects of hebetude or dishonesty, and then proceeds to criticize Christian doctrines without understanding them, and as if there was no limit to the power of the human intellect. 'This theological arithmetic is of course meaningless'—*i.e.* it is not in accordance with our ordinary experience. But he has already shown that the limits of the human mind are clearly defined. What right has he then, on *à priori* grounds, to condemn as nonsense a doctrine about that which is beyond the limits of the human intellect? He shows that he does not understand the philosophy he quotes so glibly.

He makes many other attacks on Christianity as offensive as that we have quoted, which we have not space to criticize. We must pass on to his views on religious liberty. From the dedication of the book we gather that this is a point on which he feels strongly, but his idea of it is curious. In the first place he would absolutely exclude clergymen from holding any position as trustee or on a board of government for schools. Why? Because they have 'a retainer,' because 'their opinions have no value as regards truth.' 'To give them any longer the controlling power, either in a faculty or among trustees . . . is to interpose the most effectual means to arrest progress in higher education,' &c. (see p. 173).

Now Mr. Thompson has made up his mind that the Christian religion is nonsense; a clergyman has made up his mind that it is true. Why is the clergyman disqualified, and not Mr. Thompson? The clergyman has a retainer. So has Mr. Thompson. The clergyman is in favour of one system of religious instruction, Mr. Thompson of another. If Mr. Thompson condemns the clergyman for excluding agnostics, by reason of being agnostics, from the board of a school, what right has an agnostic to exclude a clergyman because he is a clergyman? Mr. Thompson talks about the return of the fagot. He does not see that it is he that is bringing it back, that in the name of religious liberty he is damaging its first principles, and refusing liberty to all who have a definite belief, in the cause of what he calls scientific teaching.

His system of education is similar; it consists of the establishment and endowment of agnosticism; apparently religious education is to be compulsory, and every child has to be taught the arguments for and against all religions. What the moral effect of this teaching would be we leave to the imagination. What we wish to notice is that it is as much an interference with religious liberty to

compel all children to learn the indifference of all religions as to compel them to learn the truth of one.

Mr. Thompson professes to be a philosopher, and disobeys every principle of philosophy; he professes to be a friend of religious liberty, and would use the weapons of the State to exclude all who believe more than he does, from a share in directing education, and to impose upon all his own theories of religious training.

Faith and Conduct: an Essay on Verifiable Religion. (Anonymous.)
(London: Macmillan and Co., 1888.)

THE title of this book is a complete misnomer and conveys an utterly erroneous conception of its object and contents. The author holds that a distinct hard and fast line can be drawn between revealed religion, which is accepted on the authority of the Church and the Bible, and verifiable religion, which can be demonstrated by science and reason. Having thus vivisected living organisms which are inseparably bound up in the body of Christian truth, he applies the term Faith to the recognition of such truths as are verifiable by reason. But surely it is only to acceptance of the supernatural elements of religion that the word faith can properly be applied; there is little room for the exercise of 'faith' where demonstration is vouchsafed us. The author's own position affords an apt illustration of our meaning. His mind has evidently been so far influenced by certain modern theories that he is prepared (if we understand him rightly) to abandon much which he once held dear, and to which the mass of Christians still tenaciously adhere. Faith, without disguising or ignoring the difficulties involved, inspires them with patience to wait and trust for further light. 'He that believeth will not make haste.' Indeed, the class of believers whom the author regards as outside the scope of his inquiry would seize upon, and possibly turn against him, his own admission that 'faith may exist in a high degree without having an intellectual side at all. A loyal vassal is the better for fully understanding the law which binds him to his liege; but a loyal vassal, however uninstructed, is far better than the wisest of unloyal retainers' (p. 262). The purpose of the essay is to establish that, setting revelation and its teaching aside, the necessities of conduct are sufficient to prove that we are under the influence of a Higher Power, to whom we owe allegiance and who alone can guide our footsteps in the way of righteousness. Conduct and Natural Religion, in its primary sense of that which binds us to an unseen Deity, would be the appropriate name to connote the purpose of this volume.

So long as the author addresses himself to a restatement of the argument for Natural Religion, there is much both in his matter and his manner which commands earnest sympathy and admiration. He writes with calm dignity and an evident desire to arrive at truth. He is furnished with an adequate acquaintance with and mastery of those questions in ethics and philosophy which are essential for dealing with the class of objectors to whom this work is addressed. He proceeds to lay the foundations of faith (in his sense of the

word) reverently step by step. He is specially forcible in his demonstration that scepticism is liable to all the logical objections and difficulties that it has been wont to allege as conclusive against the verities of the Catholic faith. He sketches vividly the outlines of higher purpose alike in evolution as portrayed by the most eminent of modern scientists, and in history so far as its tangled pages have been unfolded to us. If his treatment of these portions of the subject is at times brief almost to baldness, he can urge in excuse that it is circumscribed by the necessary limits in which he is confined in a day when a big book can with difficulty secure a reader. So far as the writer's arguments are confined to the refutation of the latest infidel theories—the Agnostic position that God cannot be known at all, and the Positivist assertion that the world is under the sole influence of a fortuitous force acting through natural selection—they are clear and cogent. Whilst asserting that all philosophic thought tends more and more to scepticism—an admission which we should take leave largely to modify—he contends that the limitation of man's intellect is overborne by the necessities of life. 'Practical needs bear down speculative difficulties.' In thus meeting modern infidelity on its own chosen battle-field, and wresting from it some of its strongest positions, the writer has done good service.

We regret that our approval of this part of the essay must be accompanied by entire dissent from much that is advanced in the second portion of the book. Whence the author has derived his ideas of Christian truth we are not informed, but he is persuaded that widely distinctive action is necessary, so as to clear the ground for the new edifice of 'verifiable' religion. This is how he states his reasons :—

'The widely-spread modern belief that religion is a matter of action and of feeling rather than of intellect is altogether irreconcilable with the notions in regard to religious doctrine which have been current for at least fifteen hundred years. In fact it is time that the science of theology followed the lead of the other sciences, and was loosened from mere *à priori* reasonings, to be hereafter based on the facts of life and of human nature . . . The revolution (to be thus effected) will detach the whole of doctrinal theology, so far as doctrinal theology is verifiable, from its former centre, and cause it to revolve about a new one' (p. 205).

As we read these words we almost wonder whether we are dreaming. It is difficult to deal with so vague a phrase as 'notions in regard to religious doctrine'; but to assert that Church teaching has for fifteen centuries made religion matter of intellect rather than of action and feeling would be courageous in the face of such fundamental maxims as '*With the heart man believeth unto righteousness*' and '*Pectus facit theologum.*' It is no less difficult to determine how far the author designs to carry his suggestion that the religion of the future is to revolve round a new centre. Whilst avowing a strong belief that 'we lose grievously in the rightness and beauty of life if we altogether slight authority in religion,' he holds it almost impossible in modern days for any great teacher of the past to secure our implicit submission and obedience. Yet he accepts the test of

personal experience : if 'this prove that the way is good, that man will be rash who abandons it from any intellectual doubt as to the authority of the teacher.'

We may sum up our verdict on *Faith and Conduct* by saying that it recalls the practice of certain old-fashioned doctors in the days when drenching medicines were in vogue. They deliberately proceeded (to use one of their favourite metaphors) to pull down the house in order that they might rebuild it in stronger fashion. Some exceptionally strong constitutions survived, and possibly benefited by the treatment ; but unfortunately in most cases the vital cement that should bind the parts together slipped during the process through their fingers. Under the manipulation proposed in *Faith and Conduct* we should anticipate a similar result. Vital Christianity would be drained to death, and 'the logic of emotion' would be but a sorry substitute for the priceless treasure which had been so foolishly sacrificed.

A Treatise on the Immorality of Idolatry. (Anonymous.) Section I., 'The Metaphysics of Christianity.' (London : Ridgway, 1888.)

THE volume before us is but a fragment of the entire work, already written when this portion was published, and only needing the process of revision to be brought to completion. Had not the *Church Quarterly Review* been pointedly attacked in this section we should have preferred to postpone noticing the work until such time as we might deal with it as a whole. As the case stands, however, our notice has been accidentally delayed.

This *Review* is by no means the only object of the anonymous writer's censure. The late Canon Mozley, Canon Liddon, Bishop Temple, and other distinguished teachers are cited by him as having inculcated, 'under the authority of the name of "Christianity," propositions which are not true,' and, consequently, of adding 'to the immorality of teaching what is false the immorality of taking the name of Christ in vain,' which 'double immorality constitutes the "immorality of idolatry."'

Nor are individuals alone to blame. Protestantism, the Protestant Churches, the Church of England, according to this writer, are hopelessly in error ; and if the Church of Rome is not quite so irrational it is only because in her case 'reason' is silenced by 'authority.' As to the Church of England, the author's condemnation is sufficiently sweeping. He exclaims—

'No single syllable of Anglican doctrine was ever taught by Christ or His Apostles. Neither Christ or [*sic*] His Apostles ever heard of the doctrines of the English Church, and it is certain that if they had heard of them they would have disapproved of them, for they are as nearly as possible a direct contradiction of what Christ and His Apostles did in fact teach.'¹

The particular ground selected by the author for his attack upon the *Church Quarterly Review* is afforded by an article which appeared

¹ *The Immorality of Idolatry*, p. 105.

in July 1886 on Dr. James Martineau's *Types of Ethical Theory*. That article as a whole he finds very obnoxious. 'It shows,' he says, 'the artificial theology of the nation in process of manufacture, and sufficiently accounts for the growth of scepticism, atheism, and infidelity in England ;' ¹ it contains 'the germ of atheism,' of which the national scepticism, atheism, and infidelity are 'the natural fruit.'²

Now what is this nascent artificial theology, this germ of atheism? The only evidence which the author brings into court in proof of his shocking charge is a passage in which the writer of the article asserts that one result of pantheism is that 'the murderer's impulse towards the crime becomes equally Divine with the pleadings of conscience against it.'³ As the reviewer thus by implication denies that the impulse towards crime is equally Divine with the pleadings of conscience against it, he is accused by this author of denying that God is the first cause of all phenomena ; consequently of being, though unconsciously, a teacher of atheism, and even of disregarding the creed of his own Church : 'I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible.'

Our accuser, then, regards good and evil as equally Divine ; we confess that we do not. We shall not be tempted into the mazes of the old problem of the origin and continued existence of evil. We hold that God is, indeed, the great First Cause of all things, the only Source of life, and energy, and power to act ; yet at the same time we hold, as this author does not, that God has endowed man with personality and with freedom of will. In possessing freewill man possesses a power analogous to that of choosing what seed he will sow. The development of the seed, the growth, the future harvest are the result of 'natural causation,' which we agree with the author in identifying with Divine volition ; or, to express the same truth in Scriptural language, 'God giveth the increase.' Moreover we know that 'God is not mocked' ; the law of the spiritual harvest inevitably runs its course. 'Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap. For he that soweth to his flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption.' Even 'corruption,' then, is the fulfilment of the Divine law ; but what is not, in our view, in accordance with Divine will is the introduction and the welcoming of 'corruption' in human life. The murderer's impulse is an example of corruption. The elements of which it is composed will vary in different cases, though in all they may be traced back to instincts Divinely implanted in man for good. When, however, through previous wrong determinations, they take the form of a developed impulse to commit the crime of murder, that impulse cannot, except in the sense just admitted, be ascribed to God without blasphemy. It certainly is not 'equally Divine' with the restraining influence of conscience. The author professes great regard for the teaching of Holy Scripture. We commend to his consideration the words of St. James (i. 13) :—

¹ *The Immorality of Idolatry*, p. 141.

² *Ibid.* p. 145.

³ *Church Quarterly Review* for July 1886, p. 426.

'Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God; for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth He any man: but every man is tempted when he is drawn away of his own lust and enticed. Then, when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin; and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death.'

Essays in Criticism. Second Series. By MATTHEW ARNOLD.
(London: Macmillan and Co., 1888.)

THIS little volume, a legacy from one who has passed away from among us very lately, will be welcome to all lovers of literature, particularly to the personal friends of Mr. Matthew Arnold and to the larger group of those who admire his writings. It is hardly a posthumous work, for it is a republication of essays which appeared in various forms in the last decade of his life, with a short but very characteristic address about Milton, delivered at the unveiling of a memorial window. It scarcely needs saying that the *Essays* are very pleasant reading, never dull, always chatty and epigrammatic, redolent of the artistic skill which disguises the art; nor, on the other hand, that they are manneristic, apt to ramble, and to reiterate a favourite phrase a little too often. The essayist's theory, too, of poetry is well known by this time. It may fairly be accused of laying too much stress on 'diction' and 'style,' and of haziness in its Emersonian teachings as to what really constitutes good poetry. It is no great help to be told that the poet must have 'soul,' that he must 'deeply feel and deeply enjoy the truly excellent;' that 'poetry is joy and strength'; nor even (and this means either too much or too little) that 'poetry is a criticism of life.' All this may be very true, but does not define poetry. Something is wanting to indicate that the one thing essential to poetry is imaginativeness.

But, when we pass from theory to practice, the almost unerring taste of the poet-critic guides us well, for instance, in his incidental remarks on Chaucer, Dante, Pope, and Burns; and when he characterises the poetry of Dryden and Pope (it seems odd to find Addison and Johnson bracketed with them) as in fact more truly prose in verse than poetry. On the poets singled out for special criticism in this volume most persons will agree with Mr. Arnold on the whole. About Wordsworth he is eminently good, as was to be expected. Indeed the little volume of *Selections from Wordsworth*, to which the essay in this volume forms the introduction, has done much already to rescue the great poet of the Lakes from the neglect into which he seemed in danger of lapsing. But it is a surprise to find Byron placed above Shelley as a poet. Many of the passages often quoted as Byron's finest are, notwithstanding their charm to the ear, declamations rather than poetry, and Byron's theatrical way of looking at things is an offence against Mr. Arnold's canon of 'sincerity.' In the preface to these *Essays* we are told, that probably Mr. Arnold would have added something to his critique on Shelley. His estimate of Shelley personally is singularly just, except when he seems to explain Shelley's utter recklessness by his having 'no sense of humour.' Shelley's letter to Harriet Westbrook (p. 230) is certainly

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a *bêtise*, but it is worse still ; unless, indeed, as Talleyrand said, a crime is not so bad as a blunder. Surely the magnificent passages which abound in Shelley, in their beauty, as in their faultiness, exemplify the saying about 'great wits to madness near allied.' Gray as a poet is somewhat overrated in these Essays, but his fastidious reticence is analysed very acutely. His poetry is a link between the artificial and the natural periods in England. Keats is discussed admirably. It would be interesting to trace the likeness (with important differences) between Keats and Goethe. The two essays which come last are on Tolstoi, the famous Russian novelist, and Amiel. Mr. Arnold gives a sketch of one of Tolstoi's most popular novels—*Anna Karénine*—with a graver disquisition on Tolstoi's reasons for becoming a believer in Christianity. With the Transcendental speculations of the Swiss professor Mr. Arnold has not much sympathy, but he allows that Amiel was a master of literary criticism.

What we all owe to the accomplished author, whose last words one would linger over did space permit, is that he discriminates between the commonplace and that which is really excellent, between the merely conventional and the real. What one desiderates is a fuller recognition that goodness and religion are indispensable for the 'lucidity' and the 'seriousness' which we are taught to admire. In a book which deals with modern English poetry it is strange not to find a word of reference to Keble nor to Mrs. Browning.

La Lettre du Pape et l'Italie Officielle. (Paris : Perrin et C^{ie}, 1888.)

THE anonymous pamphlet of which we have just transcribed the title is a clever manifesto against the system of politics followed at present by the Italian Government ; but being written by a strong Romanist, it starts from an idea which we cannot pretend to share. The author begins by sketching a very deplorable but very true picture of the actual state of society ; he shows the triumph of science, the wondrous progress accomplished in the various branches of philosophical research, and side by side with this undeniable and ever-increasing development he points out the universal decay of morality.

'Spiritual philosophy,' he says, 'carries on with greater courage than hope its resistance against the attacks of materialist positivism ; as the adversary of duty passion raises its head ; against self-sacrifice we find the appeals to enjoyment. Reduced to its last resources, spiritualism enquires anxiously whence is to come the help it so greatly needs, whence she may expect the ally which shall

" . . . everso succurrere sæclo."'

The Church is there (the Romish Church of course) ; it represents twenty centuries of services rendered to society ; Germany, England, Spain, France, the United States agree in that belief, and declare that compacts solemnly sworn to should be conscientiously observed ; the Italian Government alone denies so evident a proposition.

If our author had merely said that a revival of Christianity would replace the moral world on its proper basis, we should have felt no hesitation in echoing his opinion ; but he identifies Christianity with the Vatican, and limits to the Pope the leading and much-desired influence which he longs to see manifesting itself ; here we cannot possibly follow him.

Now let us wander for a short time on strictly political ground. The pamphlet we are now considering repudiates the old doctrine of the temporal power exercised by the Pope, and this is a very important concession ; but he adds that the guarantees of his independence are not to be left to the good pleasure of the Italian Government. The Pope must be absolutely free ; he should enjoy the liberty of declining these guarantees altogether, or accepting them such as they are, or, finally, of insisting upon certain modifications ; so that, besides the Pope and the King of Italy, the assent of the whole Church is necessary, and that is why a decided unity amongst all the Christian Powers would necessarily lead to war and compel King Humbert to yield. Leo XIII. is in a certain sense a subject of the Italian Government, but as a matter of fact he is responsible to the whole Catholic world, and as such his independence is absolutely necessary. Whether this freedom implies a distinct position as a temporal ruler, or the fact of being under the tutelage of the secular power throughout the world, is a point open to discussion. Whatever the result arrived at may be, the present pamphlet is a clever and spirited manifesto against the present state of things and a warning addressed to the King of Italy.

La Philosophie Religieuse en Angleterre depuis Locke jusqu'à nos jours.
Par LUDOVIC CARRAU. (Paris : Félix Alcan, 1888.)

SEVERAL French writers have, from time to time, undertaken to study England and the English from the religious point of view. The Reformation of the sixteenth century, the ecclesiastical movement which fixed the Anglican Church in a kind of *via media* between Romanism and Presbyterianism, the development of free thought—all those manifestations of philosophical and scientific inquiry could not but excite the curiosity of our neighbours across the Channel, and the result has been a goodly crop of both monographs and general histories—*travaux d'ensemble*, as the French would call them. The late M. de Rémusat's *L'Angleterre au Dix-huitième Siècle*, preceded by his essay on Bacon, was the most recent work of that kind before M. Carrau published his excellent volume.

M. de Rémusat had conceived a more ambitious plan, and aimed at a more comprehensive object ; his gallery of pictures includes politicians as well as philosophers, statesmen as well as metaphysicians. M. Carrau, as the title of his volume sufficiently shows, limits himself within the spread of religious thought, and he appeals to that portion of the reading public which periodicals like our own are intended to reach. The writers whom he has selected for discussion are Berkeley, Bishop Butler, Bolingbroke, Hume, Sir

William Hamilton, John Stuart Mill, Mr. Herbert Spencer, and Mr. Ellingwood Abbott, and the last chapter is taken up by a general summary of the doctrines examined in the various chapters and a statement of the author's own views on the grave questions which affect man in his relations with God and with the next world. One short quotation from this *résumé* will sufficiently show the point of view at which M. Carrau places himself.

‘Whilst writing these pages we acknowledge that some of the ideas they express may appear out of date to many persons. To a number of people religious philosophy sounds like astrology. In the tide of atheism which seems to carry off the closing years of this century it requires almost courage to venture on the remark that we think we still have reasons to admit the existence of God. By doing so are we not turning our back upon science and progress, are we not proclaiming ourselves the champions of monarchical and clerical despotism?’

‘For my part, I am very much taken up with all civic and political liberties; I am a great friend of progress and very fond of science. But, together with the greatest theoreticians of liberal doctrines, I think that not only they do not exclude, but that they suppose the belief in a substantial Justice and a substantial Goodness; I maintain that atheism and materialism are rather retrograde systems—the systems peculiar to epochs of decadence and to nationalities on the point of perishing; I know, finally, that science, positive science, which studies facts and appreciates the general relations which these facts have with each other, declines to have an opinion on the problems we have just been discussing.’

We thus see that M. Carrau's opinions are those of an avowed deist; he leaves altogether unnoticed the doctrines of Christianity and the weighty questions connected with revealed religion, and it is on the ground of spiritualism alone that he takes up his position to appreciate (very fully and impartially) the theories of the leading English philosophers who have lived from the days of Berkeley to the present time.

Essai sur le Libre Arbitre : sa théorie et son histoire. Par GEORGE L. FONSAGRIVE. Couronné par l'Institut. (Paris : Félix Alcan, 1887.)

THERE are certain signs just now of a reaction against the fatal doctrine of modern French scepticism, and one of the most remarkable is certainly the publication of M. Fonsagrive's volume on freewill. Attacked at the same time by the extreme idealists on the one side, and by the materialists on the other, man's liberty and responsibility are denied, and *determinism*, as it is generally called, reigns supreme. It was urgent that some attempt should be made to eradicate doctrines which deny the reality of our moral nature, and the Institute of France opened a competition on the subject. M. Fonsagrive's essay obtained the prize, and we do not exaggerate when we say that no work on metaphysics published within the last quarter of a century equals in point both of learning and of style the one we are now noticing.

It is divided into two parts, corresponding respectively to the history and the theory of the question. The author begins by giving

an account of the opinions entertained by the philosophers of all ages and of all creeds on the idea of liberty. Of course here religion must be taken into serious consideration, and it is impossible to appreciate St. Augustine, for instance, the dispute between the Thomists and the Scotists, the Jansenists and the Molinists, without venturing upon theological ground; but M. Fonsagrive is perhaps the only contemporary Frenchman who could do so, for the majority of his *confrères* believe that theology has lived its day, and they ignore it altogether.

As for the part of the volume devoted to theoretical views, if in certain places it seems somewhat obscure, this is owing to the nature of the subject. M. Fonsagrive has thoroughly exhausted it. He begins by submitting to a severe discussion the views of the *determinists* and showing their falseness; he then describes the conditions, the limits, and the action of liberty; and finally enumerates the various applications of the doctrine of freewill to metaphysics, to science, to ethics, and even to art. This book, to conclude, is one which will repay careful study.

Les Sophistes Allemands et les Nihilistes Russes. Par TH. FUNCK-BRENTANO. (Paris: Plon, Nourrit et C^{ie}, 1887.)

WHAT is the origin of Nihilism? Whence proceeds that strange doctrine which aims at nothing short of the destruction of society? We are still in deep ignorance on the subject, and all the information we possess is derived from novels and other works where imagination too often takes the place of sober reality. Well known as a philosopher and a writer on political economy, M. Funck-Brentano has endeavoured to trace Nihilism to its real fountain-head, and he has supplied with a new and, on the whole, a well-tempered weapon the many who look upon German metaphysics as the source of the decay of religion throughout Europe. Kant, he says, is the great offender; as early as 1799 Jacobi had applied the word *Nihilism* to his celebrated treatises, and pointed out the dangerous results to which they must inevitably lead. M. Funck-Brentano now takes up that theory anew, thoroughly discusses it, and concludes by saying that, with an amount of cleverness and argumentative power which no one can deny, the writings of Kant strike at the root of all certainty; they constitute the most complete synthesis of all the philosophical systems which the eighteenth century and our own have produced. Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel receive of course their due share of notice, but the two chief writers whom our author deals with are Schopenhauer and Hartmann, especially the latter, whose sophistries he seems to delight in tearing to shreds.

The theorists of unbelief have hitherto been considered by M. Funck-Brentano; he now comes to the revolutionists who applied themselves to the practical realization of that utopia. Strauss, Feuerbach, Bruno Bauer, Max Stirner are successively reviewed, and from them the transition is an easy one to Russian Nihilism. If the subjects of the Czar are so easily led away by destructive doctrines it is simply owing to the fact that Russia is a comparatively *young* nation,

easily open to impressions, and most likely to be taken in by deceptive ideas and false promises of material happiness. When we know a little more than we do at present about Nihilism we shall be able to distinguish between the leaders of the movement and to define more accurately their respective views. Herzen, for instance, is of a totally different class from Bakounine, and it would be better perhaps to describe him as a pessimist, a disciple of Feuerbach and Proudhon. Not only did he abstain from holding forth promises of a golden age and of a material happiness based upon the distinction of modern society ; he was satisfied with denouncing flagrant abuses, criticised what seemed to him objectionable, and concluded by saying that we must 'continue to live and die with the old world.' Very different is the wild, fierce, truculent system advocated by Bakounine.

In conclusion M. Funck-Brentano's volume is a most instructive one, although necessarily incomplete in the part which treats specially of Russia.

Les dernières Persécutions du Troisième Siècle, d'après les documents archéologiques. Par PAUL ALLARD. (Paris : Lecoffre, 1888.)

WE have already noticed the previous volumes of M. Paul Allard on the history of the early Christian Church. The present instalment is distinguished by the merits which characterized the former ones, and deserves the same praise. It treats of the persecutions which occurred during the reigns of Gallus (251-253), Valerian (257-258) and Aurelian (274), besides the isolated cases belonging to the tenure of power of the thirty tyrants, Claudius the Goth, Probus, Carus, Carinus, and Numerian. The great persecution decreed by Diocletian is reserved for the next volume.

M. Allard's work is to all intents and purposes a contribution to Church history, for it is not, as the title might lead us to suppose, a mere account of the sufferings endured by the Christians. Thus the Novatian schism, the plague which decimated the empire under Gallus and gave to the Christians the opportunity of displaying their courage in the midst of the universal cowardice, the question of the *libellatici*, and the first origin of Manicheism are all examined here, and, in fact, M. Paul Allard leaves no event unnoticed which can illustrate the social condition of the Christians and the terms on which they were allowed to live, if we may use such expressions. St. Cyprian, St. Denis of Alexandria, St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, the relations of the Christians with the barbarians, the history of the Empress Zenobia and of Paul of Samosata, are also topics which have not been neglected by M. Allard. Much room is likewise allowed to archæological details, and the introduction which opens the volume contains an excellent summary of the events recorded. The persecution exercised against the Christians was flagrantly unjust ; our author shows moreover that it was a gross political blunder. The wise course for the emperors would have been not repression but pacification, for Christianity was neither an enemy nor a cause of ruin to existing institutions, but, on the contrary, a principle of strength and a valuable ally if the emperors would have only trusted its power. The sub-

mission of the Christians to all the laws which were not opposed to their conscience proves this in the most conclusive manner.

Les Phénomènes affectifs et les lois de leur apparition : essai de psychologie générale. Par FR. PAULHAN. (Paris : Félix Alcan, 1888.)

M. PAULHAN's little volume is an admirable specimen of the kind of reasoning adopted by modern *determinists* and positivists. The style, to begin with, is so obscure and involved that it is often difficult to get at the author's meaning, and the influence of German philosophy has told not only upon the doctrines of the author but upon his language. It is worth while, however, facing that preliminary difficulty, just to see what are the popular views held in France about psychology, conscience, the affections, &c., and the reader soon finds himself in the presence of conclusions of the most startling kind, but so manifestly opposed to reality that the wonder is how they can be entertained for a moment by any dispassionate and unprejudiced thinker.

If we believe M. Paulhan there is no such thing as conscience, or rather conscience is not a natural, a necessary condition of the harmony of the organs in the human frame ; it is rather a defect, an abnormal phenomenon ; 'it is reduced to act in this world a merely secondary part, it becomes an indifferent, useless phenomenon, which will perhaps eventually disappear and make way for a complete automatism.' It is impossible, we think, to deny more clearly the responsibility of man, and D'Holbach's *homme machine* finds here its nineteenth-century equivalent. In another passage M. Paulhan expresses with equal lucidity and distinctness the sophistries of the school to which he belongs.

'We are compelled to acknowledge,' says he, 'that conscience is by no means a necessary condition of the harmony of the organs. Vegetative life would suffice to prove this. We have not, therefore, to prove finality by intelligence ; the concurrence of several phenomena tending towards the same end or towards harmonic ends does not reveal the least in the world a conscious cause, as so many have repeated over and over again, and when we think a little of the question there is absolutely nothing in conscience itself which can authorize us to endow it with the property of organization and of systematization which we might be inclined to refuse to matter.'

In his concluding chapter our author repeats his former assertion that *affective* phenomena—we mean the phenomena originating with what we should call the aspirations and longings of the soul—are merely anomalous facts resulting from an imperfect or unhealthy condition of the organism. Remorse, passion, emotion, love, hatred, sentiments of every kind, are so many forms of disease. Man's efforts accordingly should tend to get rid of them ; in other words, man should aim at reducing himself to the state of a kind of automaton, inferior to the plant, inasmuch as the plant is subject to laws over which it has no control and which always act properly ; whereas man can, by virtue of his nature, and does as a matter of fact, make or modify the laws designed to rule his existence, asserting himself, whatever M.

Paulhan and his followers may say to the contrary, as a moral, free, and responsible creature.

L'Europe et la Révolution Française. Par ALBERT SOREL. Deuxième partie : La Chute de la Royauté. (Paris : Plon, Nourrit et C^{ie}, 1887).

THE second volume of M. Albert Sorel's work on the history of the French Revolution has just appeared, and it fully confirms the high reputation which the first one had obtained almost immediately after its publication. To say that it casts into the shade the once popular work of M. Thiers would be only faint praise ; but we may fairly affirm that it is immeasurably superior to all that has appeared recently on the subject—except, perhaps, M. Taine's *France contemporaine*.

The special point which calls for a notice in the pages of our review is the chapter devoted by M. Sorel to the position of the Gallican Church during the early part of the Revolution, and the extraordinary measure known by the name of the *Constitution civile du clergé*. We characterize that measure as an extraordinary one, and no juster epithet can certainly be applied to it, whether we look at the fatal consequences which resulted from it, or the absurd and illogical scheme according to which it was framed. All this has been admirably elucidated in the present volume by M. Sorel (livre ii. chap. 1). It seems to us perfectly clear that the interference of the National Assembly with religious matters was the greatest error it committed ; all the bonds which united together the different classes of society were broken, and the blindness of the passions which influenced the politicians of those days hastened the catastrophe.

If the Protectionists, says M. Sorel, had limited themselves to the destruction of the established Church as a power in the State, as one of the *privileged orders* ; if they had merely made this a question of finances and of government, although evidently actuated by a mean desire of retaliation, and inspired by the anti-religious tendencies of the eighteenth century, this plan would, to a certain degree, have been intelligible ; but they in no wise desired to do away with the Church, no more than, in the early stages of the Revolution, they wished to do away with the king. This was their programme : a monarch, servant of the State, and a *clergé-citoyen* (the expression is Talleyrand's), as devoted to the new order of things as the Church of the *ancien régime* was to the king. A religious structure, built by unbelievers, lawyers, reprobates like the Bishop of Amiens, Jansenist fanatics, Huguenots maddened by persecution—such was the dream of the Constituent Assembly, and they fondly imagined that their position was exactly similar to that of the Anglican Church at the time of the Revolution ; they would, no doubt, oppose to the Vatican a congregation of schismatics. Never was there a grosser deception. Spoiled of its property and of its privileges, having no further connexion with either the soil or the crown, the French establishment ceased to be Gallican, and became Ultramontanist ; there was no schism, for the simple reason that no true Catholic would consent to sacrifice his

faith ; and when at last, together with the Reign of Terror, the suppression of all religious belief was made a law, the *sans-culotte* clergy, destitute, with a few exceptions, of even the most elementary notions of morality, had no difficulty in accepting a situation against which all resistance was futile. That the despotism of the *ancien régime* had brought the Gallican Church into bad odour is beyond a doubt ; but that the despotism of the Revolutionists was responsible for many years of civil war is equally certain. For full developments on this important subject we cannot do better than refer our readers to M. Albert Sorel's second volume.

Registres de Nicholas IV. : recueil des bulles de ce Pape, publiées ou analysées d'après les manuscrits originaux des archives du Vatican.
Par ERNEST LANGLOIS. Parts 1, 2. (Paris : Thorin, 1887.)

THANKS to the spirit of enterprise which animates M. Ernest Thorin, the Paris publisher, we shall soon possess an excellent edition of the acts and bulls issued by the mediæval Popes. It is well known that La Porte du Theil, Potthast, and other *savants* had undertaken to edit all the State papers and documents of the Roman *curia* ; the former of these, more especially, had transcribed no less than eighteen thousand pieces preserved in the Vatican library, but these various publications were not always accurately copied, and they required careful revision. The present gigantic work is an attempt to supplement the researches and correct the few blunders of previous antiquarians, and so far the attempt has proved in every respect most successful. We have now in our libraries the first *livraisons* of the *regesta* of the following Popes : Innocent IV., Benedict XI., Boniface VIII., Honorius IV., Gregory IX. ; and Nicolas IV., edited by M. Ernest Langlois, is the newest addition to this valuable collection. The plan adopted by the various editors has been to give *in extenso* the most important bulls and letters, contenting themselves with supplying a mere analysis or summary of the rest. Bibliographical notes are carefully added wherever necessary, together with prefaces containing biographical details on the Popes whose legislative acts are introduced to the reader.

In the present instance above sixteen hundred and fifty documents are printed, beginning with February 23, 1281, and ending with September 12, 1289. Nicolas IV., as all our readers know, had been elected to the Papacy very much against his will ; but, once in possession of the seat of St. Peter, he determined, first, upon correcting the abuses which had crept into the Church, and, secondly, upon reviving the old enthusiasm in favour of the Crusades. The king of France at that time was Philip the Fair. We need not tell our friends of the dispute which broke out between him and Pope Boniface VIII. ; the evil disposition of the French monarch against the Vatican had manifested itself as early as the pontificate of Nicolas IV., and we can see traces of it in the *fasciculi* now before us (Nos. 736, 752, 753, 825, 1175-77). Heresies of a dangerous kind had broken out in some of the districts south of the Loire, and we find a number of letters insisting upon the penal measures to be taken against the delinquents

(425-430). Another important event is much discussed in this collection—namely, the result of the death of Charles d'Anjou, and the settling of the feud between Sicily and Spain. In a letter dated Rieti, May 26, 1288, the Pope urges Philip the Fair to interfere for the purpose of obtaining the liberation of Charles d'Anjou, who had been detained a prisoner after his defeat by John de Loria. Subsequently (Letters 560, 561, March 12, 1288) Nicolas states the conditions laid down by the sons of Alphonso and James, sons of Don Pedro, king of Aragon, for the setting at liberty of Charles d'Anjou, conditions which were rejected at Rome. A few of the Papal letters refer to ecclesiastical matters in England; two or three touch upon the difficult point of missions amongst the heathens.

The remarks we have thus made will give a sufficient idea of the topics discussed in this part of the registers of Pope Nicolas IV. ; the most important epoch in his pontificate has not yet been touched upon, and will supply the materials for the following *livraisons*.

Le Livre du prophète Daniel, traduit d'après le texte Hébreu, Araméen et Grec, avec une introduction critique ou défense nouvelle du livre et un commentaire littéral, exégétique et apologetique. Par l'abbé FABRE D'ENVIEU. 2 vols. (Paris: Thorin, 1888.)

OUR neighbours on the other side of the Channel are not, as a rule, considered as good Biblical scholars, and Richard Simon, Basnage, Bochart, have left amongst them very few successors. It is, therefore, particularly delightful to have to notice a work such as the one of which we have just transcribed the title. M. l'abbé Fabre d'Envieu is already favourably known in the world of literature ; but this is his first attempt, we believe, as a commentator on the Holy Scriptures. A decided enemy of the free-thinking or infidel school of critics, he examines in detail all the objections raised against the authenticity of the Book of Daniel, and whatever his opponents may think of his argumentation they cannot accuse him of prejudice and ignorance. He does not merely *quote* Renan, Lengerke, Kuenen, Reuss, Bertholdt, he has evidently *studied* them, and he submits to his readers the interesting results of long and patient researches.

M. Fabre d'Envieu's plan includes a new translation of the Book of Daniel, a critical introduction, and a commentary ; of these three divisions the second alone is published, forming two closely-printed volumes. The biography of the prophet, the nature, purpose, style, and language of the book which bears his name, all these topics are discussed fully in succession, our author taking the opportunity of refuting certain assertions made by critics, whom he designates as *Persomaniacs*, and who endeavour, with more ingenuity than success, to turn against the authenticity of the prophecies of Daniel, the results of modern philological investigation. M. Fabre d'Envieu quotes the interesting essays issued by the Society of Biblical Archæology ; he alludes with much praise to Dr Pusey's well-known volume, and has not much trouble in showing that the *à priori* wish to invalidate the authority of the Old Testament Scriptures drives the chief representatives of the rationalistic school to the most absurd and illogical

extremities. And what, says M. Fabre d'Envieu, is the motive of the desperate and bitter attack made upon the Book of Daniel? Simply this : if its authenticity is proved, prophecy has existed, miracles are not only possible but real. The book itself is a miracle, the realization of predicted facts establishes its divine origin, and the boasted negation of any supernatural intervention on the part of God falls to the ground.

The introduction, of which we have just been endeavouring to give an idea, concludes with a kind of bibliographical summary. The Septuagint version suggests to our author a number of remarks which had already been expressed by various critics, and which tend to show that the Greek rendering has frequently been modified in accordance with the prejudices, sympathies, and aspirations of copyists and glossators. This fact sufficiently explains the preference given to the version of Theodosius, a preference which St. Jerome shares and justifies in his own commentary.

Procès des frères et de l'ordre du Temple, d'après des pièces inédites et des documents imprimés. Par M. LAVOCAT, conseiller honoraire à la cour d'appel de Rouen. (Paris : Plon et C^{ie}., 1888.)

THE history of the Church during the middle ages does not offer to our study a more dramatic and, we may likewise say, a more mysterious episode than that of the Knights Templar ; mysterious, not on account of the causes for which the Order was created or the motives which led to its destruction, but on account of the nature of the institution, its alleged creed and observances. Many years ago the French government ordered the publication of all the existing documents connected with the trial of the Order. M. Michelet, who was entrusted with that work (1841-42, 2 vols.), had already discussed the whole affair in his *History of France*, vol. iii. ; M. Loiseleur, on his side, had described the *doctrine secrète des Templiers* (1872, 8vo), and now M. Lavocat condenses and summarises in a very interesting volume the complete account of one of the most singular political trials on record.

The real cause of the destruction of the Knights Templar is the jealousy with which the King of France, Philip the Fair, was inspired towards the Papacy. He regarded the Order of the Temple as essentially a permanent army devoted to the Holy See, and pledged to fight its battles. They had been organized for the express purpose of carrying on the crusades and delivering Palestine from the power of the Crescent ; now that these expeditions had fallen into disuse and were universally given up, why maintain a powerful militia which virtually possessed a large part of the territory of France, and held it to all intents and purposes on behalf of the Pope? The nation, besides, was impoverished, the needs of the treasury were urgent, and by doing away with the Templars the threefold result would be accomplished, first, of filling the exchequer, secondly, of satisfying the rapacity of the king, thirdly, of crippling the Papacy. As M. Lavocat observes, Philip the Fair's contrivances ended in a negative result ; the Church remained as powerful under the king and his successors as during the

past ; more powerful, in fact, than it had been under the reign of St. Louis.

It has been sometimes asserted that one of the objects the monarch had in view in doing away with the Knights Templar was the destruction of the nobility. This is not correct. No doubt the Order of the Temple was recruited amongst the nobles ; but the immense privileges it enjoyed, the exemptions from which it benefited, caused it to be regarded with jealousy, nay, with hatred, by the *secular* portion of the aristocracy. Philip the Fair's purpose was to *reform* the nobility, not to destroy it.

M. Lavocat has followed in the closest manner all the incidents connected with the famous trial, and he comes to the conclusion that the charges brought forward against the knights were calumnious and false. The suppression of the Knights Templar was not only an act of iniquity but an act of stupidity, for it deprived the nation of the assistance given by a militia which, almost entirely composed of Frenchmen, might have created a navy, and established on behalf of the mother country commercial and political relations with the people of the East.

Revue des Etudes Juives. No. 32, Avril-Juin 1888.
(Paris : Durlacher.)

THE *Revue des Etudes Juives* cannot be accused of monotony ; it embraces articles bearing upon every branch of literature : history, archæology, Biblical exegesis, philology ; and as most of the subjects of which it treats are very little known by the public at large, it adds the interest of novelty to those of impartiality and of sound scholarship. The first essay in the recently published number of the *Revue* is devoted to an account of certain Jewish coins, which can be found in several collections, and which are known by the name of *coins of Simon* (*monnaies de Simon*). The question is whence the designation given to these specimens of numismatics ? M. de Saulcy, like most antiquarians, following a tradition preserved in the Talmud, ascribes them to the epoch of Barchochebas ; but can we explain the name Simon by the supposition that the rebels who followed the standard of Barchochebas made use of a currency struck from a die bearing the name of Simon, whether Simon Maccabeus, Simon ben Gamaliel, or Simon bar Giora ? As for adopting the hypothesis of Barchochebas having for his first name Simon, it is quite impossible. M. Graetz, the author of the article in question, discusses the problem very minutely, and comes to the conclusion, first, that the *Simon coins* are genuine ; secondly, that they were struck by two important Jews, who lived under the reign of Hadrian. Their names were respectively *Simon* and *Schema*, that is to say, according to all probability, Julian and Pappos, surnamed the *pride of Israel*. We cannot examine in detail all the other disquisitions grouped together in the first part of the journal, but we must at least mention M. Reinach's essay on Mithridates considered in his relations with the Israelites, and M. Bruzzone's account of the Italian Jews during the eighteenth century. With reference to the former of these articles it is the com-

mentary on a passage of Strabo quoted by Josephus, and which states that Mithridates, having sent emissaries to the island of Cos (B.C. 88), took possession of the treasures there deposited by Queen Cleopatra, and of 800 talents belonging to the Jews. As a matter of fact the Jews of Asia Minor, on the eve of the Mithridatic invasion, had placed in the banks of Cos a considerable part of their fortune. The king of Pontus confiscated it, first, because the Jews were detested by the Greeks, whose champion he had constituted himself; secondly, because they were the friends and clients of Rome, his bitterest enemy; thirdly, because he was the grandson of Antiochus Epiphanes, whose hostility to the children of Israel is well known. M. Bruzzzone's article is of a financial nature, and interests us as a striking proof of the exactions practised by the Roman curia upon the Jews settled in Italy.

Amongst the *notes* or short paragraphs inserted in the *Revue* we have remarked one on the Phœnician inscription of the Piræus, another on a tumular inscription recently discovered at Orleans, and a third on the *sedarim* (parts or orders) of the Talmud. By way of supplement to the present *livraison* the reader will find a very interesting and suggestive lecture by M. Dieulafoy on the Book of Esther.

A Popular Handbook to the National Gallery, including, by special permission, Notes collected from the Works of Mr. Ruskin. Compiled by EDWARD T. COOK, with Preface by JOHN RUSKIN, LL.D., D.C.L. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1888.)

THE long-promised and eagerly-awaited *Catalogue of the National Gallery* will very shortly make its appearance in a new, revised form, but meanwhile visitors to Trafalgar Square may find some consolation in the numerous works on the collection which have lately been published. During the last year we have had Mr. Cosmo Monkhouse's excellent little volume on the *Italian pre-Raphaelites*, and Mr. Walter Armstrong's *Notes*, in which he not only gives the history of the National Gallery and a description of the foreign schools, but treats of the authorship of disputed pictures with learning and acuteness, while the opening of the new rooms has been marked by the appearance of articles on the same subject in more than one of our leading reviews. And now we have a *Popular Handbook to the Gallery*, which comes before us with the sanction and authority of Mr. Ruskin's great name. In the words of the compiler, Mr. Edward Cook, this is 'a collection of the scattered notes upon painters and pictures now in the National Gallery' which have appeared in Mr. Ruskin's different works, and are now for the first time put together and published with the author's permission. Mr. Ruskin himself bestows high praise on the series of notes 'so carefully chosen and usefully arranged by the industry and good sense of Mr. Cook,' in the preface with which he has enriched the new Handbook, but it is perhaps as well to note that he has no further responsibility for the work, and we are expressly told that he has not even glanced at the chapters on the Turner Gallery.

No one is likely to dispute the great value of Mr. Ruskin's art

criticism. We entirely agree with Mr. Cook when he says that 'any student who goes through the Gallery under Mr. Ruskin's guidance—even at second-hand—can hardly fail to obtain some insight into the system of art-teaching embodied in his works' (p. xiii.) Many of Mr. Ruskin's finest and most characteristic passages are to be found here, and not a few of his bitterest invectives. Here and there the occasional contradictions into which the vehemence of his feeling has betrayed him, or the somewhat unreasonable measure of his scorn for Rembrandt and Van de Velde, for Claude or Constable, may provoke a smile, but at every page we feel anew how immense is the debt which this generation owes to the great teacher. We are not sure that lovers of Ruskin will care to have their favourite author served up in this piecemeal fashion, but for those who are so unfortunate as to be ignorant of *Modern Painters* and *The Stones of Venice* we can well believe Mr. Cook's gleanings will be of infinite service. They can read in these pages those memorable lines which tell us all Turner meant in that picture of the 'Fighting Téméraire' tugged to her last berth, or how Rossetti strove to represent the angel-message as it came of old to 'Her who, with a sweet thanksgiving, took in humility what God might send'; how the old Venetians caught the glory of their own sky and sea, and wrought the wondrous hues into the walls of basilica and palace; or how Angelico painted 'Paradise and the Saints' because he believed in them. And we, to whom these lines have long been familiar and precious household words, will turn with still deeper interest to those closing lines of the brief preface in which the great master gives us his last thoughts on the meaning of art:—

'When I last lingered in the Gallery before my old favourites, I thought them more wonderful than ever before; but as I draw towards the close of life I feel that the real world is more wonderful yet: that Painting has not yet fulfilled half her mission; she has told us only of the heroism of men and the happiness of angels: she may perhaps record in future the beauty of a world whose mortal inhabitants are happy, and which angels may be glad to visit' (p. ix.)

The larger part of Mr. Cook's Handbook consists of extracts from the writings of Ruskin, but his labours in this line do not end here. He has been a diligent student of the works of Signor Morelli, Sir Henry Layard, Dr. Jean Paul Richter, Mr. John Addington Symonds, Professor Colvin, and M. Chesneau, and quotes largely from these distinguished critics, as well as from the pages of Mr. Armstrong and Mr. Monkhouse, not to speak of a host of humbler writers whose contributions to the periodical literature of the day have supplied him with a considerable amount of material for his Handbook. In fact, the work has small claim to originality, and is best described in Mr. Ruskin's words as 'a collection of critical remarks by esteemed judges, and of clearly formed opinions by earnest lovers of art.' Oddly enough, as it happens, the writings of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, the critics whose opinions on all questions relating to the disputed authenticity of pictures are the most frequently to be met with in books of this kind, are not once quoted by the present author,

who apparently is not one of their followers. We venture to think that an attentive study of their works would lead him to modify more than one of his assertions, and, to name one instance, would certainly have saved him from the mistake of ascribing the Venetian music-piece known as the 'Concert No. 3,' in Room VII., to the hand of Titian.

But, while we freely acknowledge Mr. Cook's Handbook to be a monument of industry and patience, and are ready to do ample justice to his good taste in matters of art and his skill in piecing together this vast bundle of scraps from the pen of so many different authors, we must frankly own that his book seems to us wanting in many respects. In the first place it is greatly to be regretted that he has overloaded his pages with quotations from all the poets in turn. Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Hazlitt, Pope, Goldsmith, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Byron, Keats, Tennyson, Browning, Ben Jonson, Waller, Rossetti, Swinburne, and a hundred others are quoted at every page, while even nursery rhymes and old country ballads are laid under contribution and employed as mottoes for De Hooch's interiors or Maas' *genre* pieces. No line is too sublime, no quotation too hackneyed for his purpose. Cardinal Newman's immortal hymn, Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*, Tennyson's best known lyrics, and Byron's most popular stanzas are all dragged in. The Laureate's lines on Monte Rosa are quoted twice over, Goethe's 'Kennst du das Land,' and Gray's Elegy and Ode to Eton College, and a dozen other equally familiar passages are all made to do duty in turn in a manner which becomes positively wearisome. The worst of it is that in nine cases out of ten these quotations strike us as painfully inappropriate. It is all very well to quote *Childe Harold* on the Bridge of Sighs when a Canaletto is in question, or Browning to illustrate the history of Andrea del Sarto, although even this practice may, in our opinion, be overdone. But the case is far worse when we find Mrs. Browning's lines from *Lady Geraldine's Courtship* tacked on to a Madonna by Gian Bellini, or Ben Jonson's 'Drink to me only with thine eyes' chosen to point the moral of a Dutch drinking-scene. The sight of Sebastian del Piombo's 'Raising of Lazarus' can hardly be said to suggest the verse from *In Memoriam* beginning 'Her eyes are homes of silent prayer,' while it is still worse to find Byron's 'Where the virgins are soft as the roses they twine' selected as a suitable motto for Botticelli's allegory of the 'Triumph of Chastity.'

The result of this deplorable waste of space is that, in order to find room for these innumerable quotations, Mr. Cook has been compelled to leave out a great deal of matter which would have been in the highest degree useful and valuable to the student. His biographical notices of the greatest artists are at best very meagre and scanty, often limited to a few lines, and we are not told where to find the masterpieces which made Giotto or Raphael or Titian illustrious. When Mr. Ruskin assures us that the Handbook tells students about every picture and its painter just the things they wish to know, we are driven to the conclusion that he has given Mr. Cook's volume a

very small measure of his time and attention. For surely, in a work which professes to be a guide-book to the National Gallery, it is not unreasonable to expect to find a brief record of the chief facts in a painter's life, the salient features of his style, and the titles of his principal works, as well as the precise locality where they are to be seen at the present time. If Mr. Cook would cut out one-half of his poetic and one-third of his prose quotations, and give us instead a clear and concise practical account of the different schools of painting represented at Trafalgar Square, modelled, let us say, on the lines of the little book by Mr. Monkhouse mentioned above, he would confer a real boon on the uninitiated, and go a long way towards making his work the ideal handbook which is wanted for the National Gallery.

A History of The Vyne in Hampshire, being a Short Account of the Building and Antiquities of that House, situate in the Parish of Sherborne St. John, co. Hants, and of persons who have at some time lived there. By CHALONER W. CHUTE of The Vyne. (Winchester: Jacob and Johnson; London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1888.)

MR. CHUTE has admirably performed a duty which all owners of historic houses owe to their country, and his example will, we hope, be widely followed by other English squires. But it must be confessed that few even of our time-honoured mansions are as rich in historic associations as the beautiful old house which it has been Mr. Chute's good fortune to describe. The memories of The Vyne go back to Roman times, and the name is probably a corruption of Vindomis, a station mentioned in the 'Itinerary of Antonine' as on the great road between Reading and Winchester. For three hundred years—from the time of Richard II. to that of the Civil Wars—it was the property of the Sandys family. William, the first Lord Sandys, and most illustrious member of his race, was a friend of Wolsey and of Henry VIII. After serving with distinction in several foreign wars he was appointed Treasurer of Calais in 1517. Three years later he was one of the commissioners who arranged the meeting of Henry VIII. and Francis I. at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and in 1532 he officiated as Lord Chamberlain at the public reception of Queen Anne Boleyn, when she made her splendid entry by water into London. But the divorce of Katharine of Arragon, and the schism with Rome which followed, caused Lord Sandys great distress, and in 1534 we read that he retired from court and remained a devoted supporter of the ancient faith until his death, at Calais, in 1540. This first Lord Sandys was the builder of the present house and beautiful chapel, which he erected on the site of an old chantry founded and endowed in the reign of Henry II. 'Finding the Vyne no very great or sumptuous place,' says Leland, 'he so translated and augmented it, and beside builded a fair Base-court, that it became one of the principal houses in goodly building in all Hamptonshire.' His marriage with Dame Margery Bray, niece and heiress of Sir Reginald Bray, the architect of Henry VII.'s

Chapel at Westminster and of the Bray Chapel at St. George's, Windsor, probably helped him in his undertaking, and it is very likely that the Vyne Chapel may owe something to this distinguished builder.

At this his 'poor house,' as the owner loved to call it in his letters, Lord Sandys received Henry VIII. twice over—once in 1510 and once in 1535, on which occasion he was accompanied by his new Queen, Anne Boleyn. Here also his great-grandson, the third Lord Sandys, entertained Queen Elizabeth, who sent a despatch from the Vyne to Lord Huntingdon, desiring him to take charge of Mary, Queen of Scots, and to restrict the liberty of sending letters which that unfortunate lady had hitherto enjoyed. Here, too, a few years later the Duc de Biron, Henry IV.'s ambassador, was sumptuously entertained at the Queen's expense, hangings and plate being sent from the Tower and Hampton Court, and seven score beds and other furniture being supplied by the willing people of Hampshire to accommodate his retinue of four hundred persons. A very curious inventory of the furniture, horses, linen, plate, armour, and apparel at the Vyne in February 1541 was recently found at Belvoir, and affords an amusing glimpse of the household of a great nobleman in Tudor times.

'The principal reception-rooms were at that time used as sleeping-chambers for important guests, and contained magnificent bedsteads. There was throughout the house an abundance of fine tapestry, and a remarkable scarcity of furniture. In the great dining-chamber itself there was but one chair, and the table consisted of fir boards laid on trestles, while the guests sat upon cushions stuffed with feathers and covered with leather or tapestry-work, lying upon forms or stools' (p. 51).

In the Civil Wars the Sandys, loyal as ever, risked life and fortune in the king's cause. One owner of the Vyne was killed in a skirmish near Alresford in 1644, and his son found his family estates so heavily mortgaged that he was compelled to sell the Vyne and retire to Mottisfont Abbey, near Romsey. The place was bought by Chaloner Chute, a wise and far-seeing lawyer, who took a bold and independent part in the political troubles of Charles I.'s reign, and used all his influence to restrain the violence of opposing factions. He distinguished himself by his fearless defence of the bishops when they were impeached by the House of Commons, and the silver tankard presented to him by the Bishop of Rochester 'as a memorial of the singular wisdom, heroic courage, and unswerving fidelity shown by him towards the bishops in their extreme peril in the year 1641,' is still preserved at the Vyne. Chaloner Chute was Speaker in Richard Cromwell's Parliament, but died before the Restoration. Another curious relic bears witness to the high esteem in which he was held by Parliament. It is a facsimile of the Great Seal of the Commonwealth, bearing a map of Great Britain, upon which, out of compliment to the Speaker, the mansion of the Vyne figures among the six places marked in Hampshire.

The third owner of the Vyne who made the place memorable was John Chute, the friend of Horace Walpole and Gray. A man of
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scholarly and refined tastes, he met Horace Walpole while travelling abroad in 1740, and the friendship then formed lasted until Mr. Chute's death, twenty-six years later. Walpole's letters are full of allusions to his Hampshire friend, whom he called his oracle in taste and the genius which presided over poor Strawberry. When, in 1754, Mr. Chute succeeded to the Vyne, on the death of his elder brother, Walpole greeted him in the following highly characteristic letter, one of many others preserved in manuscript at the Vyne, and published for the first time in the present volume :—

'My dearest Sir,—Don't be surprised if I write you a great deal of incoherent nonsense. The triumph of my joy is so great that I cannot think with any consistence. Unless you could know how absolutely persuaded I was that your brother would disinherit you, you cannot judge of my satisfaction. You know the partiality I have to the afflicted, the disgraced, and the oppressed, and you must recollect how many titles to my esteem you will lose when you are rich Chute of the Vyne, when you are courted by Chancellors of the Exchequer for your interest in Hampshire, by a thousand nephew Tracys for your estate, and by my Lady Brown for her daughters. Oh! you will grow to wear a slit gouty shoe and a gold-headed cane with a spying-glass. You will talk stocks and actions with Sir R. Brown, and be obliged to go to the South Sea House when one wants you to whisk in a comfortable way to Strawberry. You will dine at Farley in a swagging coach with fat mares of your own, and have strong port of a thousand years old got on purpose for you at Hackwood, because you will have lent the Duke thirty thousand pounds. Oh! you will be insupportable, shan't you? I find I shall detest you. *En attendant*, I do wish you joy' (p. 109).

From this time Walpole was a frequent visitor to the Vyne, in spite of the rough and muddy country roads, which made him say if he went there in October it would have to be on stilts. Traces of his visits still remain in the stone eagles at the south entrance, presented by him to John Chute, and in the picture of the 'Last Supper,' brought by him from Italy to adorn what he called 'the most heavenly chapel in the world,' and which, in his opinion, only wanted 'a few pictures to give it a true Catholic air.' And when his friend died he wrote to Horace Mann in these touching words :

'It is a heavy blow, but such strokes reconcile one to parting with this pretty vision, life; what is it when one has no longer those to whom one speaks as confidentially as to one's own soul?' (p. 117).

After telling us the history of these different lords of the Vyne, Mr. Chute proceeds to give a full description of the ancient house itself, with the changes and alterations which have been made by successive owners. It is still in the main a Tudor house, belonging to what Professor Freeman calls 'that happy moment when purely domestic architecture was at its height, and the notion of the great house as something distinct from the castle had been brought to perfection.' A grand pile of old red brickwork, with diaper facing, it retains the stone galleries, the oak wainscoting, and elaborately-carved panels of Tudor times. The crests of Lord Sandys and of Margery Bray, his wife, the Tudor rose, and the pomegranate of

Katharine of Arragon, the castle of Castile, and the crown of Henry VII. figure among the four hundred heraldic devices which adorn the panels of the oak gallery on the first floor. The fair Basse Court, which the first Lord Sandys built towards the moat, was pulled down in 1654 by Speaker Chute, who added the Grecian portico and replaced the mullions of the windows by sashes. John Chute added the grand classic staircase with its Corinthian columns and lovely mouldings, which Horace Walpole calls 'the beautiful scenery of the staircase,' and brought home most of the antique marbles, French tapestries, and Italian damask hangings, which we admire in different parts of the house. The spacious fireplaces are adorned with richly-carved shields and figures, and many of the firebacks are decorated with quaint representations of Neptune and his trident and other fanciful devices. Portraits of Chaloner Chute, the Speaker, by Vandyck, and of his wife, Lady Dacre, wearing the pearl necklace which has been handed down as an heirloom in the family, of Walpole's friend, John Chute, of Winifred, the nun of Cufaude, and of many well-known historic personages, adorn the walls; while endless treasures in the shape of old prints and china, cabinets and marbles, are stored up in the dim recesses of the ancient parlours. But the gem of the place is the Chapel, which has in a marvellous manner escaped desecration and ruin amid all the changes it has witnessed, and remains as perfect and beautiful as of old. Its glorious stained-glass windows, its exquisite oaken stalls and graceful canopies are unhurt. The altar baldacchino, the massive silver standards and censers, are gone, but we can still look at the 'capricious friezes' which excited Walpole's admiration, and wonder at the lovely blues and greens in the Urbino tiles of the flooring. And we have only to study the long list of vestments which belonged to the chantry in the days of the first Lord Sandys in order to follow Mr. Chute in his description of the splendid ceremonial practised here when this little Chapel was first built, nearly four hundred years ago.

We have said enough to show how interesting and valuable is the information which Mr. Chute has given us in so pleasant a form. Indeed, as a French critic once said of the classics published by the famous printer Aldus, 'Everything about this book is excellent,' style, paper, type, and binding. Last, but by no means least in merit, are the numerous illustrations, from the accomplished hand of Mr. Lionel Muirhead, which meet us at every page, and by helping us better to realize the different portions of the building, add greatly to our pleasure and profit. We have not only admirable views of the exterior and interior of the house and chapel, of long galleries and picturesque courts, but a hundred minor details—fireplaces and wood-work, friezes and poppy-heads, coats of arms and painted tiles—all reproduced in the most truly artistic manner. Where all is so good it is hard to choose, but if there is one plate which delights us more than the rest it is the charming little drawing of the round-headed garden-house, by the yew hedge under the great oak tree, which John Webb built for Chaloner Chute, the Speaker, two hundred years ago.

Atalanta. Edited by L. T. MEADE and ALICIA A. LEITH. Vol. i. October 1887—September 1888. (London : Hatchards.)

THIS exceedingly attractive magazine is a development of an old friend, *Every Girl's Magazine*, which has blossomed out into new and brilliant life under the editorship of one of our most popular writers for children. English girls of all ages are to be congratulated on the excellence of the new periodical, which is intended especially for their advantage, and which, whether we regard the quality or quantity of the illustrations and letter-press, is on a level with the best American magazines. *Atalanta*, we hasten to add, supplies a need that has been greatly felt in our periodical literature since Mrs. Ewing's death put an end to that favourite companion of our childhood, *Aunt Judy*. It is, in many respects, an ideal girl's magazine, and the variety of its contents is truly surprising. We have, in the first place, several excellent serials by Mr. Grant Allen, Mrs. Molesworth, and other well-known authors, besides a number of short fairy tales and popular ballads charmingly illustrated. A series of papers on 'Girls who have won Success' appeals especially to our maidens, while all classes of readers will turn with delight to another set of biographical articles on 'Famous old Story-Tellers,' which includes the familiar names of the Brothers Grimm, of La Fontaine, and of 'good Haroun Alraschid.' Mr. Cosmo Monkhouse discourses pleasantly on the painting of china, and Mr. Walter Besant gives would-be novelists the benefit of his experience in two admirable papers 'On the Writing of Novels.' These abound in capital hints and warnings, which ought to be laid to heart by all youthful aspirants to fame in this walk of literature. The rules which he lays down for those who wish to acquire the art of fiction are so full of good sense and wisdom that we cannot forbear to quote a few of the most important, for the sake of those among our readers who have not seen the articles in question. 'Practise writing something original every day. Cultivate the habit of observation. Work regularly at certain hours. Read no rubbish. Aim at the formation of style. Endeavour to be dramatic. . . . Never attempt to describe any kind of life except that with which you are familiar. Learn as much as you can about men and women.' Again, nothing can be better than Miss Arabella Buckley's 'Professor's Dream of Ancient Days,' a short sketch which conveys, in an amusing form, a considerable amount of information respecting pre-historic ages and the race of man.

But the two features of the magazine to which we would especially draw the attention of our readers here are, first, the sympathy with all forms of women's work which is revealed in its pages ; and, secondly, the laudable desire on the side of the Editors to promote the knowledge of our own literature, a part of education which in old days was too often neglected. A great deal of useful and valuable information concerning the different spheres of work now open on every side to woman is collected in a series of papers on 'The Employment of Girls.' Mrs. Henry Fawcett treats of post-office clerks, Miss Comyns of type-writing, Miss Garrett of house decoration, Dr. Edith Huntley of medicine, Miss Sophy Lock of needlework, all the papers alike

being full of practical hints and instruction which cannot fail to be of use to girls in search of a profession. The studies of 'English Men and Women of Letters of the Nineteenth Century,' written by several of our best living authors expressly for the members of the Atalanta Reading Union, and supplemented by questions on the same subjects, are likely to prove even more generally useful and improving. To be told about Miss Austen and her novels by Miss Thackeray, to hear of Charles Kingsley and all he meant when he wrote the 'Water-babies' from the lips of his own friend Tom Hughes, to learn about Walter Scott from Mr. Andrew Lang, and about John Keble from Miss Yonge, is an advantage which can hardly be esteemed too highly, especially when people tell us that, unlike their mothers, the girls of the rising generation find the Waverley Novels tedious, and cannot read the *Christian Year*.

In these days, when we hear so much of the narrowness of women's lives and the unsatisfied yearnings of young girls for greater freedom and larger activities, a magazine conducted on these principles is a priceless boon. No girl can read these papers, or enter the lists to compete for one or other of the scholarships and prizes offered to readers of *Atalanta* in so many various branches of art and literature, without feeling stimulated to acquire fresh knowledge. And the probability is that the intelligent child as she reads will feel herself insensibly drawn into a larger world. As the horizon widens new interests and occupations will open before her, she will find her restless aspirations satisfied, and her own path in life will become clear before her eyes.

In the noble verses of the poet who supplies the new *Atalanta* with a motto—

' Oh girls ! 'tis English as 'tis Greek,
Life is that race : Train so the soul
That, clad with health and strength, it seek
A swifter still, who touches goal
First ; or—for lack of breath outdone—
Dies gladly, so such race was run !

' Yet scorn not, if before your feet
The golden fruit of Life shall roll,
Truth, duty, loving service sweet,
To stoop to grasp them. So, the soul
Runs slower in the race, by these ;
But wins them—and Hippomenes !'

This is the aim which the Editor and her staff of authors and artists propose to themselves, and surely they deserve to the full the cordial recognition which has already been bestowed on their venture. We have only to wish them God-speed in their task, and hope that in the coming year they will meet with as large a measure of well-deserved success and encouragement as it has been their lot to earn during the one which is just completed. As Socrates said long ago, ' Fair is the prize, and the hope great.'

The Countess Eve. By J. H. SHORTHOUSE, Author of *John Inglesant*, *Sir Percival*, *The Little Schoolmaster Mark*, &c. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1888.)

WE have seldom closed a book with a keener sense of disappointment than when we had finished the *Countess Eve*. A new work by the author of *John Inglesant* always awakens in us eager expectancy, and the opening sentences, foreshadowing that the story would deal with the mysterious interpenetration of the unseen into the affairs of this garish world, promised a theme well calculated to call forth Mr. Shorthouse's singular powers. The notorious difficulty of handling a topic which so forcibly proclaims how narrow a boundary separates the ridiculous from the sublime would, we thought, only serve to bring out more vividly the delicacy of the writer's touch. One further essential would assuredly not be wanting—namely, that quickening of genius which vivifies the creations of fancy, and makes them instinct with life and motion. Nor were other conditions of success hard to discern—foremost amongst them, special care that the unseen should not obtrude too palpably, lest it should jar, like Duncan's ghost, upon our sense of congruity, and, secondly, a subtle insight into the dim, though real, mutual relations between the worlds of matter and of spirit. Effective description of scenery, the innate refinement which alone can project upon the canvas men and women of high breeding, and a high tone of religious feeling are of course never lacking in the author's stories. The presence of these latter qualities alone render the *Countess Eve*, even if they may be said to do so, in any degree worthy the writer's reputation. The scene is laid in a French provincial town somewhere in Burgundy ; date, anno Domini 1785. Six puppets—with the exception of De Brie they are scarcely more—move upon the stage. The Count du Pic Adam and his wife, the Countess Eve, 'mysteriously beautiful' inhabitants of a château just outside the city walls ; La Vallière and De Brie, the first an actor, the second a musician, both of good birth and both members of a theatrical company playing in the nameless town ; a quaint old French vicomte, airy, dainty, and bizarre enough ; and a stately abbess—these form the company. La Vallière strikingly handsome, the slave of every impulse, a believer in Mesmer and the fashionable cabalistic *diablerie* of the day, without an atom of moral principle or firmness, is in surprising contrast with 'his bosom friend De Brie, one of those rare natures to whom God has given the faculty of purity, and training has given the winsome grace of an ideal life' (p. 11). La Vallière conceives such a passion for the Countess as his shallow nature is capable of entertaining ; influenced partly by her surpassing loveliness, partly by the vision of an abbé, who appears now beside the lady's couch, now to himself in his solitary walks and lures him on. The attentions of so handsome a suitor are rendered the more perilous by the impenetrable coldness of the Count, who is gloomy and preoccupied with brooding over a wrong he has committed some twenty years before. It were hardly fair to tell how De Brie forecasts the danger, and, aided by the abbess, effectually averts it ; how the gossiping old vicomte unexpectedly bears his part in checking a

crime whose darkest guilt consists, to his thinking, in the fact that it would be a scandal to his order ; how the final tableau represents the triumph of righteousness—the Countess clinging to her husband's arm, the abbess banishing for ever the malefic vision of the abbé 'as she stood like the archangel of God, the crucifix, turning its flashing light on every side, in her uplifted hand.' That it is a pretty story goes without saying ; but it wants substance, reality, flesh and blood. So shadowy and faint are the actors that it is impossible to take any interest in them. Granted that it is legitimate allegory to embody sin, and that the vision of the abbé may fairly represent La Vallière's first indistinct conception and subsequent indulgence of evil purpose, yet to move us the subject of such inward experience must be a man, not a mere *nominis umbra*, and the other characters must feel and act with some semblance of probability and consistency. In our judgment these conditions are violated. The Countess Eve, for example, yearns so eagerly for her husband's affection, longs so earnestly to charm away his melancholy and to possess his heart, that visible objects fail to produce any impression, and she sees 'what her intense mental sympathy, her pure love for her husband, revealed to her as that which at the same moment was present to his own mental gaze' (p. 94). We omit the description of the vision—a lake which is thrice described, twice in shadow, once in sunshine, within the scanty compass of the story—a description which includes much that borders terribly near to fustian, with 'its chill, terrible waters, motionless with the stillness of a settled despair, black with unfathomable mysteries of the dim æons of existence, when the world lay void and misty and slimy in the pangs of creation' (p. 95). A soul so completely absorbed in that of another as to share in such a vision would surely not yield itself without hesitation to the dalliance of La Vallière as soon as her husband's back was turned. Without apparently one misgiving, she trips lightly along the path of destruction, and would have been hopelessly lost had not a sudden vision restrained her with a terrific glimpse of 'the face of committed sin.'

Our chief complaint, however, about the *Countess Eve* is not prompted merely or mainly by vexation at its failure as a satisfactory work of fiction. Mr. Shorthouse (unless we entirely mistake him) writes with serious and lofty purpose. He is himself firmly convinced, and he thinks it essential to uphold, in a day when practical and theoretical materialism is prevalent and aggressive, the reality not only of the world of spirits, but of its influence upon mankind. His own conviction speaks through De Brie : 'The whole of Nature is ensouled. There is no such thing as matter, as material existence. Everything is instinct with the nature of God, or of the enemy of God.' But the unseen forms—principalities and powers and possibilities, as he terms them—act upon human nature in conformity with the law of man's being. They provoke and sustain conflict. They wrestle with and become conquerors, or subjects, of man's conscious freewill. There are no doubt facile natures which are swayed to and fro by every gust of temptation, as there are lofty ones over whom its blasts seem to sweep idly ; but the romance of life consists

in the play and passion of man's resistance to good or evil influence, in the moral grandeur of his triumph, in the pathos of his fall. Man would be a poor creature indeed if he were the slave of such phantoms and visions as determine the crises of his destiny in the *Countess Eve*. We feel that a materialist would be justified in rejecting Mr. Shorthouse's delineation of the play of the unseen upon the seen as unreal and fantastic, and we fear that his scepticism would be strengthened by the unreality of the conception presented by so doughty a champion of the truth. It is a minor but not unimportant blemish that the story bears signs of hasty production. A book whose contents would only fill seventeen pages of this *Review*, and for which six shillings are charged, should at least be a highly finished literary composition. We regard Mr. Shorthouse as one of the *élite* in the world of literature, and—*noblesse oblige*.

BRIEF NOTES ON NEW BOOKS, NEW EDITIONS, PERIODICALS, ETC.

ARTICLES and 'Short Notices' have so encroached on our limited space that we can only offer a small number of 'brief notes.' Some time has elapsed since we have spoken of the publications of the S.P.C.K. Those which have reached us bear out the complaint that has been made by a writer in the *Guardian*, that they rarely comprise works of cardinal importance in the realm of theology. We give the first place to *A Manual of Parochial Work for the Use of the Younger Clergy*, by various writers, edited by the Rev. John Ellerton (London: S.P.C.K., 1888). This work is divided into eight parts, viz.: I. 'The Pastor of the Parish,' by the Rev. H. W. Burrows and the Rev. R. Thornton; II. 'The Parish Church,' by the Revs. John Ellerton, Henry Housman, and J. H. Fisher; III. 'The Parish,' by the Very Rev. W. Butler, D.D., Dean of Lincoln, the Rev. R. Allen, the Hon. and Rev. Augustus Legge, the Rev. Prebendary Jones; IV. 'The Schools,' by the Ven. R. F. Smith, the Revs. W. E. Ingram, John Ellerton, and W. E. Chadwick; V. 'Fellow Workers,' by the Rev. A. S. Wilde; VI. 'Parochial Work in Exceptional Cases,' by the Rev. Canon R. F. Wheeler, the Revs. George Venables and J. J. Hannah; VII. 'Treatment of Romanism, Dissent, and Unbelief,' by the Rev. A. J. Worlledge; VIII. 'Parochial Finance,' by the Hon. and Rev. Augustus Legge. The work is on the whole a very disappointing one, as might be expected from the large number of sixteen persons employed. Grievous inequality of merit naturally robs the book of that *consensus partium* which is the essence of a handbook. It would be invidious to name the instances of marked inferiority, which cannot but strike everyone. It is much to be regretted that the entire work was not confided to one man, such as Dean Butler, or Mr. Ellerton, or Canon Worlledge. We are glad to see that Mr. Ellerton has the wisdom to deprecate what Archbishop Benson well calls the '*fierce insistence* upon Fasting Communion.' Not less wisely does he inveigh against the illegal displacement of the sermon at the end of morning prayer, so that the

Commandments, 'those weekly heads of self-examination,'¹ and, worse still, the Epistle and Gospel, are heard but by a small fraction of the congregation. Of course the gem of the volume is the section by the Dean of Lincoln on parochial work of various kinds—five chapters in all. We have there the fruits of ripe experience, set forth in plain and direct words and flavoured with an excellent spiritual tone. Mr. Harry Jones too has some very shrewd remarks, couched in honest, outspoken language, which testify to the reality of the man. Canon Worlledge's paper shows depth of thought and width of reading. We have reserved for the last what ought to have come first, viz. the paper by Canon Burrows on the Private Life of the Pastor, which, we need scarcely say, is everything that could be desired.

The *Dawn of European Literature*, published by the same Society, has received two excellent additions in *Anglo-Saxon Literature*, by John Earle (London, 1887), and *French Literature*, by Gustave Masson (London, 1888). Both these writers—the last of whom, we grieve to say, has quite recently been removed from us—are thorough masters of their respective subjects; and it is only a thorough master who can compress into a small compass the vast amount of learning and research of which these little books are the embodiment.

To turn to publications of a different class which have reached us from Northumberland Avenue, we may mention for the use of those who would fain 'consider the heavens' an excellent *Star Atlas with Explanatory Text*, by Dr. H. J. Klein, translated and adapted for English readers by Edmund McClure, M.A., M.R.T.A., with eighteen maps. We have also what all will welcome, a series of tales by the incomparable Juliana Horatia Ewing, the unfailing delight of all ages and both sexes. They are as follows: (1) *Mother's Birthday Review, and seven other Tales in Verse*; (2) *A Soldier's Children, and five other Tales*; (3) *The Blue Bells on the Sea, and ten other Tales in Verse* (London, 1888). All of these are illustrated, or, as it is called, 'depicted,' by R. André. Then we have from the same authoress *Snap Dragons and Old Father Christmas*, illustrated by Gordon Browne (London, 1888). Of a graver character is the new volume of the 'Fathers for English Readers' series, entitled *St. Athanasius: his Life and Times*, by the Rev. R. Wheler Bush (London, 1888), which more than sustains the reputation of that excellent series. The concluding chapter on the character of St. Athanasius as a theologian shows considerable mastery of the subject.

On a hasty glance we had put on one side for a 'Short Notice' only *The Lives of Twelve Good Men*, by John William Burgon, D.D., Dean of Chichester, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1888), but a closer examination showed us that the work was one which called

¹ We grieve to record that in not a few churches a practice has grown up of omitting the Commandments altogether! That the omission is utterly illegal there cannot be a shadow of doubt. Whereunto serve archdeacons and bishops, that they give the connivance of silence to these grossly illegal practices?

for fuller handling. For the present therefore we can only recommend it most warmly to all who are interested in Oxford life of the last half-century and in the history of the Oxford movement. The Duodecimviri selected for commemoration by Dean Burgon under the somewhat twaddly title of 'Twelve Good Men' are as follows : 1, Martin Joseph Routh ; 2, Hugh James Rose ; 3, Charles Marriott ; 4, Edward Hawkins ; 5, Samuel Wilberforce ; 6, Richard Lynch Cotton ; 7, Richard Greswell ; 8, Henry Octavius Coxe ; 9, Henry Longueville Mansel ; 10, William Jacobson ; 11, Charles Page Eden ; 12, Charles Longuet Higgins.

Foremost amongst new editions of the season must be placed *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England begun in the year 1641*, by Edward, Earl of Clarendon ; re-edited from a fresh collation of the original MS. in the Bodleian Library, with *Marginal Dates and occasional Notes*, by W. Dunn Macray, M.A., F.S.A. ; in six vols. (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1888). We may possibly recur to this work on a future occasion. For the present we will only remark that Mr. Macray's name is a sufficient guarantee for the excellent and scholarly way in which this most admirable edition has been executed.

The annual volume of the *English Illustrated Magazine*, 1887-1888 (London : Macmillan and Co., 1888), is as interesting as ever. The illustrations are, if anything, superior to those in previous volumes. Two of the best papers in the volume are by writers no longer with us, viz. *The Sea of Galilee*, by Laurence Oliphant, and *Summer in Somerset*, by Richard Jeffries.

The *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. i., October 1888 (London : D. Nutt), is a new venture, which, under the editorship of J. Abrahams and C. G. Montefiore, appears under excellent auspices, and promises to be a substantial contribution to Jewish life and thought and literature. Among the contributors in this first part the names of Graetz, Neubauer, Friedländer, and Cheyne command attention. We wish it every success. The *Classical Review*, by the same enterprising publishers, has completed its second volume, and abounds with interest for all students of classical literature and philology. The *Archæological Review*, vol. ii. No. 4, December 1888 (London : D. Nutt), contains a short but very instructive and suggestive paper by Mr. Edward Peacock on 'The Dedication of Churches,' a subject of very great importance, and on which a vast amount of work has to be done before we can arrive at any sound conclusion. In the November number of this periodical (p. 215) there appears a short letter from that most recondite antiquary Mr. J. H. Round—with whose name and attainments all readers of the *Athenæum* must be familiar—calling attention to the desirableness of working out the history of the church porch, and of noting all instances of transactions taking place in it. One of the most remarkable allusions to it is found in Eadmer's description of the old Church of Canterbury, quoted by Gervase of Canterbury (i. 8).

In the October number of the *English Historical Review*, edited by the Rev. Mandell Creighton (London : Longmans, 1888), all will

turn with interest to the reviews from the pen of Lord Acton of Lea's *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* (pp. 773-88) and of J. F. Bright's *History of England, 1837-1880* (pp. 798-809). They are, as might be expected, the masterpieces of the volume. Next to these we would place Mr. E. A. Freeman's 'Note on the Parentage of Gundrada, wife of William of Warren' (pp. 680-701).

The *Dublin Review* for October 1888 (London: Burns and Oates) contains, as our excellent contemporary always does contain, several articles which will amply repay perusal, and will amuse even when they do not persuade. In the first article Father Morris, S.J., tries conclusions with Mr. Gladstone on the 'Elizabethan Settlement.' *Impar congressus*. In the third, Dr. J. R. Gasquet discusses with great learning the documentary history of the Apostles' Creed. We are then entertained by Mr. T. W. Allies, who was formerly *des nôtres*, poking fun at the Lambeth Conference, which he is quite welcome to do. It amuses him and it won't hurt us. The writer of the article on 'The National Gallery in 1888' pays a well-deserved tribute to the services rendered and the ability displayed by Sir Frederic Burton, the accomplished Director of that institution. The article is well worth reading. 'The *Quarterly Review* and the Culture of our Clergy' contains a caustic exposure of the defects in the training of the Anglican clergy, and a glowing encomium, of course, of the system prevalent in the Church of Rome. Considering what Oxford has become, we fear we must not put down the following story as apocryphal (p. 357):—

'An undergraduate who was reading for the Divinity School went to his tutor, a most distinguished man in addition to being a clerical Fellow, and asked leave to substitute the Epistle to the Galatians for the Articles of the Church of England, in which he did not believe. "Galatians are much harder," replied the tutor. "Take the Articles. I don't believe in them myself. I am inclined to be a Buddhist.'"

It is only fair to the reviewer to say that he can also tell anecdotes depreciatory (in a sense) of his own Communion.

'A story is told of a priest going to the venerable ex-Bishop of Birmingham. "My Lord, I have certain difficulties on my mind as to my continuance in my priestly functions." To which the Bishop simply replied, "Indeed, pray what is her name?"'

The Ancient and Modern Library of Theological Literature (London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden, and Welsh, 1888) has issued three more volumes since our last number. They are as follows: (1) *A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes of this Country*, by William Wilberforce, Esq.; (2) *Horæ Paulinæ*, by William Paley; (3) *Platina's Lives of the Popes*, vol. ii. Whether Wilberforce's *Practical View* will nowadays find many readers may be doubted, and ought to be regretted. Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*, we trust, can never be considered obsolete.

We regret extremely that publishers of such a high character and religious tone as James Nisbet and Co. should have thought it, we

will not say expedient, but decent, to include in a *Men of the Bible* series a life of the Incarnate Son of God—*Jesus Christ, the Divine Man: His Life and Times*, by the Rev. J. F. Vallings (London : Nisbet and Co., 1889). We feel sure that it can only have been through inadvertence that such an impropriety—and we hold it to have been a very gross impropriety—could have been committed. It would be a satisfaction to learn that the book had been withdrawn from circulation. We are not criticizing the tone and spirit in which the book has been written ; that may or may not be worthy of all commendation. We take the simple fact that in a series which bears on its forehead the title of ‘Men of the Bible’ is included *Jesus Christ, the Divine Man: His Life and Times*!!! Three other works in the same series, viz. (1) *Jeremiah: His Life and Times*, by the Rev. Canon T. K. Cheyne ; (2) *Samuel and Saul*, by the Rev. W. J. Deane ; and (3) *Daniel*, by the Rev. H. Deane, are before us. The last of these is particularly good. The concessions which Canon Cheyne makes to the so-called ‘higher criticism’ are to be regretted.

The Complete Poetical Works of William Wordsworth, with an Introduction by John Morley (London : Macmillan and Co., 1888), will help largely to preserve—or shall we say revive?—that high appreciation of Wordsworth’s greatness as a poet which he so well deserves. The Poems occupy 796 pages. The remainder is occupied by xlvii pages of ‘Contents,’ which supply a list of Wordsworth’s Poems in chronological order ; by xv closely printed pages of an *Introduction*, crisp and vigorous, by Mr. John Morley ; and by 132 pages composed of Notes, Prefaces, a most useful Bibliography of Wordsworth, a List of Biographies, and of the Best Critical Articles on his Writings, an Index to the Poems, and an Index to the First Lines. Much as there is to be admired in Mr. Morley’s Introduction, we cannot but note a complete absence of sympathy with what he calls Wordsworth’s ‘church pieces,’ which he dismisses as ‘ecclesiastical, not religious.’ We must not omit to mention that this edition contains the first book of the first part of *The Recluse*, which was left in MS. by the poet, and is now published *in extenso* for the first time. This poem the publishers have also issued in a separate form (*The Recluse*, by William Wordsworth ; London : the same, 1888) for the benefit, we presume, of those who already possess Wordsworth’s Poems.

Westminster Abbey, by M. C. and E. T. Bradley, with Introductory Chapter by the Dean (London : *Pall Mall Gazette* Office, 1888)—or, to give its shorter title, *The Deanery Guide*—ought to command a large sale, and we are surprised it has not seen the light under more favourable auspices and with better illustrations.

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